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MEMOIRS

OF

THE LIFE AND TIMES

OF

DANIEL DE FOE.

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BRADBURY AND DENT, PRINTERS, OXFORD ARMS PASSAGE, WARWICK LANE.

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Page 80, line 2, for *these*, read *such*.

—— 161, — 16, for *forestal*, read *forestalls*.

—— 302, — 7, for *bringing*, read *brings*.

———— 5 from bottom, after *been*, read *all*.

—— 318, last line, *dele being*.

—— 511, line 10 from bottom, for *reading*, substitute *read*.

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De Foe returns to London.—Rewarded by the Ministers.—Intrigues at Court.—Disgrace of the Duchess of Marlborough.—New Favorite.—Character of Harley.—His Intrigues Discovered.—Dismissed from Office—Delicate Situation of De Foe.—His own Account of his Conduct at this time.—In Favour with Lord Godolphin.—Threatened Invasion of the Pretender.—Loyalty of the Scots.—De Foe Publishes "The Union Proverb."—Vindicates his Political Conduct.—He Publishes the Fourth Volume of his "Review."—Subjects Discussed in it.—His zeal for Liberty.—And Political Independence.—Contests with the News-Writers.—The French Prophets.—De Foe's Remarks upon them.—He makes a Journey to Scotland.—New Elections.—De Foe's Strictures upon Bribery.—He makes a Tour in the Country.—His zeal for the Return of Whigs.—Remarks upon the Triennial Bill.—And upon the Inconsistency of the Whigs.—De Foe receives some Threatening Letters.—Discourse concerning Trouble of Mind.

1708.

EARLY in the month of January, 1708, De Foe returned to London, after an absence in Scotland of about sixteen months. He seems to have been anxious to obtain a settlement of his affairs; and his negociations with his creditors held out a prospect of success. Being now at the head-quarters of the parties contending for power, he could not avoid being involved in their disputes; and of the various subjects that engaged his attention, the reader will be informed in the sequel.

For his services in Scotland, or elsewhere, the ministers now rewarded him with an appointment, with a fixed salary;

but the nature of it is not mentioned. It was obtained for him by the intervention of Harley, and continued to him after the fall of that minister. As his name does not stand in the *red book* of Queen Anne, Mr. Chalmers was induced to think it was a pension rather than a place; but he speaks of it himself as an *appointment,* which seems to denote a place. It was probably a sinecure, that did not require a personal attendance, as may be gathered from his long and frequent absences; and it must have been one that did not demand the sacramental test, which De Foe always objected to. During the ministry of Lord Godolphin, after the retirement of Harley, his salary fell into arrears, perhaps in consequence of his long absence in Scotland; and notwithstanding his interest with the succeeding ministry, it does not appear that his claims were ever liquidated.

The commencement of the year was marked by the discovery of some political intrigues, which produced several changes, both at court and in the ministry.

Abigail Hill, who had been rescued from poverty, and introduced to court by her kinswoman, the Duchess of Marlborough, was rising fast in the royal favour. She had been several years dresser to the queen, and a lady of the bed-chamber; and, by her assiduous attentions, made herself so acceptable to her mistress as greatly to relieve the Duchess, who sometimes remitted her attendance at court for several weeks together. This enabled the rising favorite to insinuate herself, by degrees, into the royal confidence, until she succeeded in supplanting her relative and benefactress. Her marriage to Mr. Masham, one of the queen's pages, in the preceding summer, was industriously concealed from the duchess, and occasioned a more than usual degree of reserve. This her Grace attributed to moroseness of temper, little suspecting that her relative had made so much progress in the art of dissimulation. But her surprise was unbounded when she learned that the queen was privy to the transaction, and had lent herself to the intrigues of her new favorite. "The conduct both of the queen, and of Mrs. Masham," says the duchess, "convinced me that there was some mystery in the affair; and therefore I set myself to inquire, as particularly as I could, into it; and in less than a week's time, I discovered, that my cousin was become an absolute favorite; that the queen herself was present at her marriage in Dr. Arbuthnot's lodgings, at which time her majesty called for a round sum out of the privy-purse; that Mrs. Masham came often to the queen when the prince was asleep, and was generally two hours every day in private with her; and I likewise then discovered Mr. Harley's correspondence and interest at court by means of this woman. I was struck with astonishment at such an instance of ingratitude, and should not have believed it, if there had been any room left for doubting." *

A gradual alienation from the duchess had been long visible at court; and, as royal favorites are seldom popular with the multitude, so in this instance, the immense wealth amassed by the Marlboroughs, united with their reputation for avarice, gave additional weight to the odium created by their long-established influence. This jealousy was now fomented with great industry by the Tories; "And the unexperienced multitude, who, for the most part, look with envy upon the grandeur and good fortune of their superiors, rejoiced at the Duchess of Marlborough's disgrace, and began to carry themselves with great insolence. The duchess, who had a very high spirit, and whose highly-exalted fortune, perhaps, had obscured the brightness of her understanding, retired to her house at Windsor, where she lived in quiet; nor did she take any care to appease the anger of the incensed queen." † Uncertain and slippery as is the

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* Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, pp. 182—4.

† Cunningham, ii. 141.

favour of princes, it would be difficult to assign any plausible pretext for so violent a change in the queen's affections; for, notwithstanding some occasional bickerings, their friendship, which had continued more than twenty years, was of the most romantic and familiar kind, and had been sealed by vows which each imagined to be indissoluble. The problem is only to be solved by the intrigues of party. Mrs. Masham's politics were more entirely in unison with those of the queen, whom she flattered with her zeal for high-church, and for the interests of the Stuarts. She, therefore, became the tool of those who were ambitious of supplanting her ministers, and seating themselves in their places.

Harley stood in the same relation to Mrs. Masham as the Duchess of Marlborough, and had also befriended her in her necessities. This gave him access to her confidence, which he improved by making her the tool of his ambition. Under his tutorage, she employed all her credit with the queen to establish him in her favour, as well as to alienate her from her other ministers; and she became the channel of their clandestine communication. Fully aware of her prejudices, Harley made a skilful use of them for the furtherance of his designs; flattering her with high notions of the prerogative, and representing the Treasurer and the General as in league with the Whigs, to reduce her to a mere cipher in the government. These insinuations, being too much in unison with her own feelings, had a considerable effect upon her mind, and served, as well, to raise him in her favour, as to alienate her from her best and long-tried friends. With the like artifice, he now flattered the ambition of the Tories, and fomented the discontents of the Whigs; insinuating to the latter, that Marlborough and Godolphin were lukewarm in their cause, and the only obstacles to their further advancement. Of this crafty statesman, a modern writer has drawn the following portrait: "Harley was, perhaps, of all men, the best calculated to win his way through the crooked paths of political intrigue. He had hitherto figured as a Whig or Tory, as it suited his interests; and under the guise of moderation, had gradually acquired a considerable body of adherents, to whom his parliamentary talents gave strength and consistency. He was supple, plausible, and insinuating; adroit in flattery, and profuse in his professions of duty and attachment. To these qualities, he joined uncommon discernment of character, a cool and calculating head, a spirit of profound dissimulation, and an exterior of familiarity, courtesy, and candour, which deceived the most suspicious."* A man whose character was compounded of such materials, must have been dangerous, whether as a friend or an enemy, and most of all so, as a minister of state.

Of the secrecy with which Harley conducted his intrigues, we have the following account by a contemporary writer. "About this time many things were transacted at court in the dead of the night; and the queen was afflicted with sore eyes. The Prince of Denmark, who was a sincere lover of his royal consort, as well as of her country, was grieved at these late conferences, and said in public, 'It is no wonder the queen is troubled with sore eyes, but, rather indeed, that she is not otherwise indisposed, when she goes no sooner to bed;" an expression, which is thought to have escaped him unawares. As soon as the Duchess of Marlborough heard of this, she set her spies about the queen, to watch and report to her every one who went in and out of the palace. And now, at length finding the truth of what she suspected, and discovering certain proofs of Mr. Harley's counsels, she, in the heighth of passion, began sometimes to threaten, sometimes to thunder. The queen was steady in her resolution; and so was the Duchess of Marlborough, who day and night, pressed her husband to revenge her injuries. The duke consulted his friends, who were all of opinion, that the best way would be for the Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin, to go immediately to the queen, who was naturally timorous, and to persuade her to remove Mr. Harley from his office and her court, in case she thought fit to continue them in her service. As soon as the queen was made sensible of this resolution, and how ill she had been treated, she took a week's time to consult about it; and the Earl of Pembroke proposed that all fair means possible, might be used to compose these dissentions, before they should come to the ears of the people. In the meantime, many noblemen of great quality and power, joined in the same request to the queen; and even Mr. Harley himself, is said to have also persuaded her to follow the same course, in compliance with the times. And last of all, the Prince of Denmark showed the queen how necessary it was to comply with the Duke of Malborough's request, and explained to her at large, the danger of the confederate cause. Thus was a whole week spent in disputes and excuses. At last, the queen finding herself too weak to resist, and being alarmed with fear of the Pretender, who at that time attempted an invasion upon Scotland, complied with the oponion of her husband and the Duke of Marlborough, and yielded to the humour of the times. Full of resentment, and not without tears, she removed Mr. Harley from his office; and yet matters were not made easy at court."*

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* Coxe's Life of Marlborough, iii. 256.

The dismission of Harley was not accomplished without considerable difficulty, and even his own concurrence. By his long intrigues at court, he had obtained such an ascendancy over the mind of the queen, as to alienate her from her faithful treasurer Lord Godolphin, whom she would have sacrificed to his ambition; and nothing but the steady resolution of Marlborough, to stand or fall with that able and upright minister, preserved him. Although Harley had but few political supporters of any name, or consequence, being equally detested by the Whigs, and suspected by the Tories, yet such was the infatuation of the queen, that she clung to him to the last, and would not have listened to his resignation, but from a dread of some convulsion in the state. This revolution in the ministry, took place in the month of February, 1708, and the discarded ministers were re-placed by some leading Whigs.

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* Cunningham, ii. 142—3.

When Harley withdrew from the ministry, De Foe considered all his political prospects at an end. For having been indebted to that minister for his introduction to court, and his subsequent employment by the government, he felt that he was in duty bound to follow his fortunes, rather than to remain in the service of those to whom his patron had become obnoxious. Upon this difficult occasion, Harley acted towards him with great generosity, and Godolphin not less so; for the former released him from his supposed obligation of honour, and the latter continued him in his service, without imposing any restrictions upon that honest independence of character, which, notwithstanding the reproaches of his enemies, he maintained under all changes and circumstances. It is impossible not to admire the great delicacy manifested by De Foe in his new situation; and in the following narrative of this affair, penned by himself, we have an honorable testimony to his character, by a great minister of state.

"When upon that fatal breach, the Secretary of State was dismissed from the service, I looked upon myself as lost; it being a general rule in such cases, when a great officer falls, that all who came in by his interest, fall with him. And resolving never to abandon the fortunes of the man to whom I owed so much of my own, I quitted the usual applications which I had made to my Lord-Treasurer. But my generous benefactor, when he understood it, frankly told me, that I should by no means do so; for, said he, in the most engaging terms, 'My Lord-Treasurer will employ you in nothing but what is for the public service, and agreeable to your own sentiments of things. And besides, it is the queen you are serving, who has been very good to you. Pray apply yourself as you used to do; I shall not take it ill from you in the least.'

"Upon this, I went to wait on my Lord-Treasurer, who received me with great freedom, and told me smiling, he had not seen me a long while. I told his lordship very frankly the occasion. That the unhappy breach that had fallen out, had made me doubtful whether I should be acceptable to his lordship. That I knew it was usual, when great persons fall, that all who were in their interest fell with them. That his lordship knew the obligations I was under, and that I could not but fear my interest in his lordship was lessened on that account. 'Not all, Mr. De Foe,' replied his lordship, 'I always think a man honest, till I find to the contrary.' Upon this, I attended his lordship as usual; and being resolved to remove all possible ground of suspicion that I kept any secret correspondence, I never visited, or wrote to, or any way corresponded with my principal benefactor, for above three years; which he so well knew the reason of, and so well approved that punctual behaviour in me, that he never took it ill from me at all.

"In consequence of this reception, my Lord Godolphin had the goodness, not only to introduce me for the second time to her majesty, and to the honour of kissing her hand, but obtained for me the continuance of an appointment which her majesty had been pleased to make me, in consideration of a former special service I had done, and in which I had run as much risk of my life, as a grenadier upon the counterscarp; and which appointment, however, was first obtained for me at the intercession of my said first benefactor, and is all owing to that intercession, and her majesty's bounty. Upon this second introduction, her majesty was pleased to tell me, with a goodness peculiar to herself, that she had such satisfaction in my former services, that she had appointed me for another office, which was something nice, and that my Lord-Treasurer should tell me the rest; and so I withdrew. The next day, his lordship ordered me to attend, told me, that he must send me to Scotland, and gave me but three days to prepare myself. Accordingly, I went to Scotland, where neither my business, nor the manner of my discharging it, is material to this tract; nor will it be ever any part of my character, that I reveal what should be concealed. And yet, my errand was such as was far from being unfit for a sovereign to direct, or an honest man to perform; and the service I did, upon that occasion, as it is not unknown to the greatest man now in the nation, under the king and the prince, so, I dare say, his Grace was never displeased with the part I had in it, and I hope will not forget it.

"These things I mention, upon this account, and no other, viz. to state the obligation I have been in all along to her majesty, personally, and to my first benefactor principally; by which I say, I think I was at least obliged not to act against them, even in those things which I might not approve. Whether I have acted with them farther than I ought, shall be spoken to by itself. Having said thus much of the obligations laid on me, and the persons by whom, I have this only to add, that I think no man will say, a subject could be under greater bonds to his prince, or a private person to a minister of state; and I shall ever preserve this principle, that an honest man cannot be ungrateful to his benefactor." * In this passage, De Foe alludes to the course he pursued during the last four years of this reign,

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* Appeal to Honour and Justice, pp. 14, 17.

for which he fell under the censure of the Whigs; but his defence against the charges brought against him, will be resumed in its proper place.

In the early part of the year, the government received intelligence of some hostile preparations at Dunkirk, which had for their object the invasion of Scotland. The French king, disheartened by his losses upon the continent, thought that such a diversion, headed by the Pretender, might have a favourable influence upon his affairs; and the opposition which the Scots had so lately offered to the Union, induced him to reckon too hastily upon their assistance. In the month of March, Admiral Fourbin appeared with a French fleet and army, off the Firth of Forth; but finding an English squadron ready to receive him, he steered his course to the north of Scotland, where an immediate insurrection was expected. But in this, also, he was disappointed; for a storm arising, his fleet was driven out to sea, and after braving the element for about a month, he was glad to return to Dunkirk, with the loss of one ship and about four thousand men. De Foe was so fully satisfied of the loyalty of the Scots, that he had no apprehension of the result, should a landing be effected. He thought they had been sufficiently surfeited by the tyranny of the late times, to set at rest any doubt upon the subject; and he recommended that a reward should be issued for the apprehension of the Pretender. He adds, "Let but forty or fifty of the chief heads of clans and known Jacobites, be secured, and he may come when he pleases; he'll meet with but cold entertainment in the north of Britain, in spite of all the imaginary discontents which are suggested by us of that people, of whom we are very forward to be scandalously abusive."*

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* Review, iv. 670.

The loyalty of the Scots having been brought into question in England, upon account of their refusing the abjuration oath, De Foe, who, from a long residence amongst them, was well acquainted with their sentiments, pleads their defence in the following passage: "The scruples raised among the Scots-Presbyterians, against the abjuration, is not from any inclination they have to the Popish Pretender, or any aversion to the present government; but from such circumstances in it, as seem to shock their consciences, in that they may come into such a condition, as may make it impossible to keep it." * He therefore urges the government not to press it upon them, as a matter of policy. Grateful for the favours he had received from the Scots, and stimulated by his preference for their church establishment, he rejoices in every opportunity of doing honour to their nation. "I speak it without boasting," says he, "no man has concerned himself more than the author of this paper, to clear up the suspicions entertained among us in England, of the Presbyterians in Scotland joining with the French, and falling in with the Jacobite interest.†

In the midst of the general alarm, at the prospect of an invasion, De Foe published a short tract, intitled, "The union Proverb; viz:—

"If Skiddaw has a Cap,
Scruffell wots full well of that."

Setting forth, I. The necessity of uniting. II. The good consequences of uniting. III. The happy union of England and Scotland, in case of a foreign invasion. *Felix quem faciunt aliena Pericula cautum.* London, 1708." Advertised the 12th of March. In a prefatory address, "To the true British reader," De Foe gives the following explanation of the proverb from Mr. Ray. "Skiddaw and Scruffell, are two neighbouring hills, or high mountains; the one in Cumberland, in England; the other in Anandale, in Scotland: and if the former happens at any time to be capped with clouds or foggy mists, it will not be long ere rain, or the like, falls on the latter. It is also spoken of such who must expect to sympathize in their sufferings, by reason of the vicinity of their habitations." (A)

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* Review, v. 8.

† Ibid, i. 113.

Our author, thinking the proverb would bear a moral and political accommodation, applies it to the union of the two kingdoms. He says, "It is an excellent lecture of mutual friendship on either side of the Tweed. It ingenuously tells us, what we are to trust to in troublesome times, either of oppression at home, or of miscarriage, affliction, and misfortune, from abroad. It is, likewise, a most politick and prudent caution against foreign invasions. It does not only, and that pathetically too, set forth the necessity of the two kingdoms uniting heartily in all cases of disastrous disturbance, but also manifestly shews the happy consequences of such an entire union, both in point of government and traffick, as will be able to defeat the turbulent designs of our greatest enemies, either in time of peace or of war. This is the main stock on which our common hopes ought

(A) Fuller has the following account of this proverb: "There is an hye hill in Cumberland, called Skiddaw, and another answering thereto, Scruffel by name, in Anandale, in Scotland, and the people dwelling by, have an old rythme,

— If Skiddaw hath a cap,
Scruffel wotts full well of that.

Meaning that such the vicinity, (and as I may say, sympathy) betwixt these two hills, that if one be sick with a mist of clouds, the other soon after is sad on the like occasion. Thus none, seeing it now foul weather in Scotland, could expect it fair sunshine in England, but that she must share in the same miseries."—*Church Hist.* B. xi. p. 167.

The people of Somersetshire, in the vicinity of Yeovil, have a similar proverb:—

"When Michael's hill wears a cap,
Martock folks will have a drap."

to be grafted, of making Great Britain flourish and fructify, in spite of French blasts, or caterpillars." Our author advances many invincible arguments in favour of unanimity at this juncture. "It will be easily granted," says he, "that nothing can render a kingdom more powerful and safe, than a perfect union in itself; for to be all of one mind, and all of a piece, fortifies us like a bulwark, and strengthens us beyond breaking. But, on the other hand, take the two kingdoms single or separate, wrangling within their own bowels, rising up in judgment against their own peace and tranquillity, they are as unsafe again, and as weak as Sampson without his hair. Nothing but our own intestine divisions can invite the French king to set foot upon English or Scotch ground. We may then expect, with very good reason, to be fellow-sufferers upon the upshot of such invasion; according to the manifest truth, as well as politick insinuation of the proverb: 'That if Scruffel has a cap, Skiddaw knows full well of that.'" De Foe's tract was subjoined to the third edition of "Dyke's English Proverbs." London, 1713. 8vo.

The return our author met with for his labours, as a peace-maker, gave him but small encouragement in his office. "The author of this paper," says he, "is very unhappy in the difficulty he finds to make truth please; and though he has endeavoured to pursue it without respect to persons or parties, yet he cannot but regret the failure. I know," continues he, "this age hates to be instructed, and the saying of the elders to the blind man, is in the mouth of all self-wise people; *Dost thou teach us?* From this temper flows the constant want of manners, false construction, slander and ill-language with which your humble servant is always treated, instead of argument, by all those that are concerned in the guilt, and at any time pinched with the application. If I speak plain truth, then he is an impudent fellow, a bully, and an incendiary; if I speak soft things, then he is a flatterer, a parasite, &c. How many satires had I levelled at me, for a poem, called "A Hymn to Victory," only because it paid some respect to the Duke of Marlborough and the queen? Again, when I speak of the public affairs, if I do not rail as others do, I am a coward, and afraid of new prosecutions. If I speak against things, I am turning my tale, and going over to the enemy; the high-church has bought me off; and if I speak for the public affairs, then I am bribed, employed, and paid for it, and a mere mercenary. And what shall a poor author do in all this? I'll tell you what I do: I go on freely with telling you offensive truths, regarding no censures, and fearing no prosecutions; but at more hazard than some of you would run to save a father, I prompt you to see the things that belong to your peace. *Rehearsals* rave, *Observators* bully me, and the high-church vote me to the devil, every paper they read. And what is the matter? But because I tell you that in all your proceedings, high-flying extremes will be your destruction, and principles of peace can alone secure us. But, whether you will hear, or whether you will forbear, 'tis a sad truth, that all the mischiefs which have befallen any party of men amongst us, have been from their own precipitations."*

De Foe closed the *Fourth* volume of his *Review* with the 25th of March, 1708, when it had reached to 175 numbers; having commenced with the 11th of February, 1707. He added the following title: "A Review of the State of the British Nation. Vol. iv. London: printed in the year 1707;" a mistake for 1708. pp. 700. 4to. In a preface of two pages, he briefly states the matters discussed in the volume, and the reception they had met with. His zeal for the Union, induced him to devote a considerable portion of it to that subject, and it was a favorite one with the author; but the length to which he extended it, began to grow tiresome to his readers, " so eager are they for novelty, that when they are best pleased with a subject in its beginning, they will never have patience to hear it out." He apologizes for the errors and mistakes of the work, and invokes the candour of the reader, from the difficulties he had to contend with. " I must tell you," says he, " it is none of the easiest things in the world to write a paper to come out three times a week, and perhaps liable to more censure and ill-usage than other papers; and, at the same time, to reside, for sixteen months together, at almost four hundred miles distance from London, and sometimes more."

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* Review, v. 49, 50.

The volume opens with a poem upon the Union; because he always liked to begin his work cheerfully: " Nor let any man charge the dullness of my verse upon the coldness of the climate. I take it upon myself to acknowledge, that however dull the genius of the author, the inspirations of the north are every way equal to those of the south; and the muses are as inclined to harmony there, as in any other part of Britain." The subjects he discusses, refer, chiefly, to politics, foreign and domestic, to our internal policy, and to matters of trade. In bringing forward the Union, he takes considerable pains to reconcile the people of Scotland to that measure, combats the arguments of its opponents, and explains his own motives for appearing so zealously in the business. From the various charges brought against him, he defends himself with spirit, and retorts upon his adversaries with a manliness befitting conscious innocence. The improvement he makes of it, is, to exhort his countrymen to mutual forbearance, and the cultivation of a peaceable disposition, as the surest method of lessening our differences, and producing that peace which is always the effect of heart-felt union.

In treading the beaten path of politics, De Foe divides his attention between a variety of subjects, domestic and foreign. He discusses the management of the war; the strength, resources, and plans of the enemy; the policy of the Swedes and other neutral powers; the insurrection in Hungary, and the revolution in Naples; and, in short, the principal occurrences that were then taking place in Europe. His strictures upon continental politics, led to some observations upon the condition of Protestants in Catholic countries, and he discovers an anxious solicitude for their prosperity. The extension of the Protestant religion, and its emancipation from a state of persecution, were subjects in which he felt a lively interest; and knowing the apathy with which they are usually treated in the councils of princes, he endeavours to awaken the attention of the British cabinet to the subject. He proposes, that in any future treaty with France, an express stipulation should be made in behalf of the French Protestants, securing to them the full restoration of the Edict of Nantes. The cause of religion he considers to be consentaneous with that of liberty, and the extension of liberty as affording the finest field for the promotion of the Protestant religion. "It has been crushed by tyrants, and pulled down by encroaching power; but, like the first planting of the Christian religion, it has always forced its way in the world by the power of its doctrines, and the invisible influence of the victorious spirit of God. Give but Europe liberty, and the people under every government their full freedom to be instructed, and I am for venturing the Protestant religion upon the foundation of its own prevailing influence. The power of truth will and must prevail, and the minds of men will be enlightened and informed: there is nothing wanting to propagate and enlarge the gospel of truth, but liberty to the people to be instructed." *

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* Review, v. 324.

The cause of liberty, both civil and religious, was a favorite topic with our author, who, living in an age when men were beginning to burst their shackles, his exemplary perseverance in expounding the subject, and in exposing the wretched sophistry of those who were inimical to improvement, cannot be too highly estimated. Referring to some people upon the Continent, who were just emerging from despotism, he says, "Liberty is the darling of human nature. People may indeed be debauched into the snares and bondages of tyrannical government, and force may be exercised upon them for a time; but, in the end, the people always fly in the face of the oppressor, and the yoke of tyranny is but transient and variable. Oppression may indeed last for a season; but liberty always finds time and instruments to recommend herself to the world. However bigotted to their own customs, people have, first or last, taken arms for liberty, dethroned their most sacred tyrants, and laid the foot of law upon the neck of power." The following observations relating to France, if not prophetic, discover at least an intimate acquaintance with human nature. "Though by the accurate management of the French king, his subjects have been brought to succumb under their misery, which is become natural to them; yet, as they have never had a deliverance in view, they have not had an opportunity to consult flesh and blood, and put the helping hand to their own deliverance. But, when the chain is once knocked off, and the people are at liberty to act, I make no doubt but reason will return to its exercise, and nature will certainly dictate to them, as it has done to all the world, that people were not made to be the slaves of arbitrary tyrants; and that government, which was ordained of God, was not instituted to oppress, destroy, and subject mankind, but to establish justice, protect property, preserve liberty, and make people happy. Nor is it to be doubted but when the people of France shall see this, and a way open to defend it, they will not be so unlike the rest of mankind, as not to accept of liberty and improve it.'" *

In venturing upon the stormy ocean of English politics, De Foe had already counted the cost, and was prepared to encounter the bursting rage of opposing elements. With some of the news-writers he was at continual variance, and their attacks too often generated into personal abuse. This, he usually treated with the contempt of silence; but when once broken, he employed his stores of wit to expose their malice. Against those who were for exalting the monarchical principle, under the extravagant pretensions of divine, hereditary and indefeasible right, he carried on a perpetual warfare; opposing argument to sophistry, and common sense to usage and precedent. As the high clergy made themselves prominent in the propagation of these absurdities, they frequently fell under the lash of his censure; and he exposed their inconsistencies in vivid colours. Having but little hope of making an impression upon persons of their principles, he directed his arguments chiefly to such as were in danger of being misled by their sophistry. "For my part," says he, "I value the instructing and improving one honest ignorant person, more than the detecting and confronting a thousand knaves, and 'tis for the sake of these I write." To those envious and malicious persons, who reproached him as a tool in the hands of others, he says, "They are the tools of the Devil, who discourage and hinder any man who lays himself out for the public service; or who would lessen him upon that account. I scorn to be a tool to any man or party of men in the world; and as I have given testimony that I will not be so at an uncommon expence, I can go through it all again, rather than submit to any man's dictates, against either conscience or liberty." †

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* Review, iv. 323. † Ibid, 199, 200.

De Foe's antagonists amongst the news-writers, were nearly the same as last year. Dyer, he usually passed over with contempt, as a libeller not worth his notice. With Leslie he had some sharp contests upon the most important points of religion and government; and he found a new opponent in Ridpath, who succeeded Tutchin as editor of the "Observator." His disputes with various persons and parties, he sums up by observing, "In all my writings, as well as in this paper, it has been my endeavour, and ever shall be, I hope, to steer the middle way between all our extremes, and while I am applauding the lustre of moderation, to practise it myself."* As to those gentlemen who have made so free with my reputation, would they lay aside the party reasons from which they have judged, they might easily be convinced of the crime of their rash censure; and if they are not, they may see how little I regard their calumny."† From his own example, he takes occasion to drop the following remarks: "If I might give a short hint to an impartial writer, it should be to tell him his fate. If he resolves to venture upon the dangerous precipice of telling unbiassed truths, let him proclaim war with mankind *a la mode le pais de Pole,* neither to give nor take quarter. If he tells the crimes of great men, they fall upon him with the iron hands of the law; if he tells their virtues, when they have any, then the mob attacks him with slander. But, if he regards truth, let him expect martyrdom on both sides, and then he may go on fearless; and this is the course I take myself."‡

About this time, the public attention was attracted by a new set of enthusiasts, who mixed much knavery with their revelations. These were the French Prophets, who would have sunk much sooner into oblivion, had not their cause been supported by some persons of learning and character. The appearance of so strange a people was not likely to escape the observation of De Foe. That he had no opinion of their reveries, was a sentiment that he held in common with all persons of discernment; but he pitied their credulity, and was averse to their being treated with harshness. Writing concerning them in April, he says, "The case of our prophets, so far as I can see yet, for I would not wrong them, is this: that they have pretended to cure distempers, raise the dead, and have made a mighty noise of predicting what shall come to pass. But, that no miracle has hitherto been performed, is evident to all that dwell in London; and they cannot deny it. Fear not then to let them alone; for, if this counsel, or work, be of men, it will come to nought, and I wish all men would leave it there. They have put the whole weight of their cause upon their performance of an eminent miracle on the 29th of May, the raising a dead body from the grave; a body that must needs have partaken of corruption, having lain in the earth several months. And his memory above ground has an ill savour. I shall readily own with them, that if the God of life pleases to restore the soul to his abandoned carcase, according to their prediction, this thing is of Him; but I would caution my readers to hold them to the point, that, if it fails, they may own they were deluded.

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* Review, iv. 583. † Ibid, 587. ‡ Ibid, 593.

"I cannot but observe, that there seems to me a manifest token of their own diffidence in this operation; for, as the time approaches, finding more and more reason to doubt their pretensions, and foreseeing that a disappointment will at once bring their whole cause into contempt, they have laid a foundation for keeping the delusion on foot, and buoying up the credulity of their followers. Their champion, Sir Richard Bulkley, has advanced a new hypothesis; which if they can reconcile to the nature of prophetic inspiration, is most politickly brought forward. It is this: that it is not essential to constitute a true prophet, that what he prophecies should come to pass. The scripture tells us of prophecying lies; *They shall prophecy lies in my name.* Now, how a man can prophecy lies, otherwise than by prophecying what shall not come to pass, I know not. I am loth to offer any thing to these poor deluded people that is sharp or bitter. I sincerely regret their mistake, and pity them for blindly following what I own I take to be a deceit. They merit our compassion, not our scoffs; and therefore I am sorry to see them exposed to the contempt and indecencies of the rabble. If they are so weak as to appear at the grave of Dr. Emes, upon the day fixed for raising him, I think it concerns the civil magistrates to keep off the mob from offering any violence to them; a thing not very unlikely, and what may be expected to be very fatal, the day being a double holiday, when the streets are likely to be crowded."[*]

When the time had elapsed, without the performance of the miracle, De Foe takes occasion, from its failure, to exhort the deluded people to return to the sober exercise of their senses, and to be thankful to God that the snare is broken. "I do confess," says he, "the prevalency of this delusion has been surprising, and nothing has been more strange to me in it, than to see men of sense and good character fall in with it; men that have been all their lives religiously disposed, masters of reason, well read in the Scriptures, and sound in the principles of the Christian religion. That these men should have been thus deluded, seems to signify something more than if it had been the common enthusiasm of men weak in judgment, wild in notion, and easy to be imposed upon."[†] The principal patrons of these deluded men, besides Sir Richard Bulkley, were John Lacy, Esq.; Francis Moult, the chemist;

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[*] Review, v. 45.

Ibid, 132.

Nicolas Facio, a learned foreigner; and Francis Maximilian Misson, author of "A New Voyage to Italy." The prophets were attacked by various writers, and it was with a view to them that Shaftesbury penned his celebrated "Letter on Enthusiasm."

Malice had industriously reported, that the chief patrons of these delusions were Quakers and other Dissenters. De Foe, alive to its injustice, rejected the calumny with disdain. It does not appear that one sect had any reason to quarrel with another upon this account, as each had its proportion; and it would be unjust to charge the follies of mankind upon any class of opinions, especially when disowned by the persons maintaining them. Enthusiasts and madmen, as these pages amply testify, are not confined to one description of religionists; and he who so restricts them, has not only a very small portion of charity, but is deficient in his knowledge of mankind, and imperfectly acquainted with human nature.

In the early part of the spring, De Foe made a tour to Scotland, although for what purpose is unknown. He was there at the beginning of April, soon after the commitment of the Scottish prisoners, and paid a visit to Lord Belhaven, in the Castle of Edinburgh. Of the interest he took in the case of that unfortunate nobleman, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. De Foe's journey was probably upon some public account; but he did not stay long in Scotland, as we find him soon afterwards actively concerned in the parliamentary elections in his own country.

The first parliament of Great Britain was dissolved by proclamation the 15th of April; after which the country was busily occupied in the new elections. Upon this occasion, De Foe earnestly exhorts the electors not to choose High-flyers, "who are the declared enemies of the present constitution;" nor to betray their country for the sake of gratifying a sordid appetite. He remonstrates, in strong language, against the continued practice of bribery, which placed the liberties of the country at the mercy of those who have the longest purse. "He that will buy the country to choose him, will sell the country when he is chosen;" he therefore recommends them to elect their representatives free of expence; "for men who in conscience cannot bribe, will serve you impartially when chosen." (B) De Foe justly observes, that "railing at courts makes no patriot;" and that we are rather to estimate a man by his tried principles and known character.

During this busy season, De Foe took a journey into the country, to observe the state of political parties, and animate the friends of liberty wherever he could interpose his influence. He tells us, he was present himself at many of the elections, and observed, with shame and regret, the mode in which they were conducted. "I have not," says he, "so far sat still at the coffee-houses all this summer, as some of you have done, forming elections, telling noses, and casting up parties over a dish of coffee; but I have been among a great many of your electors myself. I have been an eye-witness to many of the most fulsome and loathsome stories I have told you; I have seen the possibility, aye, and too much the practice of men's voting implicitly, here for ale, there for influence, here again for parties, and there by persuasion. And God knows I speak it with regret for you all, and for your posterity, it is not an impossible thing to debauch this nation into a choice of thieves, knaves, devils, or

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(B) De Foe illustrates his remark by the following story:—"William Rufus having an Abbey to bestow, several of the clergy, knowing the king to be covetous, bid large sums for the place. The king, seeing a monk stand by who offered nothing, asked him, 'And what wilt thou give for this Abbey?' 'Indeed, not one penny,' says the monk, 'for it is against my conscience.' 'Then,' says the king, 'thou art the fittest man to be Abbot;' and so gave him the Abbey immediately."—*Review*, v. 117.

any thing, comparatively speaking, by the power of various intoxications. Having seen and heard so much of your follies, and knowing the consequences, I think myself justified before God and man to tell you, that so far as these practices are allowed by you, so far you are ruining your country, and selling your liberties to French and Jacobite tyranny. And, far be it from me to fear the resentment of any power, be it never so great, in a truth so plain and significant as this. I tell you again, if you have chosen high-flyers and Tories, abjuration-taking Jacobites, such as I have been describing, you have sold your nation, your birthright, your children to a pack of thieves, and sacrificed the liberty and religion of Britain to your sordid, debauched luxury and covetousness."* Our author exposes the inconsistency of some modern Whigs, in voting for Tory candidates, thus dividing their interests, and electing their own destroyers. "Oh, Whigs, Whigs, are these the politics your enemies charge you with? Catch a Tory voting for a Whig! Where can you find that fool to his party? The devils' votaries are always true to their master; and the children of this world wiser in their generation than the children of light."

From the temper of the times, De Foe had strong apprehensions of the ascendancy of Tory influence; and, in a strain of pointed irony, he lays open to the electors the consequences to be expected from such an event. "They can give away nothing," says he, "but our money; they can overthrow nothing but our constitution; they can over-set nothing but the succession and the Union; they can sell nothing but our liberties; and what then? We shall do as well as our neighbours, who never knew what those toys and trifles, of law, liberty, or property, meant; and yet they sing and dance, and are as merry as other people, though they have not so much gear. Who knows but this may be the *Shortest Way* to a general deliverance; for, as has been noted, nothing opens our eyes, in this age, like precipitations. Now, if you will but choose these honest sort of folk into parliament, they will confirm all your melancholy reflections; and the scheme of management being swallowed up to a due heighth, you shall soon come to a perfection of your endeavours—a Tory parliament, a Tory ministry, a Tory peace, a Tory successor, and *hey boys, up go we!* The revolution, the succession, the union, the toleration, shall all receive their due regulations, and this nation shall arrive at its immediate state of bliss—THE SHORTEST WAY." *

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* Review, v. 142.

Our author was far from being satisfied with the issue of the elections. The ground which the Whigs lost by the frequent return of these occasions, made him dissatisfied with the triennial bill; which, however advantageous upon some accounts, rendered the interval between them a constant season of intrigue and other mal-practices. In the present day, when so much has been said and written in favour of short parliaments, even to the rendering them annual, his opinion would be deemed unpopular. But, whatever objections may be started to the period now fixed by law, many will consider it sufficiently frequent to convulse the country, and repeat the scenes of riot and debauchery, which invariably occur at popular elections. Perhaps, a better mode of parliamentary reform would be, to restrain the overgrown influence of the proprietors of boroughs, by curtailing the elective franchise in some places, and extending it in others; also, by transferring the right of election from small places to large towns. The people would then have an increased interest in the protection of their rights, and consequently in the preservation of the state.

As a cordial friend to the existing government, which he considered to be identified with the cause of liberty, he was solicitous for its safety, and viewed with some anxiety the formidable array of parties that were conspiring its overthrow. Addressing the new Whigs, upon their inconsistency, in uniting with the enemies of their country, he says, "You are the men, that, without considering who or what is the cause of any miscarriage, charge all the mis-management of things upon the Whigs, right or wrong; and, assisting the Tory party to load them with innumerable forgeries, are backing the cry againt the ministry, not as men but as Whigs, and branding the party, not the persons of the guilty."* De Foe knew enough of party politics to be aware, that all the outcry against the ministers was to get them turned out, that the High-flyers might occupy their places. He intimates, that many engines were at work for its accomplishment, and cautions his countrymen not to be led astray by the arts that were employed to seduce them. "If our united interest," says he, "is little enough to keep this vigilant party out; if Court Whig, and Country Whig, and all sorts of Whigs, are few enough to make up the bank, and keep out the flood of high-flying invasions, then a caution to the friends of this settlement, to unite and keep together, and shun all dividing breaches, is both necessary and reasonable. And while I think it the duty of every man, that respects his country's interest, to assist in so good a work, I cannot but discharge my part by pressing it in the most earnest terms."†

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* Review, v. 95.

Amidst his labours in the cause of peace and liberty, the privacy of De Foe was often interrupted by threatening and abusive letters, most of them anonymous, or with fictitious names. In the month of May, he writes thus: "I received a letter, signed with my own name, a counterfeit no doubt; for I am fully satisfied no man owns the name justly, nor does any man covet to be called after the unfortunate. However, as I am not ashamed of the name, and hope I have no reason, I am content to be mocked at the pleasure of the party; but, let them take this by the way, that though I am not ashamed of the relation of any honest man, yet I should be heartily ashamed of being related to any man, however great, who had so far degenerated from justice and honour, as to own the principles in that letter, and who flies in the face of the late king, the present constitution, the queen, the succession, and all the united building of Britain's present government."* A little further, he observes, "We have cause to bless God, in this age, that we live under a government whose actions will bear the light, and is best pleased when its proceedings are placed in an impartial view. Heretofore, misrepresentations and false lights have been the practice of our courts, and the grievance of the subject; now, the case alters, and we find it the practice of the subject, and the grievance of the court."†

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* Review, v. 98. † Ibid, v. 418.

The first edition of a work, often reprinted, and sometimes attributed to De Foe, now made its appearance. It is intitled "A Discourse concerning Trouble of Mind, arising from sundry Temptations. Exemplified in the Remarkable Life of a Private Gentleman; with Reflexions thereon. In Three Parts. Intended to awaken the Presumptuous, convince the Sceptick, and encourage the Despondent. Left under his own Hand, to be communicated to the Publick after his Decease. London: printed by Joseph Downing, for J. Baker, &c. 1708." 8vo. pp. 304. A second edition of the work was published, three years afterwards, with the following title, by which it is now generally known: "An Account of some Remarkable Passages in the Life of a Private Gentleman; with Reflections thereon. In Three Parts. Relating to Trouble of Mind; some violent Temptations; and a Recovery: In order to awaken the Presumptuous, convince the Sceptick, and encourage the Despondent. Left under his own Hand, to be communicated to the Publick after his Decease. The Second Edition, with Additions from the Author's Original Papers. Lond. 1711." 8vo. pp. 334. The following attestation, by "an eminent physician of the College," is prefixed to this edition. "The author of this book was a person of an estate, generous and charitable, and could be under no temptation to use any base or by-ends whatever, to usher into the world this religious treatise. But it may be objected, that the most serious persons have sometimes gone melancholy, and fallen into diseases of the brain, productive of strange deliriums, errors, and impositions, which they themselves have in time discovered and acknowledged. To this I answer, partly what I know myself, by an acquaintance of some years standing, and also what has been communicated to me by others, of a much longer conversation with the author, whose veracity I dare confide in. I knew him to be a person of a very sane and healthful constitution, of great activity, both of body and mind, free and pleasant in his conversation, without the least moroseness or affectation. His very looks expressed a cheerful disposition. He was a diligent searcher after substantial truths; so far from being carried away by the insinuations of enthusiasts, new lights, or mystical notions, that he has confuted them. He held constant communion with the church of England. His education was liberal amongst learned men, in a celebrated academy abroad, where he studied philosophy, and the art of medicine; a faculty censured rather for too much infidelity, than for being subject to enthusiam. I shall add no more but this, that this second edition comes out with some additions, which I believe to be taken out of the author's own original papers; and that the truth of these extraordinary relations is unquestionable. F. S." Whether De Foe had any share in handing these papers to the world, may be questioned, as there is nothing but common report to warrant the supposition. A copy of the work, in the possession of the present writer, ascribes it to a Dr. Woodcock. The late Dr. Hamilton announced it to be the experience of Sir William Hamilton, physician to Queen Anne.

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* Review, v. 65. † Ibid, 73.

CHAPTER II.

De Foe takes another Journey to Scotland.—He Visits Lord Belhaven in Prison.—His Conversation with that Nobleman.—And Honourable Testimony to his Character.—Lord Belhaven goes to London.—And Dies.—Some Account of Him.—Death of Prince George of Denmark.—De Foe's Notice of his Character.—Political Changes.—Proceedings of the Scottish Episcopalians.—De Foe's Account of their Conduct and Treatment.—Announces a Work upon the Subject.—The Scotch Narrative.—De Foe Replies to it.—His Remarks upon Leslie.—He Publishes his "History of the Union."—Reception of the Work.—His Dedication to the Queen.—Nature and Character of his Work.—Other Editions of it.—Gives rise to a Paper Contest with Mr. Clark.—Controversy concerning the Sacramental Test revived.—Irish Presbyterians Petition for its Removal.—Swift opposes them in a Pamphlet.—His allusion to De Foe.—Mr. Humphrey censured by Parliament for Writing against the Test.—De Foe predicts its Removal.

1708.

In the month of June, De Foe made another journey to Scotland, being employed upon a secret mission, the object of which remains unknown. The silence he observes upon such occasions, is creditable to his prudence and judgment; and we may easily trust him that it involved nothing that was dishonourable, or we should probably have heard of it from his enemies. He continued several months in the north, and seems to have given full satisfaction to his employers. For this he appealed long afterwards to the Duke of Marlborough.

These repeated visits to Scotland, we may easily collect, were not disagreeable to De Foe, who had contracted an affection for the Scots, as well from gratitude for favours received, as from a zealous attachment to their religion. To the piety and hospitality of their nation, he is always proud to do honour; and the only return he could offer for their civilities, was to celebrate their virtues, and defend them from the reproaches of their enemies. As a public advocate, when their religion or their liberties were attacked, the Scots, perhaps, had not a more zealous and sincere friend amongst the English. With an active mind, and in a country so congenial to his taste and opinions, he was incessantly employed in gathering stores of information, concerning its localities, its capabilities for improvement, and the genius of the people; subjects that had hitherto engaged but a small share of attention in the sister kingdom. In his progress through different parts of the country, he had an opportunity of increasing the number of his acquaintances; and he made many careful observations, which furnished him with topics for discussion in his *Review*, through which he conveyed much useful information to the public.

The death of Lord BELHAVEN, an unfortunate Scotch nobleman, which happened soon after De Foe's arrival at Edinburgh, afforded an opportunity of exemplifying the generosity of his character towards a political opponent, who died under the frowns of the government. He had been committed with him in the affair of the Union; but duly appreciating his private virtues, was willing to do them justice, upon the score of friendship. The narrative is interesting, not only as an ample vindication of his lordship, but as exhibiting great nobleness of character, both in the subject and in the narrator.

Lord Belhaven had been one of the most active opponents of the Union, acting, no doubt, from conscientious motives. This, coupled perhaps with other circumstances, occasioned him to be suspected of disaffection to the government, and he was watched with a jealous eye. When the Pretender appeared upon the coast of Scotland, in the spring of the year, several persons who were known to be in his interest, were ordered to be apprehended; as were others upon bare suspicion. In the latter class was Lord Belhaven, who was in confinement when De Foe arrived in Scotland. Notwithstanding their former differences, they had corresponded together; and their intercourse seems to have been governed by mutual esteem. "It is easy for men of honour," says De Foe, "to distinguish between public and personal differences; and I count it my honour to say, that though in debating the Union, I never slackened my hand in opposing his lordship, yet he knew how to differ in opinion without personal resentment, and to allow others to differ from him. I had the honour to converse with him both by letter and by word of mouth; and as all the remains of that debate have vanished, I think it a debt due to his memory, to set his character right in the eyes of good men, now it has pleased God to take him away, before he had opportunity to do it, as he purposed, himself.

"In my last progress to Scotland, I arrived at Edinburgh a few days after his lordship was confined in the castle, whither I went to wait on him. I found him indeed very much concerned at his confinement, and the more so, to use his lordship's own expression, that he was numbered with transgressors; that he should be suspected in a cause he had always abhorred, had early appeared against, and had been formerly put in the same prison for opposing. In one of his letters to me, before I came to Scotland, his lordship has this expression: "'Tis now twenty-seven years since I had the honour to be prisoner in this very place, for opposing a Popish successor, in the parliament of 1681, when the successor himself was upon the throne, representing his brother." "This," adds De Foe, "made it appear very hard to his lordship, to be mixed with a sort of people he had always appeared against, and stuck a little too close to him. When I waited upon his lordship in the castle of Edinburgh, he broke out in some warm complaints upon this very head; recited to me how early he had appeared in Scotland against the tyranny of Popish power, even when other people were afraid to do it; how zealous he had been for the settlement of the Church of Scotland; how instrumental in the Revolution; how, both in and out of Parliament, in public and private, he had always adhered to the Presbyterian interest; had opposed tyranny and King James, both in the court and in the field; had assisted to depose him, and keep him out at the hazard of his life, having commanded the cavalry at the battle of Gilly-cranky; so that it was very hard to single him out as suspected of joining with those he had so avowedly appeared against.

"I endeavoured to calm his lordship's spirit upon that head; told him it was his misfortune to have been a professed opposer of the Union, in the management of which all the party that now attempted our liberties unhappily joined; and that his lordship appearing among them, suffered for being found in bad company; but that even the government itself was forward to hope his lordship was clear of any guilt in it. I endeavoured to reconcile him to the present precaution the government was obliged to take for immediate security, in which, though innocent persons might suffer privations, yet none but the guilty would be eventually punished. His lordship readily acknowledged the necessity, prudence, and justice of securing suspected persons, and only regretted that he was numbered amongst them. In the letter to me before quoted, he says, 'I am here in custody with three Papists, five non-jurants, and one who may be reckoned worse than any of the others, because of his treachery in King William's service. I meet with the same measure and the same treatment, and am the only person who, having been always faithful to the present government, am to have my fame and reputation blasted, by being numbered amongst the transgressors.' I hint this," continues our author, "on two accounts: First, to testify in his lordship's name, and from his own mouth, that he did not at all reflect upon the government for the precaution used in taking up the heads of the Jacobite party; but that he thought the experience of his behaviour for twenty years might have freed him from suspicion, or at least, have procured him some distinction. Therefore, in the foregoing letter, he asks, 'How then comes the Lord Belhaven to be secured, who never could be thought of in any of these; (Papists, Nonjurors, &c.) who was all the winter preceding the Revolution, in Holland, with the Prince of Orange; was with the first in the Revolution, and one of the first entrusted with military command after it, being especially honoured with the command of the horse against the Viscount Dundee; who has had the honour to serve her majesty and her royal predecessor in Council, in the Treasury, in the Exchequer, and in several other offices; who had the honour not only to be the taker, but in the number of the makers of such oaths and acts from time to time, as were judged necessary for the security of the present settlement, and not the least forward to make them. Where, then, (says his lordship) does the suspicion lie?'

"I endeavoured to comfort him with the news of his going to England, which his lordship at first much regretted; but when he came to examine into it, was better satisfied. I reminded him of the arbitrary proceedings in his own country in cases of mere suspicion, and how by the Union he enjoyed the privilege of an English nobleman, who could be tried only by his peers. He readily acknowledged he thought the life of a nobleman more secure now than before, but was extremely solicitous as to the treatment he should meet with in England. I had the honour to assure his lordship, both from a conviction of his innocence, and of her majesty's unbiassed justice, that he would meet with all the clemency and goodness which her majesty shewed to all her innocent subjects without distinction, and that he would be immediately admitted to bail. This somewhat allayed his concern, which had been chiefly raised from reports of the prisoners being committed to the Tower during the Queen's pleasure, without examination or trial, by virtue of the Act of Parliament. His lordship regretted exceedingly the dissolution of the council in Scotland, from whom a proper distinction of persons might have been expected, and as better capable of judging than an administration at a distance.

"At his departure from Edinburgh, I waited on his lordship to wish him a good journey, and found him much better reconciled to it than before, depending upon his innocence being made out to the satisfaction of the government; and he particularly made it his request, I had rather said, he laid his commands on me, that, as I had advanced to the world that the Presbyterians in Scotland would not join with a Popish invader, I would, as I had opportunity, clear his reputation, he being the only Presbyterian charged therewith, from the reproaches that might be offered on that account. And, his lordship concluded another letter to me on that head, in the following manner: 'Though I am able to answer all my accusers, and know that no man can lay any thing to my charge; yet, as many will hear of my accusation that will not hear of my exoneration, I should be content you would, as occasion offers, say what you think proper and true for my personal vindication.'

"I had not hitherto answered this request," continues De Foe, "because I thought his lordship would be sufficiently vindicated in the just and fair discharge he would have from the government, no one coming in to offer the least accusation against him; and his lordship being also the best judge of the methods to make his own defence public. But since it has pleased God to summon him to another world, before his reputation, in the eyes of some, might be entirely cleared up, I thought myself obliged so much the more to mention his lordship, and to let the world know so much of his character.

"He was a person of a noble disposition; of sense, manners, and virtue; of honesty, sobriety, and religion; of courage, learning and loyalty. Besides being master of a great many good qualifications, he had an excellent temper, goodness of disposition, and clearness of judgment above most men. He had an easy conception, a beauty of thought, and a readiness of expression. In his whole life he shewed himself zealous for the Protestant religion, the prosperity of his country, and the suppression of tyranny; and except in the affair of the Union, to which he was entirely averse, and which was the only occasion of his being suspected by the government, his whole life does not shew one action but what would denominate him a true friend to the present government. Yet, even in this case, he confined himself to what was legal, and acquiesced in it when it was concluded. 'While the Union was making (says he) I opposed it, and struggled with it, as I thought it my duty; but now it is passed I can do more, and shall be easie.' He was only unhappy in being suspected by the government, for he had a perfect loyalty to the Queen, a steady attachment to the Revolution, and a zealous heart for the Protestant religion."*

Lord Belhaven was conveyed to London, with other prisoners of distinction, on the 14th of June; and being examined before the privy-council, where no information was laid against him, he was admitted to bail, the 17th. But he did not live long to enjoy his liberty, dying suddenly after dinner, upon the 21st of the same month, in the 52d year of his age. His disorder is said to have been an inflammation of the brain; but others affirm, that he died of indignation and grief at the political extinction of his country. (c)

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* Review, v. 177—180.

Prince George of Denmark, consort to Queen Anne, dying upon the 28th of October, our author takes the following notice of the event. "Death has made a very deep incision in the public tranquillity, in the person of the Prince of Denmark. His royal highness was a great and good man, a friend to England and her interest, and true and hearty in the cause of liberty. Whoever has any sense of our past hazards, cannot but remember how sincerely he behaved himself, when the whole interest of the court ran counter to our civil and religious rights; how steadily he adhered to the Protestant interest, how faithfully he preserved his principles, and how at last he abandoned the party, chosing to take his fate with the friends of liberty, and to stand or fall by the laws, religion, and privileges of this nation. What encouragement his example at that time gave to the honest design of recovering our liberties, what a blow it was to the hopes and projects of Popery, how it astonished and confused the councils of our enemies, ought to be remembered with gratitude, by all who love the days of liberty. Since the Revolution, with what firmness the prince has always pursued the true interest of England, is known to the whole nation; how he ventured his person in the field, and going over to Ireland with King William, was at the battle of the Boyne, where he exposed himself to the greatest dangers; charging at the head of the left wing of the horse, where the most obstinate resistance of the enemy was made. This I need not mention, but to acquaint those people that would notice his not appearing in the war, which his tenderness for the queen, and his own health prevented; yet, whenever his highness thought fit to appear in arms, he wanted neither bravery nor experience.

(c) Sir John Hamilton of Biel, second Lord Belhaven, was a branch of the noble family of Hamilton, and succeeded to the title upon the death of his grandfather, in 1679. He was the only peer who opposed the Act of Succession in Scotland, when the Duke of York was present; for which he was sent prisoner to the Castle of Edinburgh, in 1681. He was a great promoter of the revolution; and having raised a troop of horse, did considerable service against the Highlanders. Upon the accession of William and Mary, he was appointed one of the privy-council, and of the Exchequer for Scotland; and he exerted himself for the restoration of the Presbyterian church, and the establishment of the South African company. In the Parliament of 1700, he zealously promoted the Act to Prevent the Growth of Popery, the Habeas Corpus Act, and other national objects; and in the following year, he went abroad with his two sons. In 1704, he exerted himself in Parliament to procure the settlement of the Protestant succession with limitations, in Scotland, and soon afterwards was made one of the Lords of the Treasury; but he was displaced in the following year, upon the re-modelling of the ministry. When the Act of Union was brought forward in 1706, he became one of its most strenuous opponents, and made an eloquent speech in Parliament, which attracted the attention of the whole house. With many tears and groans, and with impressive imagery, he complained heavily of the injuries inflicted upon his nation; and in moving terms, conjured the descendants of its ancient heroes to avert the blow that was now prepared for it. Although his speech was delivered in rough and unpolished language, yet he reasoned so closely and distinctly, that it was remembered in Scotland long afterwards; and he left behind him the character, not only of a great orator, but also of a true prophet, amongst his countrymen. Having an excellent memory, he employed it in his speeches by copious citations from history, in support of what he had advanced; deriving parallels between past and present times. He was an accomplished gentleman in most kinds of learning, well acquainted with the constitution of his country, dexterous in choosing the proper seasons and means of managing a debate, and a very useful as well as forward member of a party. He was of a good stature, well set, of a healthy constitution, black complexion, and graceful manly presence. He had a quick conception, with a ready masculine expression; and he had the merit of being steady in his principles, both in politics and religion. Lockhart and Mackay both speak of him in disparaging terms; but there is reason to believe the foregoing account of him to be the most accurate.

"If I had a design to run through the character of the prince, I would next observe, upon the excellency of his temper, the calmness of his passions, and the sedateness of his judgment, which commanded respect from the whole nation, in a manner peculiar to himself; so that every party, however jarring or opposite, paid him their homage, although nothing was more averse to his temper, than the divisions which unhappily agitate the nation. Nor can it be doubted, that his highness derived peculiar satisfaction from his not interfering in public affairs, more than his exalted station obliged him; since he saw it was impossible to do so without committing himself to a party, which he was always averse to. He sincerely lamented our divisions, but never encouraged or approved them. By his steady conduct, joined with a general courtesy to all sorts of people, he acquired the esteem and love of all parties, and that, more than any person of his degree that ever went before him. I need not note, how next to impossible it is in this divided nation, for the most consummate prudence to steer through the variety of interests, and gain an universal good opinion; or, indeed, to avoid universal censure. How the prince attained that great point, I shall not attempt to examine; but this, I think, ought to be recorded to posterity, that one man in Britain was found, of whom no man spoke evil: *and this was he!*"*

The prince seems to have been as good a husband as he was a man, and during the twenty-five years that he had lived with the queen, presented a noble example of conjugal attachment. He had been for many years afflicted with an asthma, and about three months before his death, a dropsical humour seized his legs and other parts of his body, attended with a violent cough and spitting of blood. During his illness, the queen was in frequent attendance, soothing him with many tender offices; and she mourned for the loss of him with sincere affection. He died in his 56th year. Although the prince never took a decided part in politics, yet he was a great loss to the ministry, being a firm friend to Marlborough, whose interest at court now began to decline. Having a great influence with the queen, his interest, had he lived, might, perhaps, have been exerted in counteracting the intrigues of Harley, which, not long afterwards, occasioned the downfal of the ministry. His post, as Lord High Admiral, was conferred upon the Earl of Pembroke, and the vacant government of Ireland was bestowed upon Earl Wharton. Lord Somers was, at the same time, appointed President of the council; and some other changes were made in favour of the Whigs.

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* Review, v. 409, 10.

Whilst De Foe was in Scotland, he had ample opportunities for becoming acquainted with the state of religious parties in that part of the kingdom; and the case of the episcopal Dissenters occupying much of the public attention, he discussed the subject at large in his *Reviews.* After tracing the origin of that party, its struggles for power, and the various acts of the government to keep it in subjection, he proceeds to consider the merits of the complaints that were then urged against the Presbyterian church.

From the time of the queen's accession, the episcopalians, who were mostly Jacobites, presuming upon the royal patronage, began to take greater liberties, and were supported by the Tories in England. They now multiplied their meeting-houses; conformed their worship more entirely to the English church; and in some places, particularly in the north, intruded by force into the vacant churches. De Foe forbears to relate the disorders committed upon these occasions; but thought it necessary to glance at them for the purpose of rebutting the cry of persecution that was raised against the church of Scotland. He tells us, that the insolence of the party was such, that the general assembly found it necessary to lay the case before her majesty, who issued orders to restrain and prevent the encroachments complained of. Notwithstanding the discouragement of the government, the Jacobites continued their meetings without any considerable interruption, until news arrived of the French invasion. It was then deemed proper to look more narrowly into their conduct, and a proclamation was issued for the suppression of such meetings as were served by ministers who had not qualified by taking the oaths. As soon as the noise of the invasion was over, the Jacobite clergy re-entered their former places, and proceeded to exercise their functions as usual. Although such a proceeding was decidedly illegal, the magistrates exercised their power with great lenity, until they had strict orders from the queen to suppress them. In spite of this, some of the ministers continued to preach publickly as usual, for which they became amenable to the laws; and when they were put in execution, they charged the Scottish establishment with persecution.

De Foe, who was well-acquainted with all the bearings of their case, and discriminated them with great nicety, observes, "Any body that knows with what strictness the Church of England herself has forbad and restrained the Jacobite conventicles in England, might wonder at this second attempt. Notwithstanding, the magistrates of Edinburgh, before whom this matter lays, forebore to proceed against them in a judicial way; much less the Church, although they had frequent occasions, especially in the country, to complain of ill-treatment from them. But the government, finding these assemblies injurious to the settlement, and dangerous to the public peace, the magistrates were directed to put a stop to them." Some of the ministers were cited before the magistrates, and, upon their refusing the oaths, were placed in confinement. De Foe further observes, "That, notwithstanding, according to the laws of Scotland, they were committed to prison, and might have been, by the same laws, continued there until they gave security to forbear their meetings, or would take the oaths required by law, yet the magistrates of Edinburgh have been so gentle in the execution of their power, and so tender to the persons imprisoned, that they have already let them all out."

Inimical as he was to the principles of the Jacobites, De Foe rejoiced in the lenity shown them by the civil authorities. "I must confess," says he, "I do not at all grudge them their liberty, let the terms be never so easy to them. I am not shy in giving it as my opinion, and to which my practice shall, I hope, on all occasions correspond, that I am against all coercives in matters merely religious; and though it is alleged that this is a civil, not a religious affair, yet I shall not offer it as my opinion, that oaths are any security to a government, or of any signification at all, except it be to bind honest men, and let villains go free." He adds, "Be it then that these men are pursued for preaching, or not swearing; if they make either matter of conscience, and show themselves to be men of conscience in every thing else, I cannot but say, they should be the last sort of Jacobites I would give disturbance to. And I am very glad to have the occasion to tell the world, that let these men be what they will, the government has been very easy to them. But let such as cry out of persecution in this case know, that, as Jacobites, by the laws and customs of England, and by the known practice of the English church, whatsoever they may have obtained of lenity in Scotland, from the *persecuting* Presbyterians, they would have had no such favours in England; and, on this account, no Englishman ought to complain of persecution in Scotland." *

In reference to this subject, De Foe announced the following work in his *Review,* and often repeated the advertisement; but whether it was ever published, the present writer is unable to say. Perhaps De Foe meant no more than to try the effect of irony upon a class of men, who went the most absurd lengths in raising the cry of persecution against the Scottish church. "Speedily will be published, An Historical Account of the bitter Sufferings, and the melancholy circumstances of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, under the barbarous Usage, and bloody Persecution, of the Presbyterian Church Government. With an Essay on the Nature and Necessity of a Toleration in the North of Britain." De Foe asserts it to be false in fact, that the episcopal clergy were at all persecuted by the Church of Scotland; and that the charge was only brought forward by high-churchmen, in order to brand the Presbyterians, and excite a popular feeling against them. He has given a particular account of the proceedings against some of these Non-jurant clergy, in order to shew that they were not molested for their ecclesiastical tenets, but solely for their disaffection to the civil constitution.

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* Review, v. 287, 8.

The episcopal clergy made known their grievances to the world, in a work intitled "A Narrative of the late Treatment of the Episcopal Ministers within the City of Edinburgh, since March 1708, until their Imprisonment July thereafter, Lond. 1708." 4to. The object of the writer, who was a Non-juror, is to prefer the charges of injustice and cruelty against the Presbyterians, in prosecuting them for a non-compliance with the laws; and he loads their establishment with many unwarrantable terms of reproach. A work, containing so much mis-representation, was not likely to pass unnoticed by De Foe. He accordingly replied to it in "The Scots' Narrative Examined; or the Case of the Episcopal Ministers in Scotland stated, and the late Treatment of them in the city of Edinburgh enquired into. With a brief Examination into the Reasonableness of the grievous Complaint of Persecution in Scotland, and a Defence of the Magistrates of Edinburgh, in their Proceedings there. Being some Remarks on a late Pamphlet, intitled '*A Narrative of the late Treatment of the Episcopal Ministers within the City of Edinburgh,' &c.* London: printed in the year 1709." 4to. pp. 41. Postscript x. This work appears to contain a faithful account of the matters referred to in the title. The writer goes over the various points of accusation brought forward by the Jacobite clergy, which he refutes with temper; and he exposes their falsehood by an appeal to facts. Towards the close, he inserts a narrative of the whole proceedings before the magistrates, attested by the town-clerk of Edinburgh; and he concludes with a reproof to the men who kept alive these animosities.

De Foe had ample reason to remonstrate against the artifice of the Jacobite clergy; for Leslie pursued the same course in his "Rehearsals," as his Non-juring brethren in Scotland, bringing forward many unfounded charges, in a style that united coarseness with acrimony. In reply to this writer, De Foe says, "Since the noise is so great against the Presbyterians, it puts a necessity upon me to examine a little what treatment they received from the other party while they were under the cruel hands of an abjured prelacy, when some of the very people now crying out of persecution, were their task-masters. In this search, we shall readily see on which side the humanity lies, what spirits those people were of when uppermost, what the queen would have to expect from them, what the Church of Scotland, and what reason there is to suppress both their civil and ecclesiastical usurpation. And let not my adversary be angry at the word, for I shall be ready to prove against him, that Scots' prelacy, whenever it shall in God's judgment to plague Scotland, be let loose there, will be mere usurpation, and ever was so; and this far easier than he, or all the men of his opinion in Europe, can prove a direct apostolical ordination of ministers from the keys of blessed St. Peter." In transferring the charge of persecution from the Presbyterians to their adversaries, our author says, "I foresee I shall be forced to go back to the blessed restoration of prelatic tyranny in Scotland, with the restoration of the king; and if it happens a little plainly to appear how civil and ecclesiastical tyranny grew up together, went hand in hand, and assisted each other to ruin that poor nation, I cannot help it."*

As soon as the Union with Scotland was completed, De Foe announced his intention of presenting the world with a complete history of that transaction. Various engagements prevented him from completing his design until the present year, when the first edition was published in Scotland, with the following title:—"The History of the Union of Great Britain. Edinburgh: printed by the Heirs and Successors of Andrew Anderson, Printer to the Queen's most excellent Majesty, *Anno Dom.* 1709." Folio, pp. 685. Pref. xxxii. Of the contents of the work bearing this brief title, De Foe gives a larger account in his advertisements. (D)

At its first appearance, it does not appear to have attracted that notice which might have been expected from so important a publication. It had many difficulties to encounter from the hostility of political parties; and being a work of considerable bulk, the sale could not be expected to be very rapid. Time, however, forced its way into public notice, and obtained for it a permanent reputation. In the preface, he thus states the nature of the performance, and the opposition it had to contend with. "In writing a history of the Union, it could not be reasonably expected that I should go any further than the finishing, ratifying, and exchanging the treaty in the respective parliaments of the two nations to be united; and this I think I have finished in the following sheets. However, since the work has laid longer in the press than I at first expected, and some remarkable things have in consequence of, and very much depending upon, the Union, happened since, I could not satisfy myself without giving a short abridgment of the state of things between the time of finishing the Treaty, and the publication of this work; which, though it be rather a kind of summary recapitulation of things, than a historical narrative, may yet be equally profitable to him that shall inquire into the affairs of the United Kingdom at that time. As to the work itself, I shall say nothing, but leave it to the charity of the world, which in this age indeed runs very low. It has many difficulties in its way, many factions and parties to please, and must be censured by some. I have endeavoured to speak truth and relate fact impartially, in all that is matter of history. As to my own observations, they are but my opinions, and they must abide the fiercest attacks of parties, as the passions and interests of men guide them; and I am perfectly unconcerned at the event."

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* Review, v. 486.

(D) In the *Review* for March 29, 1707, appears the following advertisement:—"Preparing for the press, and great part of it finished, A Compleat History of the Union. The work will contain about 250 sheets in folio, to be finished in six months after the Union: Being an account of the fruitless Attempts made in former times for uniting these kingdoms. With a particular Account of all the Transactions of the present Treaty, the many contrivances and vigorous opposition against it, both in England and Scotland, whether within the Parliament or without. Extracted out of the original Records, Registers, Journals, and other Authorities, in both Kingdoms. With an Appendix, containing an Abridgement of all the alterations made in the Laws, Trade, Customs, and Constitution of both Kingdoms by the Union. By the Author of 'The True-Born-Englishman.' Proposals for printing the said book by subscription will be published in a few days; and, in the meantime, subscriptions are taken in at John Matthews, printer hereof. The price is 20*s.* in quires; 5*s.* to be paid down."

De Foe prefixed two dedications to his work; one to the queen, another to the Duke of Queensbury, secretary of state for Scotland. In such complimentary effusions he particularly excelled. "Dryden and his contemporaries," observes Mr. Chalmers, "had brought dedications into disgrace by the fulsomeness of their flattery and the servility of their style. The dedications of the present day, have absurdly run into the contrary extreme. But the writers who are permitted to dedicate their works to royal patrons, ought to peruse De Foe's dedicatory epistles to King William and Queen Anne; wherein they will find dignity of sentiment and delicacy of praise, conveyed in language, at once elegant and instructive. His dedications to the History of the Union of England and Scotland, would alone justify this remark."* In that to the Queen, he has the following allusion to his concern in the Union: "The humble author of these sheets, having amidst a throng of disasters and sorrows been honoured by your Majesty in being rendered serviceable to this great transaction, and having passed through all the hazards, tumults and disorders of that critical time, in his humble endeavours to forward the glorious design of your Majesty, thinks himself doubly rewarded in having the honour to lay this account at your Majesty's feet."

Introductory to his main design, De Foe gives a brief account of the state of affairs in both kingdoms, previously to the treaty; which leads to some interesting discussions upon a variety of transactions that tended to keep alive the animosities between the two kingdoms. The delicacy with which he discusses these events does credit to his discernment, which is no less conspicuous in his manner of unfolding them. His history of the intrigues that preceded the Union, will always be read with interest; whilst his narrative of the treaty must continue to furnish the basis for every succeeding account of that interesting portion of history. The minuteness in which he indulges is far from wearying; and his observations upon the various events as they are detailed, discover no less the keenness of his perceptions, than the accuracy of his judgment. In estimating the merits of the work, Mr. Chalmers says, " The minuteness with which he describes what he saw and heard on the turbulent stage, where he acted a conspicuous part, is extremely interesting to us, who wish to know what actually passed, however this circumstantiality may have disgusted contemporaneous readers. History is chiefly valuable as it transmits a faithful copy of the *manners* and *sentiments* of every age. This narrative of De Foe is a Drama, in which he introduces the highest peers and the lowest peasants, speaking and acting, according as they were each actuated by their characteristic passions; and while the man of taste is amused by his *manner*, the man of business may draw instruction from the *documents*, which are appended to the end, and interspersed in every page. This publication had alone preserved his name, had his Crusoe pleased us less."* To this may be added the testimony of a well-known living writer. " De Foe's Union between England and Scotland," says Mr. Dibdin, " first published in 1709, and more recently with valuable additions by Mr. George Chalmers, is really a performance to place the author among the soundest historians of the day." †

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* History of the Union, xxiv. 4to ed.

The " History of the Union," was re-printed in London, in 1712, but probably without the concurrence of the author, as we find him immediately afterwards advertising the remaining copies of his Scotch edition. It is remarkable, however, that both works are repeatedly advertised in the *Review*." (E) A third editition, handsomely printed in

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* Life of De Foe, p. 35. † Library Companion, p. 607.

(E) In the *Review* for February 28, 1712, is the following advertisement, which is often repeated :—" A Collection of Original Papers and Material Transactions concerning the late great Affair of the Union between England and Scotland. Also; an exact Journal of the Proceedings of the Treaty, as well at London as in Edinburgh. Wherein the Privileges of the quarto, was published by Mr. Stockdale in 1786, with a copious index, and a portrait of the author by Skelton. It is, however, not a likeness of De Foe, but of Ward the poet, being copied from an engraving of him by Sherwin; but it has often passed as the portrait of De Foe. It is known by the following lines annexed to the print:

> "Here you may see an honest face,
> Armed against envy and disgrace;
> Who lives respected still, in spite
> Of those that punish them that write."

To this edition of De Foe's work, a life of him was prefixed by Mr. Chalmers. This was the first attempt to do justice to his merits, as well as to collect the scattered incidents of his life; and being an acceptable piece of biography, it was re-printed in octavo, with considerable enlargements, in 1790. Shortly after the re-publication of De Foe's work, John Lewis De Lolme, a learned advocate at Geneva, and known in this country by his "Essay on the Constitution of England," composed a work upon the same subject, which is sometimes annexed to De Foe's "History." It is intitled "An Essay, containing a few Strictures on the Union of Scotland with England; and on the present Situation of Ireland. Being an Introduction to De Foe's History of the Union. By J. L. De Lolme.

Presbyterian Kirk, and the Case of Toleration of Episcopal Dissenters there, are very clearly stated. In Five Parts. Faithfully collected from the Records and Registers; by a Person concerned in the said Treaty, and present in both kingdoms at the time of its transacting. London: printed for J. Knapton, at the Crown in St. Paul's Church Yard; N. Cliff, at the Bible and Three Crowns near Mercer's Chapel; and J. Baker, at the Black Boy in Paternoster Row. 1712." In the *Review*, for March 11, 1712, is the following Advertisement:—"Just published, The History of the Union; in Folio: Dedicated to her Majesty. Printed in Edinburgh, and never yet published in London; written by the Author of the *Review*, and sold only by Mr. John Baker, at the Black Boy in Paternoster Row; and by Mr. Matthews, printer, in Little Britain, and at no other place."

Adv. London: printed for John Stockdale. 1787." 4to. pp. 95.

The publication of the foregoing work, gave rise to a paper contest between De Foe and Mr. James Clark, minister of the Town church, Glasgow. This gentleman is alluded to in the "History of the Union," as having uttered some intemperate words in a sermon, calculated to promote tumults; and they were the more ominous as a riot took place immediately afterwards in Glasgow. De Foe is careful to exonerate him from any evil intention, and attributes his hasty expressions to a mistaken zeal. Some injudicious friend, however, printed a sheet in his defence, called, "A Paper concerning Daniel De Foe. Edin. 1708." 4to. To the trifling criticisms of this writer, our author rejoined, in "An Answer to a Paper concerning Mr. De Foe, against the History of the Union. Edin. 1708." 4to. This was also a single sheet. Mr. Clark, thinking his reputation not sufficiently vindicated, published, soon afterwards, "A Just Reprimand to Daniel De Foe. In a Letter to a Gentleman in South-Britain. Edin. 1709." 4to. A single sheet. In this work, he denies having excited the people to tumult, or the use of language that warranted any other than a peaceable opposition. But De Foe was not the only one who drew an opposite inference from his sermon, as appears by his own pamphlet. De Foe rejoined to it, in "A Reproof to Mr. Clark, and a Brief Vindication of Mr. De Foe. Edin. 1709." A single sheet. 4to. With this, it is believed, the dispute dropped; but not before it had engendered much acrimonious feeling, which found vent in intemperate language. Mr. Clark's tracts afford some curious specimens of professional conceit.

Towards the latter end of the former year, the controversy concerning the Sacramental Test, was revived both in England and Ireland. The blunder committed by the government a few years before, in dividing the Protestants in the latter country, was now severely felt; and the Irish Presbyterians, unable to obtain redress at home, resolved to petition the British parliament. An address having been promoted in the city of Dublin, it was entrusted to Sir Allen Broderick, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, who patronised the repeal, and undertook to solicit it in England. For this, Swift thought that he deserved impeachment; a sally of his fancy that injured nobody. So variously are men's services estimated, that, in the next reign, Sir Allen was thought deserving a peerage. His mission to England did not meet with the encouragement which it merited; for the Tories and high-churchmen, becoming as much alarmed as if their heaven was in danger, the ministers, who were supposed secretly to favour the repeal, considered it prudent to wave it at present, to disprove the charge of their being disaffected to the Church. Undismayed by this circumstance, the Irish Dissenters persevered in their design, raised funds, and appointed agents for conducting their application to parliament. These demonstrations, in unison with the misgivings that were entertained of the ministry, aroused the sensibilities of Swift, whose malevolence to the Dissenters bore a due proportion to his other merits. In order to expose their *unreasonable* pretensions, he fired upon them a volley of small shot, in "A Letter from a member of the House of Commons in Ireland, to a member of the House of Commons in England, concerning the Sacramental Test. Lond. 1709." 4to. Although written in his usually artful manner, as a piece of argument it is utterly worthless. All who pleaded for their rights as men and as citizens, if without the pale of his church, were the objects of his satire, and unworthy of notice; for who could suppose, that so blind and contemptible a people, were born with any rights! Swift was sadly mortified at the support they received from the periodical writers; for in the midst of his affected contempt, it is impossible not to perceive his soreness. "The scandalous liberty these wretches take," says he, "would hardly be allowed, if it were not mingled with opinions that *some men* would be glad to advance. Besides, how insipid soever those papers are, they seem to be levelled to the understandings of a great number, they are grown a necessary part of coffee-house furniture, and sometime or other happen to be read by customers of all ranks, for curiosity or amusement, because they lie always in the way." The manner in which he alludes to De Foe, is singularly curious: "One of those authors, (the fellow who was pilloried, I have forgot his name,) is indeed so grave, sententious, dogmatical a rogue, that there is no enduring him." Upon this, Lord Orrery remarks: "The fellow that was pilloried was *Daniel De Foe,* whose name Swift well knew and remembered; but the circumstance of the pillory was to be introduced; and the manner of introducing it, shows great art in the nicest touches of satire, and carries all the marks of ridicule, indignation, and contempt. The scoffs and sarcasms of Swift, like the bite of the rattle-snake, distinguish themselves more venomously dangerous, than the wounds of a common serpent." * Swift had his due share of the contempt that he heaped so unceremoniously upon others; and however powerful his talents, the direction he gave to them, entitle him to but little respect from the wise and the virtuous.

The temper reigning in the nation at this time, was such as to forbid any apprehensions of a liberal policy. Even the agitation of the subject was considered little less than treasonable. Mr. John Humphrey, an aged Non-conforming minister, having published a pamphlet against the Test, and circulated it amongst the members, he was cited before a committee of parliament, and his work ordered to be burnt by the common hangman. Such a mode of dealing with an author, was answerable to the pretensions of the men who resorted to it. To attempt answering his work would have been the way to spread his opinions; and to confute them, was beyond their power. They were, therefore, quite right in smothering it, as a testimony of their diffidence in a cause that was not to be trusted to so dangerous a weapon as reason. De Foe, who handled most subjects that he touched with great force and acuteness, argued strongly against the Test, and looked forward to the day when the Church herself would be willing to abate the nuisance. "We have a great outcry against monopolies in trade; I wish those gentlemen who are making an exclusive monopoly of the Church and religion, would remember that these things are what they themselves will one day cast off as a deformity in practice."* His prophecy has been so far verified, that yielding to the force of public opinion, the Church has freely consented to the abrogation of the act, which fell with the concurrence of a Tory ministry.

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* Orrery's Remarks, p. 194.

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* Review, v.—*Pref.*

CHAPTER III.

Bill for the Naturalization of Foreign Protestants.—Advocated by De Foe.—His Theory upon the Wealth of Nations.—Illustrated by Examples from History.—Attempt to tack the Sacramantal Test to the Bill.—De Foe's Remarks upon it.—The Project of Bishop Dawes.—Rejected by Parliament.—Fifth Volume of the "Review."—Subjects Discussed in it.—Affairs of Scotland.—His Picture of our Domestic Condition.—His Indifference to Party.—And Persuasions to Peace.—Negociations at the Hague.—De Foe lectures the Jacobites.—Mars stripped of his Armour.—Life and Adventures of Signor Rozelli.—Public Fasts.—Stage Plays Prohibited.—De Foe's Remarks.—His Association of Toryism and May-Poles.—Estimate of Morals in the two Parties.—De Foe's Project for Suppressing the Theatre.—The Palatines come to England.—How Disposed of.—Clamour against them.—De Foe's Arguments for their Hospitable Reception.—His Scheme for their Employment.—He again Visits Scotland.—His Remarks upon the Country and the People.—He Defends the Presbyterians from the Charge of Persecution.—His Candour.—Innovations.—Introduction of the Liturgy.—Case of Greenshields.—Project for Perpetuating the Scottish Bishops.—Remarks upon the Proceedings of the Church of Scotland.—And upon Toleration.—The "Review" presented by the Grand Jury.—De Foe's Remarks upon it.—Liberty of the Press threatened.—De Foe's Sentiments upon it.—Bill for Securing Copy-right.—Leslie Threatened by the Scotch Members.—Drops the "Rehearsal"—The "Rehearsal" Revived.—Novel and Scandal.

1709.

In the early part of 1709, the attention of our author was directed to the naturalization of foreign Protestants. A bill having been brought into parliament for the purpose, it met with great opposition. De Foe, who was a warm advocate for the measure, was not insensible to the private interests that might suffer by it, but these he thinks more than counterbalanced by its advantages to the public. One of his favourite maxims in politics was, that the wealth of a nation depends upon its trade; and that this prospers or declines as the population fluctuates. In his day, there was no complaint of the pressure of population against the means of subsistence; and even now, it may be worth inquiry by the advocates of this far-famed theory, whether the pressure is not, in reality, against the laws that regulate trade and property. De Foe contends, that Great Britain laboured under a want of people, the long wars and persecutions having depopulated the country. Nothing, therefore, could be more wise and politic, than to encourage the settlement of foreigners, who contributed largely to the manufactures, commerce, and wealth of the country. Addressing those who were in opposition to the Bill, he asks, "Next to the justice, pray where is the wit of it? How came we to be rich and opulent; was it the mere goodness of the soil? Not at all. In spite of the goodness of the soil, we were a poor, miserable, enslaved and laird-ridden people, as they are in some parts to this day; with our vassalage and villenage, our wardships, knight-services, and Egyptian tenures; when the commons went dangling after their landlords, like hounds after the huntsman; and the tenant held the stirrup to the 'squire, the 'squire was but sword-bearer to the knight; the knight again carried the colours for the baron; and thus, the *Lord-dane*, was the great idol of the country. And whence came our liberty? You may talk of our ancestors fighting for it, and so they did; the tyrant barons against the tyrant kings. But who delivered us from the tyrant barons, whose bondage was worse than that of kings, and under whose bondage, a large part of Britain now groans, and calls to us to set her free? The increase of foreigners flocking into us from abroad. These increased trade, trade increased wealth, and wealth bought us liberty. And thus, we owe our present greatness to the very thing which the wise heads of this age pretend to oppose."*

In illustration of his argument, De Foe refers back to the reign of Henry VII., before which, the produce of the country, instead of being worked at home, was carried abroad to the more industrious Flemings, who returned it in a manufactured state, and grew rich at our expence. And this by the way, says he, was the rise of all the opulent cities in that fruitful country, and of their prodigious population; people flocking thither for the sake of their manufactures, from all parts of Europe. But by the prudent management of that politic prince, England grew wise, populous and rich; and the same policy being pursued by Queen Elizabeth, who encouraged settlers from the Low Countries, we became a considerable manufacturing nation. This was owing, in a great measure, says De Foe, to the ill-judged policy of Philip II. "The foolish Spaniard, blind to his own interest, and not content with commanding one of the greatest people in the world, sends the Devil among them, I mean his deputy, the Duke D'Alva, who falling foul upon the civil and religious liberties of the people, drove them to rebel; which ended in the dismemberment of the Spanish monarchy, and the flight of the Protestants to other countries. O, the advantage the Devil has done by that glorious thing called persecution! How are we beholden to him in these parts of the world! Queen Elizabeth entertained 200,000 foreigners, and where are they now? They are all run to seed: they were sown foreigners, and came up true-born Englishmen.†" (F)

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* Review, v. 571, 2. † Ibid, 573—5.

(F) De Foe further illustrates the folly of persecution in the case of our James I., "that wise, learned, sober, just, and cleanly creature," whose policy was the very reverse of that of Queen Elizabeth. Beginning with persecution, "away ran the poor Puritans, some to France, some to Holland, others to New-England, and in such swarms, that the council

Whilst the Bill was before parliament, an attempt was made to extend it to those only who were willing to take the Sacramental Test. So absurd a clause was consistent with the bigotry of the times, but comported better with the narrow conceptions of a sectarian clergy, than with the wise counsels of a national assembly. "And why," asks De Foe, "must the sacrament be a test of naturalization? Are there no Protestants in the world but of the Church of England? Or, is the Church of England afraid of all the Protestants in Europe, but such as are of her own opinion? But if you will examine truly, it is not the Church of England that promotes this, but rather a party of men, whose politics being ever destructive to the civil liberties of this nation, were always blended with their religion, in order to support them; and then calling themselves the Church of England exclusively, have reason indeed to be afraid of bringing in any other Protestants. For, it is most certain, none of them would be high-churchmen, unless the new faction of young Turretin at Geneva, whose high-church principles were infused into him at Oxford, and are daily cultivated, and some say, supported from thence. And where 's the consistency of laying this iron yoke upon the neck of their consciences, to prompt men to prostitute their principles to their private interest? If they can conform with a good conscience, they will do it without this tacit compulsion; but if not, why lay a snare for them? Gentlemen of the church, have you not hypocrites enough among you already?"

De Foe continues, "These inconsistencies are so manifest, that I cannot but wonder any body should offer them at this

had it under consideration whether they would not stop them, for fear of depopulating the kingdom. No, says the old king, let them go; and so he lost, at least, 60,000 of his people, whereof 18,000 went to New-England in less than two years."—*Review*, v. 571.

time of day. I know the Bill was lost once for such trifles as these, when the stream of ignorance running high, wise men were content to embrace the general folly that they might be in the mode. The word *foreigner* was the Shibboleth of a party, who made it popular, that they might the better affront that great foreigner who made them all denizens; I mean King William. With what fury did our mock patriots oppose this Bill, only, as they thought, it affronted the king? How were we told of naturalizing the whole Dutch nation, and reproached with our former Act, for making the Scots natural-born subjects? But party-spleen over-ran the nation, and threw us all into a state-lethargy."*

Sir William Dawes, Bishop of Chester, has the discredit of this attempt to clog the measure with the prejudices of high-church; but he was opposed by Burnet and others, who wished well to the general comprehension of Protestants. It was to the credit of the parliament, that good sense triumphed over this effort of bigotry; and the Bill passed both Houses without the obnoxious clause. Upon the success of the measure, De Foe remarks, "And, now your madness has opened the nation's eyes, you will receive foreigners and Dutchmen, and allow them your grace to live among you. Thank you for nothing; the meaning is clear. Your eyes are opened to your own interest, and you will permit that which you know is for your own advantage. You know you make their wealth your own, and by it increase both the consumption of your produce, and the strength of your hands. Nor need you be afraid of their nations: they will, in a few ages to come, be all true-born Englishmen like you; as you, a few ages before, were all foreigners like them."†

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* Review, v. 601—3.

† Ibid.

De Foe closed the *Fifth* volume of his *Review*, with the 31st of March, 1709, when it had reached to 158 numbers. An additional sheet was then published, containing the preface and title, which was the same as last year; "A Review of the State of the British Nation. vol. v. London: printed in the year 1709." 4to. pp. 632. In the preface, he announces that the work had been received with so much approbation in Scotland, that a sufficient sum had been subscribed to encourage the re-printing of it at Edinburgh; which would commence with the next volume. He apologizes for the length to which he had run the affairs of Scotland, occasioned by their extreme importance, and the interest taken in them by the public; gently reproving those people who are ever seeking after novelty, and grew tired of the *Review*, for dwelling so long upon the Union. The pains he had bestowed upon the subject, led him to consider this and the preceding volume as the most valuable in the whole series, and the public had concurred in this opinion; for, although fewer had been sold in separate papers, yet twice the number had been disposed of in complete volumes. He exhorts both nations to cultivate an union of affection and interests, avoiding mutual jealousies, and discountenancing those writers who insulted, or laboured to overthrow, the establishments in either kingdom.

Our author opens the volume with the following announcement:—"We are now entering on a new volume of this work, and a new occasion presenting, the method will for a while be a little changed." This he explains by observing, "I never purposed to turn the *Review* into a newspaper; but since the intelligence I have established in Scotland enables me to speak sometimes what every body does not hear, and I know you are impatient to hear how things go in that country, I shall furnish you with some accounts of things as they come to me from some good hands, especially as I am supplied with particulars, which, perhaps, other papers may not readily come at."

The present volume is occupied with subjects similar to those discussed in former *Reviews*. Trade, politics, foreign and domestic, religion, and the interest of parties, as they stood foremost in his thoughts, so they were topics that more or less engaged his pen. The earlier numbers are devoted to speculations upon the late threatened invasion of Scotland, and the propriety of placing that country in such a posture of defence, as to supersede any fear of a second attempt of the like nature. For effecting this, he proposes his own views to the government; and his long residence in Scotland had furnished him with sufficient materials for hazarding an opinion. He enters largely into the political condition of the country, more particularly the state of religious parties, and he places all the danger that is to be apprehended at the door of the Non-jurors, who, professing allegiance to the Pretender, would be ready to join his standard as opportunity might offer. He therefore recommends the government to have a watchful eye over them, that mischief from that quarter may be avoided.

Our author enters largely into the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland, after the revolution, and has furnished some state papers which might be useful in compiling a history of the Scottish church. He takes considerable pains to defend the Presbyterians from the charge of persecution brought against them by the Episcopal party, who were then turned into Dissenters, but received a legal compensation for the loss of their benefices. As these Dissenters were mostly Non-jurors, he shews that the troubles they experienced were to be charged to the account of their politics, and not of their religion, which was openly tolerated so long as they remained quiet, and gave no disturbance to the government. These facts he establishes by official documents, from which any impartial person could form a correct opinion. But such was the humour of the Scotch Episcopalians, who had been so long used to power, and to the oppression of their brethren, that when the tables were so far turned upon them that they lost their establishment, and with it the power of doing mischief, they thought themselves persecuted; but the comparatively gentle treatment which they now received from the ascendant party, formed a striking contrast to their own violent and unchristian proceedings when in power. (G)

The picture he draws of our domestic condition, is sufficiently doleful. "Shall I begin at the House of God, where himself will begin in his judgments, when he comes as a refiner and marks out the sinners for destruction? How is a moral feud entered into our sacred things, and particularly among our holy men, who themselves practise the wickedness they condemn! Instead of common charity for one another, what anathemas thunder from the pulpit upon their disagreeing comrades? How do they preach strife for the gospel of peace, themselves instead of Christ Jesus; and for themselves, not for the good of their hearers? Should I

(G) The Presbyterians in Scotland had suffered so much from episcopal jurisdiction, as to inspire them with a just dread of its return. Of this, the acts of parliament, and the records of their inhuman execution, are standing proofs. "They obliged all those in public trust or office to renounce or abjure the covenant, on pain of losing their places, and the privilege of trading. It was enacted, that all Non-conformists who presumed to exercise their ministry, be punished as seditious persons; and that all persons in acknowledgment of his majesty's government, ecclesiastical and civil, attend the sermons of the episcopal ministers; noblemen and gentlemen refusing, to lose a fourth part of their rents; burgesses their freedom, and a fourth part of their moveables; and others twenty shillings a time; with liberty to the council to inflict farther punishment. Preaching at a house or field-meeting was punished by death and confiscation; and hearing at field-meetings, the like!" No one can pretend that the Scots were not justified in seizing the first opportunity to emancipate themselves from so intolerable a system of church-tyranny.—See *Proceedings of the Parl. of Scotland*, p. 58.

descend to particulars, I must make this a second part to the Grounds and Reasons of the Contempt of the Clergy; for who can help having contemptible thoughts of men who put the wild fire of their own passions to the calm still voice of the gospel, and employ religion to confound and destroy that world it was designed to civilize and reform." Adverting to our political contentions, he says, "Certainly in this we are the most unhappy people in the world, the most inconsistent with ourselves, and the most unaccountably blinded by our passions and prejudices. No bounds are observed in politics, but contradictions flow on every hand. Had I a pen like Juvenal, to sting with the keenest satire, or like Ovid, to soften your ears with the dolefullest lamentations, all would be wanting to set home the fatal effects of that combination against Britain's peace, by a set of men who call themselves Christians, Protestants, Churchmen, and the like; but whom I call abjuration-taking Jacobites. 'Tis no breach of charity to say, they are a sort of men the world never knew before; language itself never found a word significant of their character."*

How little he participated in these party struggles, appears from the following avowal: "I thank God I have so little concern in our new-fashioned contentions, and the variety of divisions rising among us, that I profess not to understand the true foundation of them, nor the design of the parties." In reference to his former exertions for allaying party animosities, he tells us that he had employed many of his papers, in which he had exhausted all his powers of argument, in urging the nation to greater unanimity. "And I cannot but observe," continues he, "that some people who gave me public thanks for my sincere endeavours that way, and told me I had done great service by it; that did me the honour in a body to compliment me on that performance, and made me print five thousand of the *Review*, to be sent all over the nation to persuade us to peace, and paid me very frankly for them; these very gentlemen are angry and affronted now, at being pressed to unite, and exhorted to peace. And yet, after all, in your peace at that time, consisted your safety; in your uniting of parties, consisted the victory over persecuting projects. For God's sake, and for your country's sake, consider whither you are going, and to what new distresses you may bring the righteous cause of liberty and truth." De Foe concludes this persuasive appeal to his countrymen, by an earnest prayer for that union amongst the people, in which alone consisted the national safety.*

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* Review, v. 137.

During the spring of the year, the public attention was chiefly engrossed by the negociations that were going forward at the Hague, for a general peace. De Foe, who discussed the conditions of the treaty at large in his *Reviews*, was one of the many who confided in its successful termination. Strongly impressed with the necessities of the French monarch, and his inability to protract the war much longer, he considered, perhaps too hastily, that the allies had it in their power to dictate their own terms; and the delusion was fostered by the facility with which the French negociators conceded their demands. In the fervour of his zeal for the Protestant religion, De Foe thought this a favourable opportunity for securing its protection, in those countries where it had been scorched by persecution; and he urged it strongly upon the government. But, all this while, the French king was playing a deep game at the expence of the allies. He had no intention of ratifying the treaty, but protracted the negociations, that he might gain time, and endeavour, by his secret intrigues, to divide and dismember the confederacy. In this, however, he did not succeed, and his duplicity becoming known, the war was renewed with its former success.

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* Review, v. 414—416.

The conduct of the French king during the negociations, afforded De Foe a fine opportunity for lecturing the Jacobites upon his little concern for their interests, apart from his own. He had stipulated for all his continental allies, "but for all his friends in Scotland, for all the martyrs of Jacobitism in England, for that thing of his own making called a king, we find them, amongst the first things he gives up. And is this the friend that you built your hopes upon? It is plain, he troubles not his head about you. He looks upon you as a people worth none of his concern. Having made you his tools to embroil your country, and to keep up parties and feuds among us; when he comes to make peace, he readily sacrifices you to his own interests, gives you up to God's mercy and the goodness of your provoked sovereign, and you may even go and hang yourselves for him."* This argument is employed by De Foe in a persuasive manner, to induce the Jacobites to open their eyes to their true interest, and to abandon a cause which was desperate in its nature, and injurious to their country.

The prospect of a peace, gave rise to a satire upon the army, intitled, "Mars stripped of his Armour: or the Army displayed in all its true Colours. Containing the character of the army in general, and the various descriptions of persons of which it is composed. By the author of the 'Wooden World Dissected.' Lond. 1709." 8vo. This work is ascribed to De Foe, by a late writer of his life, who speaks of it as the best of his satirical performances.† But whatever merit may be assigned to it, there are some passages which De Foe would not have written, and which savour of the low humour of Ned Ward. It is probable that this writer has the best claim to it, as well as to the kindred work mentioned in the title.

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* Review, vi. 109, 110.

† *Pref.* to Cadell's ed. of Rob. Crusoe.

In the course of the year, appeared the first edition of a work that has sometimes been attributed to De Foe, but, certainly, without any real foundation. It is intitled, "Memoirs of the Life and Adventures of Signor Rozelli, at the Hague. Giving a particular account of his Birth, Education, Slavery, Monastic State, Imprisonment in the Inquisition at Rome, and the different Figures he has since made, as well in Italy, as in France and Holland. The whole being a series of the most diverting History, and surprising Events ever yet made publick. Done into English from the second edition of the French; and adorned with several curious copper cuts. London: printed for John Morphew, near Stationers'-Hall. 1709." 8vo. pp. 325. Rozelli was a famous gout-doctor of his time, and is alluded to as such in the "Tatler." A second volume was added many years afterwards, under the following title: "A Continuation of the Life and Adventures of Signor Rozelli, late of the Hague. Giving an account of all that befel him, from the time of his arrival in Holland, to the day of his Death: in a series of the most diverting History and surprising Events ever yet made publick. Written by Himself just before his Decease, and committed to the Care of an intimate Friend. Adorned with curious copper-cuts. London: printed for Will. Taylor, at the Ship and Black Swan, Paternoster Row, and Tho. Butler, at the King's Head, in Fleet Street. 1724." 8vo. pp. 171. A fourth edition of the whole work was published by J. Osborn, in 2 vols. 12mo. 1740.(H) A cursory glance

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(H) The title of the French edition, is as follows: "L'Infortune Napolitane: Ou les Aventures du Signeur Rozelli. Qui contennent l' histoire de sa Naissance, de son Esclavage, de son etat monastique, de sa prison at these volumes, will sufficiently satisfy the reader that they could not have proceeded from the pen of De Foe.

War, being a calamity productive of so many privations and positive sufferings to the nations engaged in it, has been usually interpreted as the judgment of heaven; and in most Christian states, fasts and public prayers have been ordained for the ostensible purpose of averting the scourge. Although, in the view of rational religion and sound philosophy, war is most commonly referable to the bad passions of the belligerents, yet it is seldom convenient to avow the motive; but, however wars may originate, the religious services that grow out of them, must be regarded as official announcements of the piety of their ordainers. The reign of Queen Anne abounded in these demonstrations of royal piety; and, as such, they are celebrated by De Foe, whose liberal politics produced no abatement of his loyalty. The piety of the day, however, proceeded further, and stage-plays were suppressed for a time, as inconsistent with national humiliation. "This being a time of war," observes De Foe, "diversions and public mirth seem very unseasonable; and therefore, no question her majesty in her Christian piety, and in order to remind her subjects of the general miseries of Europe, which they ought to sympathize with, rather than rejoice over, has thought fit to suspend those general friends to reformation, the players, and to forbid them to act. Our annual scenes of lewdness and profaneness at Bartholomew, and May fairs, have also been suppressed." De Foe adds, "There want but two steps more to bring our complete reformation into prospect; and these are, the reformation of our magistrates and our

dans l' Inquisition, et des differentes figures qu'il a faites tant en Italie, qu'en France, et en Hollande. Enriché d' un grande nombre de tailles douces, 2 Tom. 2nd ed. a Paris, Chez Claude Rapin, Ruë Saint Jaques. 1708."

clergy." He exhorts the heads of the church to enforce "her excellent discipline;" and recommends that a few of our justices should be sent "to the very houses of correction, which they fill by their example."*

De Foe, who delights to do honour to his royal patron, observes, that "Since the practice and example of the late reigns have generally discouraged our national vices, several attempts have been made to restrain, reclaim, and punish the exorbitance of the stage;" but that various interests had prevented the suppression of play-houses in the last reign, "contrary to the firm resolution of the late king, which was several times fixed for their dissolution." At the commencement of the present reign, he tells us, they again lifted up their heads, which he attributes to the prevalence of Toryism. "And here," says he, "I must note, and I am sure I do it with a great deal of justice, that in the first two years of her majesty's reign, when the high-flying party had the ascendant over our councils, the kingdom of crime began; and May-poles and play-houses grew up like churches at the Reformation. If any man doubts the truth of the fact, let him put me upon the proof of it when he pleases; and in the meantime, let him but observe with me this one thing, that there were more new May-poles erected, and old ones re-edified in that one year, than ever were in this nation since Bishop Laud's *reformation* by the Book of Sports, the year of the restoration excepted. This gives ground to the story of an old woman, who, having seen the music and dancing about one of their new May-poles, on a Sunday, and remembering the blessed time when the Sabbath used to be kept in that manner by authority, broke out in this most pious ejaculation about it,—*Good Lord, here's the old religion come again!*"

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* Review, vi. 219.

It may be difficult, perhaps, to imagine any necessary connexion between Toryism and May-poles, or politics and stage-plays; but such was the acrimonious feeling engendered by party in those warm days, that accidental coincidences were sometimes converted into serious argument, which told in the hands of a skilful writer. That there were then, as at other times, good and bad men of every party, it would be absurd to doubt. If there was any real difference in the moral character of the two leading parties, it is capable of an easy solution. The Whigs were mostly descended from puritanical families, whose strictness of conduct marked them out for the reproach of their adversaries; and many of them preserved the principles of their education, and the decorum of their early habits. At the same time, it is not to be denied that some of their leaders were as remarkable for their vices as for their talents; and associating with men of profligate character, whose wit gave a charm to society, they easily caught the contagion. But, independently of this, no man who possesses any knowledge of human nature, can suppose for a moment that virtue is entailed exclusively upon any party. If the balance of virtue was against the Tories, it may be ascribed to their political bias, which made them good courtiers in the days of the Stuarts. To avoid any thing so obnoxious as to be thought a precisian, many of them threw off the very appearance of religion; and, it being the fashion to associate libertinism with loyalty, they ran the mad career of vicious indulgence with which the nation became fatally intoxicated. These facts are too well known to need any formal illustration; and they will serve to account for any difference in the morals and exterior behaviour of the two parties. The Whigs of that day were either Dissenters or low-churchmen, and had been taught to place the essence of religion in something else than the ceremonials through which it is administered. The Tories and high-churchmen, on the contrary, rested the salvation of the soul upon the observance of external rites and ceremonies, to the neglect of those kind and generous feelings, without which religion is rather injurious than beneficial. Whatever of fanaticism it has been the fashion to attribute to the former, the Tories were the real fanatics of this period; for they pushed their notions with a zeal and fury that qualified them for good officers of the Inquisition. If it be true, as our author says, "That tyranny and vice are always brethren and assistants to one another, and that liberty is the friend and foundation of reformation," we may easily believe him when he affirms, that the prevalence of high-church politics was not favorable to public morals.

But, leaving Toryism and May-poles to their own fate, our author informs us, that the suspension of play-houses was, as may be easily supposed, to the players a source of much grief. They, therefore, petitioned the queen for permission to re-assume their occupation as soon as the national devotions should have performed their course; and one of the news-writers says, that they received a favorable answer. So rigid a moralist as De Foe, could not contemplate the resurrection of "these nurseries of crime," without sorrow; to prevent it, therefore, he suggested a proposal to the friends of reformation, which, without injury to the financial prospects of the players, should put a stop to their performances, and protect the morals of the country. His scheme was, to raise a fund of £100,000, which he was persuaded could be easily obtained, and with it to purchase the theatres, which he proposed to convert to some more useful purpose; and, as he was for dealing honorably with the players, it was to provide them pensions answerable to the amount of their salaries, or to buy them off at twenty years' purchase, they giving security never to return to their occupation. The government, also, was to be pressed into the service, and petitioned to refrain from granting any patents or licences for the future. The method by which he proposed to raise the money, was by voluntary contributions, for the purpose of suppressing vice and immorality: "and, because I will make no offers to others," says he, "which are not likely to be done, and which I will not endeavour to put forward, I do offer, that whenever so good a work shall be set on foot by honest and well-directed hands, I will undertake to bring in subscriptions among my own acquaintance, and by my little interest, for at least one thousand pounds of the money."* It is, perhaps, unnecessary to say, that a project so chimerical, however benevolently intended, utterly failed.

An event that happened in the summer of this year, furnished another topic for the fertile pen of our author. In consequence of the exactions of the French, and the desolation of their country by the war, many thousands of the inhabitants of the Palatinate were compelled to desert their abodes, and about ten thousand of them sought an asylum in England. Here they were hospitably entertained, having a daily allowance from the government, which furnished them with tents from the Tower, for their encampment upon Blackheath, and in the open country, near Camberwell. A brief was also published, ordering collections for their assistance, in the various churches throughout the kingdom. The kind reception of these unfortunate strangers, occasioned many other distressed Germans to follow their example, until their number became so great, that the government thought it necessary to put a stop to them. Those already arrived, were disposed of in various ways,—some being dispersed into different parishes, and others sent into

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* Review, vi. 259.

Ireland; but the greatest number were transplanted to the English colonies in America, through the influence, as is supposed, of William Penn.

De Foe, who was always alive to works of charity, took a warm interest in the fate of these unhappy sufferers, and wrote largely upon the subject in his *Reviews*. He strongly recommended their case to the benevolent, and took much pains to vindicate their character, from the aspersions that were cast upon it by their enemies. As they were mostly persons in humble life, many were apprehensive that so large a number of foreigners would prove injurious to our own people, and raised a clamour against them. To such, he argues, that the increase of the industrious, if they are ever so poor, provided they produce more than they consume, is an addition to the stock of public wealth, and will continue to be so, as long as a foot of land remains uncultivated, or a pound of wool unwrought, in any part of the kingdom. "Were the nation so full of people," says he, "as that the corn and cattle could not feed them, it would be still the better. The Dutch plough no land, and sow no seed, comparatively speaking; yet they have no want. Sowing corn is far from being the best improvement of land, as is apparent in England, where ploughed lands, even in the most fruitful parts, are the least valuable." Our author observes, that land, when employed for gardens, is still more valuable than when kept for feeding. "A garden is the highest improvement of land; and in the course of these papers, I doubt not to prove, that were England so full of people, that all the low-lands were but enough to make their gardens, and feed homestall, as they call it, their horses and cows, and the hills their sheep, so that they could neither sow their corn, nor feed their own cattle, it would still be the richer. All the world would then be your breeders and feeders; your neighbours would be your ploughmen, your hewers of wood and drawers of water; and your wealth and strength would be a prodigy, like yourselves."*

De Foe contends, that the wealth or poverty of nations, is usually determined by the number of the inhabitants; that as these increase, nations become great and powerful; and when the reverse, they fall into decay, and become poor and contemptible. This he illustrates by examples from history, particularly from that of ancient Rome and modern Spain, which he deems conclusive of his argument. (1) The inference he draws from it, is, "that the settling these poor people among us is to our visible advantage; that it will be an improvement to our lands, an increase of our wealth, and a help to the consumption of our produce; and that if they are wisely placed, they may be so ordered as not to take one day's work from our own poor. On the contrary, they will in process of time increase the labour of our poor, and find work for those that live around them."†

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* Review, vi. 143.

(1) "When the Roman empire was in its splendour, at the lustration or numbering of the citizens, there were found 1,400,000 heads of families in the city. And how was it with Italy? A prodigious concourse of people overspread the country; the cities were full of freemen, and the country full of gentlemen's houses. Italy was all a garden. They fetched their corn from Sicily and Barbary, their cattle from Hungary and the banks of the Danube. 'Twas below the Romans to let their ground be wasted for the produce of corn, or the feeding of cattle. Their stately palaces, their vast aqueducts, their prodigious pavements, and their mighty theatres, temples, and public edifices, of which the ruins remain, show the multitude that was entertained on that little spot of ground. The land of Canaan was another instance of it; and the Dutch in the present day. Spain, the next instance, was, in the days of Ferdinand and Isabella, a most powerful, rich, fertile, and warlike nation; but by her impolitic banishment of the Moors, and her great colonies in America, having weakened and depopulated herself at home, she has sunk into contempt, and become by degrees the weakest nation in Europe."—*Review*, vi. 143—6.

† Review, vi. 150.

It appears that many of the Palatines were quartered in the parish of Stoke Newington, where De Foe resided with his family. To this mode of distributing them he was greatly averse, as likely to produce the evil that was apprehended. The method he proposed, was, to plant them in small colonies of from fifty to a hundred families, upon the waste lands, mixing together a proper proportion of artizans and agriculturists. "Thus," says he, "they will be made a public good; for their numbers will increase the consumption of our wool, their improvement of our land will increase the public wealth; and yet their manufacturers and artificers shall not rob our poor of one day's work, for they shall work only for themselves." By adopting this method, he thinks they would in time mingle with our own people, learn our language, adopt our customs, and at length become what he archly calls, "True-born-Englishmen."* De Foe was much concerned that his suggestions were not attended to, as the parochial distribution would be of disservice to our own people; "because they must of necessity fall into such employments as some or other were employed in before." Another evil that he contemplated, was, that it would be entailing poverty upon them and their posterity; "who would be mere cottagers, hewers of wood and drawers of water, and effectually bound down in that scandalous ignorance and want of instruction, which is the reproach of the South part of Britain above all the Christian nations of Europe.† The obstructions that were thrown in the way of their settlement upon the waste lands, led him to observe, "This is a full evidence of what I formerly hinted, that the common in England is the advantage of the rich, though it is the right of the poor; that the landlord, not the tenant, makes the advantage of it; and while it is thus, we shall be fools to the end of the chapter."‡

Towards the decline of the summer, De Foe paid another visit to Scotland, where he met with as much kindness and hospitality as formerly. This he often acknowledges with gratitude, and takes every opportunity of testifying his respect for the people. Many of his *Reviews* are devoted to the discussion of their interests, as it respects trade, politics and religion, particularly the last; upon which, a community of feeling led him to enlarge with zeal and affection. (K)

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* Review, vi. 154. † Ibid, 267. ‡ Ibid, 268.

The mis-information that prevailed in this country, in relation to Scotland, and the misrepresentations that were the consequence, are subjects that called for his reprehension. He observes that the poverty of the people arose in part from their not availing themselves of the resources which their country offered; such as enclosing, cultivating and improving the land, which, under good management, might be made as productive as most of the lands in England. The other causes that kept them behind their southern neighbours, he thus describes: "But Scotland has been an uninstructed, discouraged and abused nation; poverty has grown upon them; misery begets sloth; according to an old English proverb, *Bare walls make giddy house-wives;* and sloth confirms and binds down that misery. The disasters of war, English devastations, bad government, the removal of their court to England, and above all, the want of that thing called liberty, and the petty tyranny of the landlords, have all kept Scotland poor. But take this, if you please, from me; arouse but the Scots to industry by such encouragements as you both may and ought to give them, and they have a soil able to make them as rich, as plentiful, and as pleasant as yourselves." By way of lesson to the English, he says, "If the Scots want money, I

(K) "Since this paper extends itself to Scotland, as well as to England, being re-printed there, it ought, and shall always have a part of it dedicated to their advantage, as well as satisfaction; and yet I hope few public subjects can be here treated of, but what may be made useful to both."—*Review* vi. 179.

must tell you, they do not want manners; and one piece of humanity they are masters of, which you with all your boasted improvements are without; and that is, courtesy to strangers, in which they out-do even the French themselves."* De Foe writes largely upon the capabilities of Scotland for the production of wealth, and brings soundness of judgment to extensive information, in the discussion of the subject. The science of political economy was then in its infancy, and he has the merit of drawing the public attention to it at a time when it was wholly neglected by other periodical writers, who bent their energies almost exclusively to party-politics.

Another subject that engrossed a large share of his attention, related to the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland. The Presbyterian establishment, although suited to the genius and pre-possessions of the people, was a constant source of mortification to the Non-jurors and high-churchmen in both countries; but as their numbers were larger in the south, so there the clamour was greatest. Being too firmly secured by law, to hold out any expectation of its overthrow, they directed their efforts to undermine it in public opinion, by bringing forward many unfounded charges of persecution. These are met by De Foe in a very manly way, and rebutted by a plain statement of facts. He shows that the Non-jurors, so far from being persecuted, were connived at by the magistrates, in direct violation of the law; being permitted to exercise their ministry openly, without taking the oaths. The Presbyterians, he tells us, were so far from having treated the Scottish Dissenters with rigour, as had been unjustly insinuated, that both ministers and magistrates contributed largely to their relief; and he produces a certificate to verify his statement. "This is a full testimony," says he, "that the temper which reigns in the wisest men on either side, is quite different to what is represented to us in the South." He observes that the Scotch Dissenters were no parties to the clamour raised by the high-flyers in England, which had been rather injurious to their cause than otherwise; having paralyzed the hands of the moderate people, who knew their pretence to be fabulous. *

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* Review, vi. 174, 5.

The candour of De Foe towards persons of different opinions, cannot be doubted by any one who will be at the pains to examine his writings. Upon the ecclesiastical disputes which divided the nation, and they had but little to do with religion, he uniformly writes with temper and good manners. If he ever resorts to asperity, it is either against those who treated him with coarseness, or who swore fidelity to a government which they took every clandestine method to overthrow. He respected the scruples of a conscientious Jacobite; but his regard for constitutional liberty, would not allow him to make any compromise with his politics, which he carefully separates from his religion. "I have in none of my writings," says he, "ever blamed the episcopal party in Scotland, for being episcopal. It is not my business to ask any man why he is of this or that opinion, or pass my censure on him for being so. If I were disputing against opinions, it were another thing; nor are these papers pointed at the Episcopal party in Scotland, but at the Jacobite interest. And though it may be true that the persons are the same, and the term almost synonymous, be that to themselves; I am talking to them in their Jacobite capacity." Episcopacy, he tells us, was only made the handle to cover their private designs; thinking thereby to engage the Church of England in their interest, and to smother their invasions of the Church of Scotland, as if they were by connivance of the queen and government. *

Amongst the innovations promoted by the Scotch Jacobites

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* Review, vi. 206, 7.

at this time, was the introduction of the English liturgy, which, until lately, had not been used even by the Episcopalians themselves. A measure so repugnant to the feelings of the Scots, who regarded it as no better than a remnant of anti-Christ, naturally aroused their jealousy; and they considered it the more affronting, because it was as contrary to law, as to the taste of the people. But these matters were disregarded by the Non-jurors, it being their policy to identify themselves with the English church, and thus smuggle themselves into favor at court, where they expected protection from a sympathy of feeling. It was with the same delusive motive that they had raised the cry of persecution against the Scottish church, in which they were assisted by their brethren in England, who made it a plea for raising contributions upon the credulous. All these matters are exposed by De Foe, who vindicates the Scots for asserting the privileges of their church, in which he assures them of the support of the queen, to which he was pledged by the Union.

De Foe writes largely concerning this liturgy project, which took but indifferently even with the episcopal Dissenters, some of whom preached against it; and in the meetings where it was adopted, the cause visibly declined. He says, that the aversion to it was so general, that nothing but force could make it prosper; and as it was contrary to the known laws of Scotland, "so it is evident, all these attempts are made purely to embroil the people, and to foment national aversions." It seems to have been brought to Scotland by James Greenshields, a minister from Ireland, of whom De Foe speaks thus: "Here he is received as a proper tool to begin the comedy; and, as if on purpose to irritate the people, he takes a house just opposite to the Cross at Edinburgh, where he sets up the Common Prayer."

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* Review, vi. 213.

It was given out, at first, that it was intended for such officers of the government, as could not conform to the Presbyterian worship; but the shallowness of the plea was properly exposed by De Foe, in an irresistible application of the *argumentum ad hominem*: "If you will not employ a Presbyterian in England, on account of his non-conformity to the English Church, you should not send Episcopalians to Scotland, who, by the same rule, must be expected either to give up their places, or conform to the Scottish church." This innovation upon their customs produced an immediate address from the inhabitants of Edinburgh to the general assembly, which was then sitting, and passed an act for proceeding in the case, according to due course of law. Upon this, Greenshields was apprehended and committed to prison. De Foe tells us, that the queen never countenanced any of these innovations, but wrote several letters to express her dissatisfaction; which, says he, "I have had the honour to see and read, and they are public in Scotland." De Foe adds, "It is very happy for the good people of Scotland, that the managers of this liturgy-plot, with all their passion, have not one grain of discretion, prudence, or policy, and this will take a great deal from the glory of martyrdom, which they are in so much hopes of obtaining."* (L)

Another part of the plot, was a scheme for perpetuating the succession of the Scottish bishops, after the manner of the Popish bishops in Ireland. The design was to obtain a power from the queen, authorizing the deposed bishops to fill up the vacant sees, that the episcopal order might be continued, although it was to be merely nominal; but the effect would be to revive episcopacy, after it had been suppressed by the laws of the nation. After this, observes De Foe, it would have been but a small matter to ask for decent stipends out of the Church revenues, and when they had obtained the fleece, they would have been content to leave the flock to others. The ministry, however, refused to countenance the scheme, and it dropped for the present. It seems to have been countenanced by some English dignitaries, particularly Compton, Bishop of London, upon whose conduct in the affair, De Foe bestowed some free remarks. He also animadverts upon the facility with which persons from Scotland obtained orders from the bishops in England, without any certificate of their morals and behaviour. "For want of this due caution," says he, "the vilest wretches that fly from the laws, come to England, and get admission to the sacred office, to the scandal of religion, and the English Church discipline in particular." *

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* Review, vi. 313.

(L) The full account which De Foe has of this affair in his *Reviews*, gave rise to the following narrative: "A true state of the case of the Reverend Mr. Greenshields, now prisoner in the Tolbooth at Edinburgh, for reading the Common Prayer in an Episcopal congregation there; though qualified by taking the oaths, and praying for the queen and princess Sophia. With copies of several *original papers* relating to his accusation, defence, imprisonment, and appeal, first to the lords of the session, in North Britain, and since to the House of Lords. 1710." 8vo.

The proceedings of the Scottish Church, in relation to the English liturgy, bore upon their face the marks of intolerance. It should be recollected, however, that the habits of the people had been long trained to the Presbyterian discipline, which was then the only legal religion in Scotland. Although the two nations had been at continual war upon the subject, for nearly thirty years, the utmost that the English could do, was to consign the Churches and their emoluments to episcopal ministers; but they were never able to force down their liturgy during the hottest persecution. Having maintained the profession of their faith amidst the severest trials, it is not surprising that, upon the turn of the times, no provision was made for a toleration, for which, indeed, the Episcopalians themselves, had not fur-

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Review, vi. 320.

nished them with any precedent. Nor did these last suffer much inconvenience, for want of it; these of them who took the oaths to the government, being allowed to continue in their livings, without any disturbance from the Presbyterians. As these had never used a liturgy, they did not interfere in the present contests. All the clamour was raised by the Non-jurors, whose principles were known to be at utter variance with toleration, but who called for it in this instance, that they might use it as a weapon for supplanting the Presbyterians. It is a curious circumstance, that whilst these men were exclaiming so loudly against persecution in Scotland, they were using all their efforts to overthrow the toleration in England; a fact that would have been deserving of more notice, if their conduct had ever been otherwise than inconsistent. It is also deserving remark, that there were but ten meeting-houses in which the Liturgy was adopted; so that when Greenshields applied to the English Primate for an edition for Scotland, he considered it unnecessary, and offered to supply the number wanted at his own expence. In England, the question assumed a very different aspect. The principles of the Dissenters were maintained by a large proportion of the population, and their toleration had become an integral part of the constitution. These facts will account for the different policy pursued in the two nations; and there was this reason for it: the Dissenters in England were known friends to the constitution, and interfered in no way with the discipline or safety of the Established Church; whilst those of Scotland were declared enemies to the government, and friends to the Pretender. All these points are enlarged upon by De Foe, with great force and discrimination. He did not think it necessary to go to the abstract question of toleration. "I shall wave the various arguments about the necessity and obligation which lies on all Christians, to pay reverence to conscience, in order to give all possible liberty to religious opinions; but I shall lay the stress of my argument another way. We are to distinguish between the toleration of Episcopacy, and of Jacobitism; and if we make a right distinction here, we shall have little need of the question at all."*

The foregoing representation of an affair which has received different colourings from the hands of party, is in perfect accordance with the account given of it by De Foe. Living at a time when the passions of men were heated by religious animosity, it is not to be expected that he could look at the subject with the same calmness that we can do at this time of day; nor did it come before him in the way of an abstract proposition, so much as in its relative bearings, with which he must have had a full acquaintance. Had he been now living, he would probably be, like his biographer, a friend to unlimited toleration; which he conceives may be safely admitted as a general principle, although there may be periods in the history of nations, when it cannot be safely acted upon. These, however, are but exceptions to the general rule, and should be only temporary. In a free state, where the laws are the rule of government, the religion of its official servants can be of no consequence to the public, nor ought it to interfere with the discharge of their official duties. When it does so, they sink the purposes of the state into the concerns of a sect, and forfeit their claim to confidence. The distinction of castes, set up in most Christian states, is no better than a relic of barbarism, and unfit for practice in those nations that have attained to any considerable degree of civilization.

For the freedom with which he delivered himself against the innovations upon the Scottish establishment, De Foe exposed himself to the resentment of the high party, and was threatened with a prosecution. In the month of October, his enemies procured the presentment of the *Review,* by the Grand Jury; the particulars of which he has detailed in his paper for November 1. "Who it is that complains of the *Review,* says he, "I yet know not. Who it is a nuisance to, I know very well; and I cannot foresee that it will ever be otherwise. Either I must oppose the hot party—the Jacobite interest, and those that abuse the queen, in pretending her authority for imposing innovations on the Scots—or I must cease to write at all. Now, I cannot think that a court of justice can be prevailed on to prosecute, or a Grand Jury, to present any such design as this as a nuisance; and therefore as I doubt not of justice in all our courts, where the laws are free and open to the meanest subject, so I cannot think that in the prosecution of these just and necessary truths, I can meet with any oppression from the law; nay, I might think I have reason to hope for favour." De Foe was well convinced that the government had no hand in the affair, and therefore referred it to the malice of party. He thought it strange that he, who had run so many hazards in upholding the laws and institutions of his country, should be singled out for prosecution, whilst swarms of libels against them were daily issued with impunity. "And now, gentlemen," says he, "what is this author to be prosecuted for, and what will you do with him? For personal affronts, he asks all men pardon; but the cause he is embarked in, he can never desert. It is the cause of truth and liberty; and if all the world should abandon him, he will never abandon its defence, whilst he has life and a tongue to speak for it."—And, since it becomes an honest man to bear his own burthen," he desires, "that, if this paper must feel the resentment of the age, it may not fall upon those who have no other share in it than their calling leads them into; or no man shall suffer for me, if it is in my power to deliver him, let the consequence be what it will."

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* Review, vi. 387.

In a subsequent *Review,* De Foe says, "The enemies of this paper would fain raise a clamour against it, as calculated for opposition to the Church of England; and by how much their arguments for this are weaker, by so much the noise they make is loud: for clamour and raillery are always made use of as equivalents to reason and sound arguing. I have often expressed myself with a great deal of plainness and sincerity on this head, and shall do so now again, by way of caution to those who take up too hastily with a railing accusation; and I am persuaded I shall satisfy all sober, moderate, and serious churchmen: for the rest, I count their censure fame." He then states his sentiments upon the points at issue; declares his reasons for Non-conformity, in a moderate and respectful manner; and urges a greater attention to discipline in the Church, as the best method of reforming the vices, both of clergy and laity. "Whenever this work is seriously set about," says he, "this Paper shall joyfully recognise the zeal of the undertakers, and soon convince you, that it is the Reformation, not the destruction of the Church, that is the end of its meddling with these things. But, if these be still omitted, this paper shall never fail to lay before you the crimes of a dissolute clergy, in order to expose their vices, and warn the people; and I believe all wise men will allow it to be a work that is both lawful and expedient."*

The idea of prosecuting the *Review*, if it was ever seriously entertained, was speedily abandoned; and De Foe pursued his Discourses undeterred by threats, and regardless of the malice of the party whose designs he was exposing.

Although truth has nothing to fear from the utmost publicity, yet there has always been a party of men unwilling to submit long established opinions to the fearful ordeal of discussion, and therefore hostile to an unlimited freedom of the press. It appears that the Tories at this time threatened to bring forward a measure in the ensuing session of parliament, for the purpose of silencing the news-writers; and the *Review* was particularly glanced at. De Foe treated it as an impotent boast, and declared that he was not only desirous to see all scandal and abuse put down, but would rejoice to see the day when political contention was at an end. He says, "This is not the first time that I have offered, though not at all afraid of the cause, to lay down the *Review*, or turn it wholly to the subject of commerce; and could I see the day when we shall have no more of this paper war, I should be the first to testify my public joy."* He tells us that he had written *several tracts* to prompt a just restraint of the press; but deprecated the infliction of a state licenser, which seems to have been projected by the Tories. "The drift of a licenser of the press," says he, "will not go down with a nation of liberty; and as all sorts of tyranny are deposed by law, so a liberty of complaining of just grievances will for ever be preserved in England, though it be by print."† The stale cant of Atheism and error having been started by a late writer, for the purpose of blinding the ignorant and assisting the knavish, De Foe says, "If error and heresy were to be the marks to shoot at, and they were to count noses, it would be found that the high party had the most reason to be afraid."‡

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* Review, vi. 369—372.

In discussing the liberty of the press, De Foe briefly states the abuses that result from it, and the remedies for their correction. Upon the former he had already expressed his opinion with great freedom, having suffered so much from them. In devising a cure, he says, "I shall offer but one negative; that is, *No Licenser*. Every man who writes what it is no breach of the laws of God and man to publish, has a property in his works, and he cannot be divested of it at the will and pleasure of any man; no, not his prince. To suppress his labour, is to divest him of his property; and as to its being a breach of the law, nothing but the law can determine that. It ought not to be at the arbitrary disposal of any man to license or suppress it." By way of remedy, he proposes, that no man should be allowed to re-print a book without the consent of the author, or proprietor, under a penalty of five pounds a sheet, to be recovered by an action at law; and to render it more effectual, he recommends, that every printer should be obliged to affix his name to the works he prints. For the security of the public, he suggests, that every author should cause his name to be printed in the title of his book, and that he should give the printer an acknowledgment of the same under his own hand, signed by two witnesses; which note should discharge the printer in law, and be sufficient to convict the author. "Now, get but these few clauses," adds De Foe, "and let any man plunder his neighbour, or write sedition and blasphemy at his peril: the law will have its course, and every transgressor be punished."*

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* Review, vi. 364. † Ibid, vi. 403. ‡ Ibid, 404.

Towards the close of the session, a bill was passed for the better security of copy-right; a measure that had been long necessary for the protection and encouragement of literature. De Foe, who had suffered as much as most writers from the pirates, had often invited the attention of parliament to the subject. Whilst it was only in contemplation, he wrote largely upon it in his *Reviews*, and suggested such regulations as should effectually cure the evils complained of, without any infringement upon rational liberty. It having been hinted, that the Whigs would oppose it as an invasion of the press, De Foe observes, that it was not a party-question; that nothing could be more consonant to liberty, than a law for the protection of property: and that the mixture of politics with a question that belonged entirely to trade, was both unreasonable and factious. Although the bill did not come up entirely to his views, he rejoiced at its success, as calculated to arrest an evil from which he had been so great a sufferer.

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* Review, vi., 415—420.

In the early part of the year, Leslie had received a hint that he was transgressing the rules of decency, in the language he employed against the Church of Scotland, and exposed himself to the animadversions of the law. He had been so long accustomed to rake in the common shore of scandal, that it formed a part of his argument upon all subjects; and when threatened for this offensive adjunct, he construed it into an attack for vindicating the tenets of his church. Having accused De Foe of exciting the government against him, he replies, "That his arguments are too fallacious and insignificant, and have been already so often answered, that whatever they merit, it would be worth no man's while to ask the civil power to correct them."* Whether Leslie became intimidated by the threats of the Scotch members, or had exhausted his stock of argument and abuse, he thought fit to discontinue his paper at the end of March, 1709, and left his antagonists in full possession of the field.

Soon after Leslie had dropped his "Rehearsal," it was revived by a writer of similar principles, who attacked the toleration, and propagated the same absurd politics as his predecessor. Whilst the regulation of the press was in agitation, the narrow sentiments of this writer called for a rebuke, which De Foe thus administers. "There is a new party-firebrand that begins with exclaiming against the liberty of the press, and is for putting down all the scribblers, as he calls them; but begins his paper with current pages and numbers, and marks it vol. i., as if he expected to be spared for his abundant merit, in the general conflagration of *Observators* and *Reviews*. But, if this paper must die the death of its fathers, and be silenced for speaking too much truth, let me turn it to you for whose sake all this stir is made, and whose liberty is the eye-sore that these people are afflicted with; and before execution, let me move you not to be led hood-winked to your own destruction. That the toleration of Dissenters in England, is openly and secretly pointed at, and envied by this party, is a truth that they themselves will not dispute. And the author I mentioned above, No. 13, has declared open war against it, pulled off the vizor, and drawn his high-church scymitar in the face of the queen, declaring it must and shall come down, though her majesty has given her faith and honour to preserve it inviolate. For his good manners, I think she is his debtor very much." *

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* Review, v. 534.

Upon the same writer, he further remarks: "The *Rehearsal Revived,* a paper that sets up for instructing the House of Commons, calls the toleration a *scandalous liberty;* and under pretence of objecting against an unlimited toleration,—a point I never knew any Dissenter plead for, except Mr. Toland, who I hope they will not call a Presbyterian;—under this pretence, I say, they manifestly point at the toleration in general. If not, let them tell us how far they would have it limited. I am persuaded no Dissenter will be for tolerating any errors inconsistent with the Christian religion; nor are they tolerated at all by the Act of Toleration. To charge the Dissenters, therefore, with principles of unlimited toleration, when at the same time none are tolerated but such as sign and own all the doctrinal articles of the Church of England, is a manifest absurdity."† Although much narrowness still exists amongst the Dissenters, owing to causes that are not difficult to penetrate, yet most of them, who have received a liberal education and are conversant with the affairs of the world, have more enlightened views upon the subject than can be assigned to their forefathers. Indeed, all sects have profited by experience: and in the present day, the opinions of Toland will be thought not only more consistent than those of our author, but also more consonant to reason, and to the just liberties of mankind.

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* Review, vi. 377, 8.

† Ibid, vi. 410.

It seems that the "Rehearsal Revived," soon fell under the frowns of the government, which put an end to its short career. De Foe, writing in December, has the following reflections upon its fall. "It has always been the usage of this paper (The Review), and of its author in all cases, never to strike his enemy when he is down. 'Tis not a generous English way of fighting, and I scorn the advantage of it. If the author of "Scandal,"(M) if the "Rehearsal Revived," is taken up and fallen, through any of his inadvertencies, into the hands of the government, he has enough upon him; I wish him well out again, and shall never officiously prompt any man's disasters."* Without alluding to this paper in particular, De Foe cautions the Church of England not to be misled by the specious friendship of those writers who were the organs of none but Non-jurors; that prompted those measures which would infallibly occasion her ruin; and whilst they stood at a distance, would laugh at her destruction.

(M) A new paper was started in September this year, in opposition to the *Review* and other papers, by a writer who styled himself *Novellus Scandalus*. He intitled it "The General Postscript; being an Extract of all that is most material from the Foreign and English Newspapers. With Remarks upon the 'Observator,' 'Review,' 'Tatlers,' and the rest of the Scribblers. In a Dialogue between Novel and Scandal." The twelfth number contained a descriptive catalogue of all the papers then published in London, some twice, others three times a week, and amounting in the whole to eighteen.

* Review, vi. 413.

CHAPTER IV.

Sacheverell's Sermon at St. Paul's.—Ridiculed by De Foe.—His Advice to the Dissenters on the Occasion.—Remarks upon the English Character.—And upon the Impeachment.—He Reminds the Dissenters of their ill-treatment of him.—His Address to the Parliament.—"Judgment of Whole Kingdoms and Nations."—Works in Reply.—De Foe's Remarks upon Sacheverell's Trial.—His Generous Feelings.—Estimate of High-church Writings.—Endeavours to Weaken the Toleration.—Sacheverell quotes some Passages from the "Review."—Exploits of the Mob Described by De Foe.—Sacheverell emulated by other Clergymen.—De Foe's Remarks upon Milbourn's Sermon.—Fatal Consequences of Sacheverell's Prosecution.—De Foe's Life Threatened.—His Courageous Confidence in his Cause.—Rejoicings at Sacheverell's lenient Sentence.—The High Party gain Ground.—De Foe's Address to the Whigs.—Excesses in the Country.—Hoadly and others burnt in Effigy.—Publications by De Foe.—Dr. Welton's "Altar-piece."—"Ward's British Hudibras."—Sixth Volume of the "Review."—Topics Discussed in it.—Remarks upon Stock Jobbing.—De Foe's Notions of Trade.—His Remarks upon the King of Sweden.—And Satire upon the Follies of the Times.—Clandestine Attempts to Suppress his Paper.—His Publisher Threatened.—And Changed.—De Foe's "Letter to Lord Wharton, concerning a Yorkshire Clergyman."

1709—1710.

Towards the end of this year, an event occurred which fully justified all that De Foe had written concerning the temper and views of the high party, and which involved the most important consequences to the nation. Upon the 5th of November, Dr. Sacheverell preached his far-famed sermon at St. Paul's, before the city magistracy, upon *the perils among false brethren;* and afterwards published it. Great was the sensation produced by this strange discourse; wherein, says De Foe, " having plentifully railed at, and anathematized, the Dissenters, and left them in custody, without bail or main-prize, with the devil and his angels, he particularly asserts two things: 1. The doctrine of passive obedience, which he most remarkably justifies from the late revolution. 2. The hereditary right of her present majesty to the crown."* The political tenets advanced by this pulpit-incendiary, had been answered over and over again by our author, in his replies to Leslie, and the whole race of Nonjurors; so that, in confuting this production, he could do no more than repeat his former arguments.

With an irresistible force of ridicule, which was better suited to the occasion, he thus taunts him with his paradoxes. " How merry a tale it is to hear him prove the doctrine of non-resistance, from the Prince of Orange's declaration, and reconcile the Revolution to the principle of unconditioned subjection, because it was founded on the vacancy of the throne. As if the Prince of Orange had not brought an army with him to resist, but came with fourteen thousand men at his heels, to stand and look on while the English gentry and clergy, with prayers and tears, besought King James to run away and leave the throne vacant! What a banter on King James is this new started whimsy, to tell us the Revolution was no breach of non-resistance; as if inviting and bringing over the prince, was not the effectual and original cause of the throne being vacant. If the Doctor does not think it below him to answer a short question or two from one of the meanest of his admirers, I would most humbly intreat him to solve but two little difficulties arising from his sermon. 1. That since he will not have the nation charged with the least breach of non-resistance in King William's case, he will be pleased to tell us, what the raising an army in England, for driving their lawful and sacred king out of Ireland, must be called? And since this army was raised and paid by the whole kingdom, fought King James, beat him, and as far as lay in their power killed him, let him tell us if this was resistance; and if not, we intreat him to tell us what to call it? Let him do this, *Et erit mihi magnus Apollo.* 2. Since he is pleased to glory very much about the hereditary right of her present majesty to the crown of England, a thing I doubt above his reach to explain, I most humbly beseech him to tell the world, in a few words, by what part of her majesty's hereditary right she is now possessed of the crown?" *

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* Review, vi. 429.

De Foe blames the Dissenters for being angry at the Doctor's excursion; "For, his flight is not at you singly, but at the government, the parliament, the queen, the bishops; in short, every body but the Papists come in for a share. You are abused in excellent company,

> 'And dirt flings dirt without respect,
> To merit or to law.'—

I assure you, I shall be none of those that prompt you to resent the Doctor's ill-usage; and my reasons are, because the faster he runs, the sooner he will be out of breath; and because by this method the high-flying gentlemen really expose themselves, not you."† "We need no more than that the clergy should rave a little now and then: that they should show the world how mad they are, and how mad they must be, that will follow their measures. They need do no more than rail and call bear-garden names; it will soon open the eyes of the world, and bring the people to a conviction, that this is not the still soft voice of truth, the spirit of the gospel of peace: they will soon apprehend that railing and Billingsgate language, may often supply the want of argument, but never is any part of it." * Upon the whole, he observes, "I think the roaring of this beast ought to give you no manner of disturbance. You ought to laugh at it; he'll vent his gall, and then he'll be quiet. In the meantime, let us rejoice that it is not in the power of these creatures to hurt us; that the present constitution of Britain is firm, and out of their power to reach or impair; that the Dissenters are enclosed in the fold, and have the guard of the royal shepherdess; that moderation and toleration are supported by one another, and the God of the Revolution is the defence of both." *

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* Review, vi. 426 7. † Ibid, 421, 2. ‡ Ibid, 426.

De Foe has some excellent remarks upon the character of the English, as displayed in former times, when the same mad game was played at the expence of liberty. "For my part," says he, "I really think these ecclesiastic faggot-sticks, when they are thus lighted at both ends, do no harm. They awaken the people, and bring them to their senses; and these senses are their protection against all the high-flying lunacies of the age. Englishmen are never in hazard when they are awake to see their danger; the mischief is, when they are dozed with dreams and delusions, and go hood-winked into the pit. Englishmen are apter to be wheedled than frightened; when you bully and threaten them, they rouze and look about them; and, like Sampson, break the little foolish cords with which these non-resisting Philistines have bound them. This was the very case in the late reigns of King Charles II., and King James. The people had for almost thirty years, from the Restoration to the Revolution, been wheedled into a lethargic state; they had swallowed the gilded pill; they had been charmed with the court-syrens, till they were brought into bonds; and indeed they were strangely fettered with oaths to unsettled heirs, supremacy, blind incoherent notions of absolute dominion and unlimited submission, the *Jus divinum* of tyrants, and the like. But when the mask was thrown off, and it was seen that Popery was at the bottom on one side, and slavery on the other; the nation, like Sampson, started up out of sleep, broke all those fetters, and rouzing its native strength, overthrew all the enemies of liberty." *

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* Review, vi. 423.

After the impeachment of Sacheverell was resolved upon, De Foe writes thus: " Let the parliament-justice end where it will, I have nothing to do with it here; but calling him to the bar, and impeaching him before the Lords, together with such a vote as his sermon being scandalous, seditious and malicious, is setting him upon a state-machine with a witness. The bar of the House of Commons is the worst pillory in the nation. You may bear with me for being warmer in this case than in another; my part in it has been very hard. I adore the wonders of retaliating Providence, that has suffered the wicked thus to fall into their own net, and has given a testimony greater than I could ever have hoped for, to the justice and seasonableness of those fatal observations I made on this very man's preaching, and his party's practice; for which, and I bless God for standing to the truth of it, I suffered the overthrow of my fortune and family, and under the weight of it, remain as a banished man to this day."

Addressing the Dissenters, he says, " This is the man that held out the bloody flag in his sermon at Oxford; and now to explain himself more effectually, he has indicted you all for traitors, condemned you as false brethren, and delivered you up to the devil and his angels. Is this the *Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, or is it not? And was D. F. right before in personating him, or was he not?" Alluding to their former treatment of him, he says, " Well, gentlemen, I know that in your ignorance you did it; and as I said before, I have never in regret for this, stepped one foot out of the cause of English liberty, or withheld one word that I could speak to serve that interest to this day; and I trust shall not. No fear has deterred me, though often threatened, bullyed and insulted; no favour has withdrawn me, though often caressed and tempted *cum montibus auri.* I am to this day ruffled by your enemies, insulted by those that hate you, threatened and maltreated for the little endeavours I use to serve you. And by yourselves, I am used—How! Just as you know, and as I expected. And who am I to repine? Am I better than Delaune, who starved for you, or D—— that hanged for you? No, no, he that will serve you must be hated and neglected by you, must starve and hang for you, and must yet serve you; *and thus I do.*"*

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* Review, vi. 445, 6.

Whilst the impeachment was going forward, our author devoted two of his *Reviews* to an address to the parliament, in which he took a survey of the foundation upon which our civil constitution then rested, and recapitulated the several steps that had been taken in parliament to establish our liberties, and limit the succession to the crown. He exhorted the two Houses, in earnest but decorous language, to fix a brand of infamy upon the doctrines then vented from the pulpit by the high-clergy, as the only cure for the popular frenzy. It is of little consequence, he says, what they do with the man; "The principle is the plague-sore that runs upon the nation, and its contagion infects our gentry, our clergy, our politics, and the loyalty, zeal, and peace of the whole island." He therefore tells them, that now is the time to declare again the rights of the people of England; and although these things are so self-evident as to declare themselves, yet, as there is a subtile and restless party in the nation, endeavouring to revive the delusions of former times, it would receive the most decided shock by a seasonable declaration from parliament, upon the points at issue. The consequences resulting from the pulpit-politics of the day, he has described in glowing language. "These abhorred notions would subject all our liberties to the arbitrary lust of a single person; they would expose us to all kinds of tyranny, and subvert the very foundations on which we stand; they would destroy the unquestioned sovereignty of our laws, which for so many ages have triumphed over the invasions and usurpations of ambitious princes; they would denude us of the beautiful garment of liberty, and prostitute the honour of the nation to the mechanism of slavery; they would divest God of his praise, in giving his creatures a right of governing themselves, and charge heaven with having meanly subjected mankind to the crime of TYRANNY."*

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* Review, vi. 455.

The political contentions in this reign, notwithstanding the bitterness with which they were conducted, were favourable to the cause of liberty, inasmuch as they occasioned the principles of government to be more clearly developed, and the knowledge of them circulated through the medium of the press. In the crowd of works issued at this period, there is one particularly that claims our notice, as well for its intrinsic merit, as because it has been usually ascribed to De Foe. The title is, "Vox Dei, Vox Populi. Being true Maxims of Government; proving, I. That all Kings, Governors, and Forms of Government, proceed from the People. II. The Nature of our Constitution is fairly stated, with the Original Contract between King and People, and a Journal of the late Revolution. III. That resisting of tyrannical Power is allowed by Scripture and Reason. IV. That the Children of Israel did often resist and turn out their evil Princes, and that God Almighty did approve of Resistance. V. That the Primitive Christians did often resist their tyrannical Emperors, and that Bishop Athanasius, St. Chrysostom,

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* Review vi. 473—476.

Luther, and Melancthon, &c., did approve of Resistance. VI. That the Protestants in all ages did resist their evil and destructive Princes. VII. Together with a Historical Account of the depriving of Kings for evil Government in Israel, France, Spain, Scotland, &c., and in England before and since the Conquest. VIII. That absolute Passive-Obedience is a damnable and treasonable Doctrine; by contradicting the glorious Attributes of God, and encouraging of Rebellion, Usurpation, and Tyranny. To which no Answer will be made, or dare be made, or can be made, without Treason, not to be behind Mr. Lesley, or any Jacobite, in Assurance. London: printed for the Author, and sold by T. Harrison, at the West Corner of the Royal Exchange, Cornhill. 1709." 8vo. pp. 40. A second edition, considerably enlarged, was published in the early part of the next year, under the new title of "The Judgment of whole Kingdoms and Nations," &c., by which it is now generally known. (N)

(N) The whole title of this edition runs thus:—"The Judgment of whole Kingdoms and Nations, concerning the Rights, Powers, and Prerogatives of Kings, and the Rights, Privileges, and Properties of the People: Shewing the Nature of Government in general, both from God and Man. An Account of the British Government, and the Rights and Privileges of the People in the Time of the Saxons, and since the Conquest. The Government which God ordained over the Children of Israel; and that all Magistrates and Governors proceed from the People, by many Examples of Scripture; and the Duty of Magistrates from Scripture and Reason. Nine Emperors and above fifty Kings deprived for their evil Government. The Rights of the People and Parliament of Britain to resist and deprive their Kings for evil Government by King Henry's Charter, and by Act of Parliament, and by many examples. The Prophets and ancient Jews, strangers to absolute Passive-Obedience; resisting of arbitrary Government is allowed by several Examples in Scripture, and by undeniable Reason. A large Account of the Revolution; with the Names of Ten Bishops, and above sixty peers concerned in the Revolution, before King James went out of England. Several Declarations in Queen Elizabeth's time, of the Clergy in Convocation, and the Parliament who assisted and justified the Scotch, French, and Dutch, in resisting of their evil Princes. Recommended

Although De Foe has commonly the credit of this work, it has been assigned, also, to Lord Somers, and printed with his name; but whether it is correctly given in either case, is, perhaps, doubtful. The comprehensive title will convey an accurate idea of its contents, which embody a large compass of history, applied with much judgment to the argument. The author seems to be well acquainted with general law, and not less so with that of his own country, of which he avails himself to advantage. His frequent references to the Jewish history, and to the writings of the Old and New Testaments, discover an accurate acquaintance with the design of the Scriptures, which was to teach men their duties in the several relations of society as they found it, rather than to prescribe any particular form of government. The good sense that pervades the treatise, and the solid basis upon which it rests, rendered it popular at the time amongst the friends of liberty, and it quickly passed through several editions.

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as proper to be kept in all Families, that their Children's Children may know the Birth-right, Liberty, and Property belonging to an Englishman. Written by a true Lover of the Queen and Country, who wrote in the year 1690, against absolute Passive-obedience, and in Vindication of the Revolution; in a Challenge to Sir Roger L'Estrange, Dr. Sherlock, and eleven other Divines; to which no answer ever was made; who now challenges Dr. Hickes, Dr. Atterbury, Mr. Milbourne, Mr. Higgins, Mr. Lesley, Mr. Collier, and the great Champion, Dr. Sacheverell, to answer this Book. London: 1710." 8vo. pp. 71. A copious table of contents was added to this edition. The third and fourth editions have each of them some slight variations in the title. In that last mentioned, the author points to himself as one "who wrote in the year 1689, in Vindication of the Revolution, in a Challenge to all Jacobites, which was answered and printed with a Reply annexed to it; and who wrote in the year 1690, against absolute Passive-Obedience, &c., in a challenge to Sir Roger L'Estrange, Dr. Sherlock, and eleven other divines; to which no answer ever was made; which Challenges and Answer are to be seen in the first volume of State Tracts, in Folio, printed in the year 1705." They are easily identified in the work alluded to.

A work of so bold and decisive a character, was not likely to escape animadversion. As the high-churchmen were amongst the most active politicians of the period, and advocated despotic principles both in church and state, they had been particularly alluded to by the author, who called upon them either to defend or renounce their opinions. One of them, armed with more zeal than discretion, published "An Appeal to thy Conscience, as thou wilt answer it at the great and dreadful Day of Judgment. Which cannot be answered but by Rebellion and Murder, and is an unanswerable Answer to a late Pamphlet, intitled 'Vox Populi:' Now printed under the Title of 'The Judgment of whole Kingdoms and Nations, concerning the Rights, Power, and Prerogative of Kings; and the Rights, Privileges, and Properties of the People, &c. Recommended as proper to be kept in all Families, that their Children's Children may never become Rebels against, or Murderers of, their lawful Sovereign. Made public for the Defence of the Queen and Government, by a true Lover of Loyalty, who now challenges Dr. Walker, Dr. West, Mr. Hoadly, Mr. Bisset, De Foe, Ridpath, or any other fanatical Roundhead and Republican Champion, to confute this Appeal by the Word of God. London: 1710." 8vo. The work with this threatening title, was nothing more than a reprint from a tract published above sixty years before, for the purpose of arresting the resistance that was then made to Charles I. It is needless to say, that it is no answer to the work with which it is confronted.

A direct reply to the work, was made by Dr. Atterbury, who afterwards became a bishop, in a pamphlet entitled "The Voice of the People, no Voice of God: Or the mistaken Arguments of a fiery Zealot, in a late Pamphlet intitled 'Vox Populi, Vox Dei,' since published under the title of 'The Judgment of whole Kingdoms and Nations,' &c. fully confuted, and his Designs proved to be pernicious and destructive to the public Peace; which he cannot answer, without Blasphemy and perverting the Holy Scriptures. Published for the rectifying men's Judgments, in their Duty to the established Government. By F. A. D.D. 1710." 8vo. The Doctor contents himself with a brief notice of some passages he objects to in the work, and cites some texts of Scripture that are somewhat irrelevant; but he leaves the main argument untouched. Indeed, he avoids committing himself upon the principal subjects in dispute, and declares his resolution to be a passive subject to any government that he may chance to live under; a sentiment that he strangely forgot in the next reign.

During the early part of 1710, the nation was wholly occupied with the politics of Sacheverell, and his ill-judged trial in Westminster-Hall. The subject being popular, the *Review* was devoted almost exclusively to it; but De Foe was far from prompting any severity towards the culprit, although the party he espoused had been the author of his own sufferings. "The happy constitution of this free nation," says he, "even this same constitution which he has insulted, is now his safety. Had the foundation stood upon the absolute subjection of the subject to the supreme power, he had been left to her Majesty's immediate correction, and she might have sent her guards to convey him from the pulpit to the gallows. So that well it is for this gentleman, that what he says is not true; and he stands now by that very constitution he pretends to overthrow. Nay, there is no question but you will find him pleading those very laws, and taking hold of all the advantages, the reserved rights of a people delivered from unconditional obedience, entitle us to."*

The generous feelings of De Foe, are unfolded in the following passage: "And now he is going to pay the equivalent of the *Shortest Way,* which was originally derived from the same person; and you may all see if the *Shortest Way* was a just conclusion upon the party or no. I wish him milder treatment, *more* and *less* justice than I found in the publication of that plain-dealing piece. But let him know, that the honour of parties will eminently appear in the difference."*—"For my part, though I have as much reason to desire justice on him as any body, yet I am looking another way, and I hope it is the right way. I had rather see the crime punished than the man; I had rather see the wound cured, than the hand that gave it cut off. And in this I am sure I pursue the general good, whether I please private resentment or no."†

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* Review, vi. 461.

Amongst the expedients resorted to for sustaining the absurd doctrines propagated by Sacheverell and his party, was the publication of books and pamphlets, containing passages picked out of old sermons and printed books, in which the same notions were maintained by former writers and divines of the church, as well as by some who were still living. By this method they thought to enhance their authority; upon which De Foe observes, "Now, as we have sufficient arguments against the doctrine itself, to prove it absurd and ridiculous, such as are drawn from reason, custom, and universal practice, so these things merit no answer. The question is short; is it a doctrine fit to be preached, or is it not? Is it condemned and exploded by the present settlement, or is it not? If the case be thus, then printing the opinions of the present bishops is only a malicious design of exposing them to the contempt of the world, as men that now condemn what they once taught and defended. As to the argument, it gives it no advantage; for if ten thousand bishops and doctors had taught it, if all the

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* Review, iv. 466. † Ibid, 469.

Homilies of the church were on its side, if twenty ages had practised it, yet, if it be against the laws of God, of nature, and of the nation, if it be absurd in itself, and what men neither can nor ought to submit to, all that can be said of those persons is, that they were mistaken." *

The Act of Toleration being aimed at in all the proceedings of the high party, an exemplification was given of it by Sacheverell in his Answer to the charges of the Commons; in which he endeavours to weaken the force of that act by a Jesuitical distinction, which went to show that it was no actual toleration, but merely an *exemption* from the penalties of certain laws which were then in existence. The same notion had been formerly started by Mr. Norris, in his "Charge of Schism continued," which was ably answered by Mr. Tong, in his "Defence of Mr. Henry's Enquiry into the Nature of Schism." De Foe shows the objection to be merely a cavil of words, and a distinction without a difference. He pronounces it the weak effort of a party, to blind the people as to the real meaning of the law; but plainly evincing their soreness at the continuance of that liberty of which they would gladly deprive the Dissenters. † It deserves to be remarked, as illustrative of the precarious state of the Dissenters in this reign, that from this time, the queen, whose affections always went with the high party, adopted the subtile distinction of Sacheverell, and was never more heard, in any of her speeches, to make use of the word *toleration*. ‡

In reply to the charges of the House of Commons, Sacheverell cites a variety of passages from the *Review*, in order to show the danger of the church from the representations of her enemies. Upon this, De Foe observes, that he had no intention of falling upon him at that time; "but since he is pleased to attack me, I can by no means be so much a party to the doctrine of non-resistance, as to forbear my own defence when I am fallen upon in so unfair a manner." Our author re-prints the passages quoted, and then remarks, "As the Doctor and his friends have done me the honour to quote the passages above, as abusive to the church, and evidences of the danger of it, I have, to avoid mis-representation, given you the particulars together. I thank God, they have not been able to pick any thing out of all I have written, that I have any reason to be ashamed of, or any thing but what even those Church-of-England-men who are in their right wits, and in the true interest of the church, will acknowledge to be for her service." He says, he could have reproached the Doctor with his behaviour in several particulars: "And though he has been pleased to justify his conduct as to the Revolution, I could have sufficiently exposed him on that account. As to his morals, his manners, and his moderation, I could have painted them much to his disadvantage; but I have forborne both on account of his troubles." *

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* Review, vi. 533, 4. † Ibid, 545.

‡ Life of Dr. Daniel Williams, p. 63.

The scenes that accompanied the trial of this incendiary, served to point out the little regard that people pay to abstract doctrines, as well as to confirm the account that De Foe had always given of the real character of these men, as well as of their principles. The violent and seditious proceedings of the mob upon this occasion, are matters of great notoriety, and are thus noticed by De Foe.

"Rebellion to defend non-resistance. It stands upon record, that March 1, 1709-10, the rabble being encouraged for two or three days by the Doctor and his friends to wait upon him to and from Westminster in cavalcade, more

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* Review, vi. 573—5.

like an ambassador of state, than a criminal going to the bar of justice; after they had housed the Doctor in great mob-pomp, and had shouted before his door for some time, they separated themselves into several bodies, as if detached by command of their directors, and went directly to the Dissenting meeting-houses, broke open *seven* of them, and pulling down the pulpits, pews, galleries, windows, and every thing they could demolish, carried them out into the streets, and burnt them. Besides this, they broke open and rifled the dwelling-houses of two Dissenting ministers, Mr. Burgess and Mr. Earle, carried away or destroyed their goods, books, &c., and with much ado were prevented from burning one of their houses. And now, gentlemen, you see what the *Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, so long ago warned you of. Here is another exemplification of Sacheverell's bloody flag. The Dissenters and low-churchmen, for their interest is the same, may in this see plainly what they are to expect, and what the true meaning of the non-resistance doctrine is." *

De Foe traces all the disorders in the nation, to the inconsistent and violent conduct of high-flying churchmen. "These are the heads and true originals of our tumults and mob. To these, we owe riot to explain non-resistance, and pulling down meeting-houses, as a testimony of their zeal for the indulgence of tender consciences. 'Till this sort of people appeared in the world, there was no such thing known. Even in King Charles II.'s days, they could never bring the mob to pull down the meeting-houses, or rob the dwelling-houses of the Dissenters. And really in this the different temper of this party from any that has been known in England will appear. We have had mobs formerly upon various occasions, and I have some thoughts of giving the world a short tract I have had long by me, intitled, " A History of the Mob ;" but these mobs always aimed at pulling down some real grievance, and when the work was over, they had no further mischief in view. But this rabble was filled with thieves and murderers, robbers and incendiaries; their rage was bloody, their temper barbarous, and their end plunder and destruction." * Upon this subject, he observes, " No man shall have it to say, that the *Review* is for encouraging tumults; for, though some madmen are not equally mischievous with others, yet all tumults are dangerous in their effects." † He adds, " Their aim at the bank was a visible testimony whither they tended. No doubt, rifling the bank was as much for the queen, as demolishing the meeting-houses was for the church." ‡ Yet, by these artifices did the mob delude themselves, nor did their leaders endeavour to undeceive them.

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* Review, vi. 565, 6.

De Foe informs us, that the popularity of this fanatic occasioned many of his high-flying brethren to envy him the glory of his sufferings. Of this, he gives two remarkable instances, in Mr. Luke Milburn, of St. Ethelburg, London; and Dr. Francis Higgins, of Dublin; " who have both preached, talked, and done all they can, if possible, to provoke the parliament to take notice of them too, and can't bring themselves into trouble for their lives. The Commons are so ill-naturedly civil, so tame, so passive, that though they have said all the virulent seditious things that their greatest wit, and greater rage can invent, they cannot provoke the House to think them considerable enough to be taken into custody, or to be honoured with a prosecution. This is very hard indeed !" § Milburn had published an absurd sermon, in which he attempted to press the Apostle Paul into his service, as enjoining non-resistance upon the early Christians. But De Foe justly observes, that this could amount to no more than a peaceable demeanour to the governments they happened to live under, with the forms of which, or with the persons that administered them, they were not to interfere. "'Tis evident to all who know any thing of the Roman history, that those very emperors derived their dominion from one or both of the following sources:—Resistance of the preceding emperor whom they violently deposed; or the choice of the people, whether the citizens of Rome, or the soldiery." And in either case, he observes, this is directly contrary to the doctrine then pleaded for. "From all which, it seems to me, that the measures of submission to princes are controlled very much by the laws of every country in which they govern, and the general rule of the subject; and that when both are subverted by a lawless tyrant, and no other way can be found to reduce him, he may be reduced by force: which doctrine, if it be not true, there is not one nation in the world but must be damned for rebellion, and for resisting the ordinance; since, according to Mr. Milburn's text,—'*They that resist, receive to themselves damnation.*—Rom. xiii. 2.'" *

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* Review, vi. 587. † Ibid, 590. ‡ Ibid, 598. § Ibid, 570.

Writing upon the subject, at the latter end of March, De Foe says, "We have had a most distracting, turbulent time for the last two months, occasioned by the prosecution of a high-flying clergyman. His defence has been carried on with all possible heat, fury, and violence, by the party, and a strong conjunction of Papists, Jacobites and High-Church madmen, has made them appear very formidable to the world. Rabbles, tumults, plundering of houses, demolishing meeting-houses, insulting gentlemen in the streets, and honest men in their dwellings, have been the necessary consequence of this affair. And, after all, I must own, though the man has been condemned, his principles censured, and his sermon burnt, yet, it has not been without the most fatal consequences to the nation; as it has revived the heats and animosities which began to be laid asleep."

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* Review, vi. 570.

As De Foe had been one of the foremost in denouncing the proceedings of the party, it was to be expected that he would be amongst the first to reap its vengeance. The threatenings that were now held out to him, and the manner in which he met them, are thus detailed by himself. "I am none of those who boast of their adventures, and love to tell long stories of the dangers they run. I am not always to be frighted with threatening letters, and shams of assassination; ever thinking, those people who talk so much of killing, never do it. Though I am not to be classed with those you call fighting fellows, yet I am not in the number of those who are afraid to see themselves die; and may, I hope, without being taxed with vanity, profess not to practice non-resistance. I have by me fifteen letters from gentlemen of more anger than honour, who have faithfully promised to come and kill me by such and such a-day; nay, some have descended to tell me the very manner; yet not one of them has been so good as his word. Once, I had the misfortune to come into a room where five gentlemen had been killing me a quarter of an hour before; yet, to the reproach of their villanous design, as well as of their courage, they did not dare to own it to a poor defenceless man when he was too much in their power. In short, I here give my testimony, from my own experience, and I note it for the instruction of these five assassins, that their cause is villanous, and that makes the party cowardly. A man that has any honour in him, is really put to more difficulty how to speak, than how to act; in the case of murder and assassination, he is straightened between the extremes of shewing too much courage, or too much fear.

"Should I tell the world, the repeated cautions given me by my friends not to appear in the streets, nor to show myself; letters sent to bid me remember Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, Mr. Tutchin, and the like; should I let you know how I have been three times beset and waylaid for the mischief designed, but still I live; you would wonder what I mean. Wherefore, my brief resolution is this: while I live, they may be assured I shall never desist doing my duty, in exposing the doctrines that oppose God and the Revolution; such as passive submission to tyrants, and non-resistance in cases of oppression. If those who are at a loss for arguments, are resolved to better their cause by violence and blood, I leave the issue to God's providence; and must do as well with them as I can. As to defence, I have had some thoughts to stay at home by night, and by day to wear a piece of armour on my back; the first, because I am persuaded these murderers will not do their work by day light; and the second, because I firmly believe they will never attempt it fairly to my face.

"I confess, there may be some reason for me to apprehend this wicked party; and therefore, as I thank God I am without a disturbing fear, so I am not without caution. Assassination and murther are, indeed, something more suitable to the high-flying cause, and has been more in use with that party than with other people. 'Tis the cause of tyranny, and tyranny always leads to blood. Oppression goes hand in hand with violence; and he that would invade my liberty, would invade my life as he has opportunity. But I cannot see why they should be so exasperated at the poor *Review;* a sorry, despised author, to use the words of one of their party, whom nobody gives heed to. Well, then, let your anger be pointed at some more significant animal, that is more capable to wound you, and do not own this author to be so considerable as to engage your resentment, lest you prove the unanswerable force of what he says, by the concern you are at to suppress him. But if he were to be sacrificed by your impious hands, truth would never want champions to defend it; and killing the *Review* would be like cutting off the monster's head for a hundred to rise up in the room of it.

"Upon the whole, as I am going on in what I esteem my duty, and for the public good, I firmly believe it will not please God to deliver me up to this bloody and ungodly party; and therefore shall still go on to expose a bigotted race of people, in order to reclaim and reform them, or to open the eyes of the good people of Britain, that they may not be imposed upon. Whether, in this work, I meet with punishment or praise, safety or hazard, life or death, *Te Deum Landamus*."*

De Foe was one of the few persons who felt satisfied at the sentence of Sacheverell, who was interdicted from preaching for three years. The rejoicings of the misled people, as expressed in bonfires, illuminations, and other expressions of triumph, shewed pretty evidently that they anticipated a heavier punishment; and perhaps the feebleness of the government was never more conspicuous than upon this occasion. Had the Whigs displayed as much skill and vigour as their opponents, they might have crushed the hopes of that unconstitutional party; but the moderation of their government, however creditable to them in other respects, was ill-suited to the turbulent spirit of the times.

The rapid manner in which the high party gained ground from this time, and the extravagant behaviour of their deluded followers, occasioned great despondency amongst the Whigs, who seemed to look upon each other with amazement, as if their cause was lost. From this stupor De Foe endeavoured to arouse them. "Think ye that the cause of liberty and of truth, that has cost so much blood, and has been twenty-two years in planting, is thus to be pulled up and rooted out? No, never fear it; God will not forsake it; and though the pride and security, the divisions and selfishness of its friends, have really opened this door of mischief, and you have with your hands too much encouraged these enemies, and weakened the hands of those that saved you, yet it is not too late to unite and exert yourselves; which, if you do, you will with ease trample this contemptible, though numerous and noisy enemy under your feet."* The course which De Foe had prescribed to himself was in harmony with his principles, and with the known resoluteness of his character. He speaks thus:—"Things are come to that heighth, that we must either defend our cause, or give it up. If it is not the cause of truth, let the queen and parliament determine it to be so, and then perhaps it may be time for honest men to think of it. But if it be the cause of truth, let all the Demas's of the age forsake it, if my heart does not deceive me, yet would I not cease to own and defend it. I am satisfied the cause of liberty is the cause of truth; and it is from this principle only that I oppose the high-church darling Sacheverell, and do it in the teeth of his mob, when his cause would be thought rising, and when I see men that pretend to revolution-principles, cowed and afraid. I have nothing to say to the man; I owe him neither good nor ill; it is the temper of insulting the laws, and preaching up tyranny, that I oppose; and this I will oppose, if the tyrant were an emperor."†

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* Review, vi.—*Pref.*

The excesses committed by the high-church mob, were not confined to London, but spread themselves into remote parts of the kingdom. In the town of Wrexham, in Wales, they dressed up the effigies of the Dissenting ministers, and threw them in their bonfires, "to show their good will to the persons, and the temper of the party." But their vengeance was not confined to Dissenters; all who advocated moderate measures, and constitutional liberty, fell victims alike to their fury. The celebrated Hoadly, who had already distinguished himself as the champion of episcopacy, as well as of liberal principles, was, for the latter offence, singled out by the bigots of the same loyal town, for an exhibition of the same farce they had acted upon the Dissenters. De Foe's account of the affair is worth preserving:—"Mr. Hoadly, a minister of the Church of England, reverend by his office, styled so by the parliament, and recommended to her majesty for further preferment; a sound preacher, far from a Dissenter, having been a zealous disputer against them; this gentleman, guilty of no crime, charged with no immorality, a breaker of no law, only a preacher of liberty, see how he is treated by the rabble at Wrexham. They dress up a man of straw, bring him to the public street of the town, and carry him to the door of the meeting-house, or near it; here in profanation of the holy ordinance of baptism, they christen it, some say they sprinkled water upon it, but they formally gave it a name, and call it Ben. Hoadly; then they put a rope about its neck, and carrying it in triumph, brought it to the whipping-post, and tying it down, as is usual to criminals, scourge it most furiously; then they carry it up, and set it in the pillory; and to finish the tragedy, take it to the water, and drown it. Before this, they dressed up several effigies of Dissenters, as Mr. Daniel Burgess and Dr. Daniel Williams; the one they burnt, and buried the other alive, as they call it; and now they come to a churchman. And what has this good man done to be thus treated? Nothing but what becomes him as a churchman and as a minister; he has defended truth and liberty."*

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* Review, vii. 11, 12. † Ibid, 1.

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* Review, vii. 22, 23.

In surveying the factions of the times, it is natural to look back to some of those causes that produced them. In order to this, observes De Foe, "Let me remind you that a few months before the preaching of Sacheverell's sermon at St. Paul's, there was a paper published here for some time, intitled 'The Rehearsal Revived;' and another called 'A Dialogue between Novel and Scandal.' They were both written by the same author, and that author, as afterwards appeared, was a deprived non-juring clergyman. In these papers, two things were very remarkable. 1. That they frequently made open threatenings of what great efforts would be made this parliament to pull down the power of the low-churchmen and the Dissenters. 2. There was an advertisement inviting the clergy to this high-church war. It began in these words: 'Gentlemen of the clergy, now is the time to exert yourselves,' &c. And now the plot is broke out," continues De Foe, "I think they have exerted themselves indeed."*

Sacheverell's sermon occasioned the revival of two of De Foe's former pieces: one was, "The Shortest Way with the Dissenters; taken from Dr. Sacheverell's sermon, and others: or Proposals for the Establishment of the Church. By the author of the 'True-Born Englishman.' London: printed and sold by the booksellers: price 3d." 8vo. The other was a republication of De Laune's Plea, under the following title: "Dr. Sacheverell's Recantation; or the Fire of St. Paul's quickly quenched, by a Plea for the Nonconformists. London: 1709." 4to. To the large stock of pamphlets elicited by the occasion, De Foe also contributed some original pieces. One of them was, "the New Wonder; or a Trip to St Paul's. By the author of the 'True-Born Englishman.' Printed in the year 1710." 8vo. It is not improbable that he was the author of "a Letter from Captain Tom to the Mob, now raised by Dr. Sacheverell. London: J. Baker, 1710." 8vo. The following, advertised in the *Review* for the 11th of May, was, perhaps, his production. "Instructions from Rome, in favour of the Pretender. Inscribed to the most elevated Don *Sacheverellio*, and his brother Don *Higginisco*. And which all Perkinites, Non-jurors, High-Flyers, Popish-Desirers, Wooden-shoe Admirers, and absolute Non-resistance Drivers, are obliged to pursue and maintain, under pain of his Unholinesses Damnation, in order to carry on their intended subversion of a Government fixed upon Revolution-Principles. London: J. Baker. Registered in the Stationers'-Hall Book. 1710." 8vo. In the *Review* for May 23, is the following note, appended to the advertisement: "The aforesaid book is worthy the perusal of all true lovers of their country, particularly those inhabitants residing in and about Whitechapel."(o) In the number of "Instructions" given by the Pope, is the suppression of the *Review*, the author of which is styled, "a plaguy fellow," whom nothing but a miracle has preserved to be a scourge to the faction, of which the heroes in the title are the ostensible leaders; and they are charged to accomplish it with an assiduity becoming their zeal, lest the eyes of the people should be opened to a sense of their danger. Another work, arising out of the events of the times, and also in the manner of De Foe, is advertised in the *Review* for May 18, with the following title: "The High Church Address to Dr. Henry Sacheverell, for the great service he has done the Established Church and Nation: Wherein is shewn the Justice of the Proceedings of those Gentlemen who have encouraged the pulling down and destroying those Nurseries of Schism, the Presbyterian Meeting-Houses. Submitted to the Consideration of all good Churchmen and conscientious Dissenters. London: J. Baker. 1710. Price One Penny."(P)

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* Review, vii. 33.

(o) This was a blow at Dr. Welton, the rector, who, not long afterwards, caused an altar-piece to be put up in his Church, representing the Last Supper: in which John the beloved disciple is painted in scarlet, and intended, as was thought, to betoken the Chevalier de St. George; whilst Judas was habited in a gown and band, with a black patch upon his forehead, and seated in an elbow-chair. This figure seems to have been originally intended for Bishop Burnet; but the fear of a prosecution alarming the painter, he was allowed to drop the bishop and substitute a dean, and Dr. Kennett became the favoured person. The indecent picture was at length removed by order of the Bishop of London. There is a good engraving of it.

De Foe commenced the *Sixth* volume of his *Review,* upon the 5th of April, 1709, and closed it the 23d of March 1710, when it had reached 150 numbers. A double number was then published, containing six pages of preface, and the following title: "A Review of the State of the British Nation, vol. vi. London: printed in the year 1709." pp. 600. In the preface, he tell us, he had thought every volume would be the last, but "where it will end now, and when, God only knows, and time only will discover." As the preface was written at the close of the volume, when the peace of the nation was threatened by a lawless faction, his

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(P) Amongst the publications arising out of the event, was a long poem, representing the freaks of the mob, and praising them for their well-timed demonstrations of loyalty, and zeal for the Church. The *Review* is bantered for losing the support of his magazine of original power; and De Foe figures several times in the course of the work. The author was Ned Ward, who published his low effusions in separate cantos, and afterwards collected them into a volume with the following title: "*Vulgus Britannicus*: Or the BRITISH HUDIBRAS, in fifteen cantos. The five parts complete in One Volume. Containing the Secret History of the late London Mob; their Rise, Progress, and Suppression by the Guards, Intermixed with the Civil Wars betwixt *High-Church* and *Low-Church,* down to this Time. Being a Continuation of the late Ingenious Mr. Butler's *Hudibras.* Written by the Author of the London Spy. The Second Edition, adorned with Cuts of Battles, Emblems and Effigies, engraven on Copper-plates. London: printed for Sam. Briscoe, &c. 1710." 8vo. pp. 180.

feelings were warmed by the subject; and he gives a particular account of his own treatment, which has been already detailed.

The topics discussed in this volume, are few in number, but judiciously chosen in reference to popular feeling. The prospect of a speedy termination to a long and expensive war, furnished a pleasing topic for the opening numbers. In the course of his remarks, he takes the opportunity of paying a suitable compliment to the Lord-Treasurer Godolphin, by whose skilful and economical management, England had made so great a figure in the war. This he notices, not with the design of flattering the minister, a thing he despised, but from a desire of doing him that justice which was extorted by truth. The failure of the negociations having made a great impression upon the funds, De Foe took the opportunity of exposing the system of stock-jobbing, which had an injurious influence upon public credit. "If the stock-jobbers can obtain a victory over public credit," says he, "as it seems they can when they please, it is more in their power to ruin us, than in the Mareschal de Villars, if he had defeated our army. And, 'tis very plain, if this humour prevails a little further, we must make peace or carry on the war, just as the fate of the kingdom stands in Exchange Alley."* When De Foe wrote, the mystery of stock-jobbing was in its infancy, yet sufficiently understood to become the instrument of many projects which ended in fraud and desolation. These, he exposes in no measured terms, and points out the injury they inflicted upon fair trade and credit.

In the 34th number of the present volume, De Foe enters upon his long promised discourse concerning trade, which he commences by an enquiry into its origin and sources. From the natural wants of man, he deduces the origin of labour;

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* Review, vi. 118.

as he does that of trade, from an exchange of its products, arising out of personal convenience. Being at first carried on by barter, there would be some who had no equivalent to give but their own labour; hence the origin of contracts for service. But, as people increased, a more convenient, and more certain medium of exchange became necessary, and gave rise to the introduction of money. Foreign trade owed its origin to the separation of mankind into states and kingdoms, the creation of new wants by the progress of civilization, and the facility of transporting the produce of different countries from one part of the earth to another. From these general topics, he descends to what he calls "the subject of trade," under three particulars. 1. The people, by which he means the productive classes. 2. The necessaries of life, including subsistence and defence. 3. The pleasures and conveniences of life, commonly included in the term luxuries. These subjects he discusses at some length, evincing extended information, and no small share of acuteness.

His remarks upon the unproductive classes of society, are at once shrewd and appropriate. "When I am describing the people," says he, "I mean not the passive, good for nothing, who walk starving through the thoroughfare of life, and have no share in the active part of it, leaving no notice to posterity that ever they have been here. But the people who labour, or employ those that labour; trade, or assist those that trade; enjoy, or assist those that enjoy this life, like men, like benefactors to their country, and like Christians, assisting futurity, by laying up funds of wealth, and improvements for posterity, and a posterity instructed to manage them." Of another sort of idlers, he gives the following description. "There is a sort of drones in the hive, that live on the labour and industry of the others. These were intolerable to the nation but for two things. 1. That they help to consume the produce; and 2. That they pay for it. Otherwise, some of our gentry, by their course of life, would almost give occasion of suspecting their Maker of having made a creature of no use to himself, nor to any body else. The idle fellow is an animal who thinks nothing, acts nothing, and knows nothing; who, like Solomon's fool, hates instruction, and has no delight in understanding; who eats only to live, and lives for nothing but to die, which may happen some time or other, he neither concerns himself how, nor when. He rises in the morning with no other prospect or design, but of going to bed at night; has neither wish nor desire, hope nor fear, envy nor love, passion nor affection,—but to the weighty affair of *doing nothing*. These people deserve an abler pen than mine to describe, and I mention them only because I am obliged to note, that these are a negative upon my discourse; being none of the people whose increase is the wealth and strength, the glory and beauty of a nation."* (Q)

More than half of the volume is devoted to the affairs of Scotland; in the discussion of which he takes a survey of the capabilities of the country, and bestows some strictures upon the political condition of the people. His remarks upon foreign politics, are confined chiefly to those of Sweden and Muscovy, to which his attention was called at this time by the defeat of Charles XII. at the battle of Pultowa. Such a reverse of fortune had been long contemplated by De Foe, who said repeatedly, that the king would instruct his enemies in the art of war, and eventually teach them to beat him. He now congratulated himself upon his political foresight; but was far from rejoicing at the event, being desirous of seeing that heroic prince at the head of the Protestant interest in Europe. Alluding to his former speculations upon the subject, he says, " I shall not pretend to boast over those gentlemen who formerly thought themselves better judges of these affairs than other folks; 'tis enough to see them mistaken, and that the *Review* told them they were so, when they little thought it would be so evidently made out. Nor will they find me speak with one jot more disrespect of the king of Sweden now, than I did before; I feared not his resentment then, and I scorn to insult any man's character for his misfortunes. Truth is above the resentment of princes; and I thank God, I dare write it in the face of the greatest prince or person at home or abroad." *

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* Review, vi. 135.

(Q) The above remarks may remind the reader of an excellent paper in the " Lounger," No. 59.

De Foe had for a long time laid aside that department of his paper which was devoted to amusement, for the reason here given. "As to the *Review*, it is grown old and grave, and has left off making you laugh, because he thinks 'tis more for your service, to make you wise; and, therefore, he rather applies to serve than to direct you." †

In the following passage, he resigns the task of reforming the age to the "Tatler;" but announces the institution of an office for granting licences at certain rates, to those who were not to be cured of their vices. "When first this paper appeared in the world," says he, "I erected a court of justice, for censuring and exposing the scandalous vices of the age; and abundance of cases stand recorded in the vast journals of our *Scandal Club*. For a while I laid aside the Herculean labour, and am glad to see the society honoured by the succession in their just endeavours of the venerable Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq.; who, vouchsafing to rake in your laystall, may perhaps bring you to a just notion of your follies. But since I have with long experience, found that this is a work of time, and cannot be brought to perfection without some difficulty; in the meantime, that in this scarcity of funds and general weight of public debts, *Sin*, among the rest of the nation's manufactures, may not go untaxed; but, as it brought the judgment of the war upon us, it may help to bear the expence of it, I have resolved, and perhaps may, hereafter, get an act of Parliament, with a borrowing clause upon it, to erect a faculty-office, for licencing the modern crimes of the town, upon a price to be paid, so long and no longer than till the laudable endeavour, and just authority, of Esquire Bickerstaff, aforesaid, have effectually suppressed them."* In an advertisement, he observes, "No person is to disturb the office till after Monday the 6th of March, as the master is wholly taken up in settling a book of rates, and particularly in making an agreement with the clergy about the price of preaching sedition at St. Paul's; the rate of which, including abuse of the government, you shall, perhaps, know in our next.,'† He there observes, "That crimes crowd in so fast, that the rates cannot be settled fast enough, so that for the present, things must stand upon the same footing as before; and, if a man goes mobbing a meeting-house, rifling a Dissenting minister's house, &c., though the act be meritorious in itself, and as soon as our laws are settled, he might come off better, yet, for the present, he must be content to be hanged *a little*, till we can make better provision in the case."‡ In another *Review*, he says, "It has been under debate for ten days past, upon what terms Non-jurors may plot against their sovereign, high-churchmen rail at their bishops, hair-brained priests affront the government, and the oath-taking Jacobites abuse the queen; and because the gentlemen begin to be impatient, we have resolved, 1. That Non-jurors shall quietly pay double taxes. 2. That high-churchmen shall rail at their bishops upon the stipulation that they never pretend to be made bishops themselves. 3. The hot-spur clergymen may abuse the parliament, queen, and revolution, exactly at the same price as Dr. Sacheverell. These affairs being settled, the gentlemen may, if they please, come to the office, and, taking out their licences, go to work when they will" *

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* Review, vi. 265.

† Ibid, vi. 133.

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* Review, vi. 563. † Ibid, 564. ‡ Ibid, 567.

The writings of De Foe, mingled as they were with caustic wit, and serious argument, were a source of constant mortification to the Tories and high-churchmen; who set no bounds to their malice, and employed the most dishonourable artifices to procure their suppression. The following advertisement upon the subject, appears in the last two numbers of the volume. "Whereas, great industry has been used to suppress this Paper, by several members of a party to whom it is particularly grievous to hear too much truth, by whose art the publication of it has been so far stopped, that none have been to be had either of the hawkers, or at the shops where other such papers are sold. These are to give notice, that for the future, over and above the usual number delivered by the publisher, a certain number shall be left at Mr. Nathaniel Cliff's, bookseller in Cheapside, near Mercer's chapel; and at Mrs. Pye's, at the sign of the Golden Perriwig, at Charing Cross, where any gentleman may be supplied, either with single *Reviews*, or whole volumes, as they please." (R)

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* Review, vi. 588.

(R) In the *Review* for the 4th of June, is the following advertisement relating to its circulation. "Whereas, from the 25th of March, this Paper has been re-printed three times a week in Edinburgh, and published in all the principal towns and cities of Scotland, and that several people have been at the trouble and charge to send advertisements of sales, books, medicines, &c. down to Edinburgh, to be there inserted in the *Review*. These are to give notice, that for saving the trouble, charges, and difficulties of that method, all those who desire to have any advertisement inserted in the *Review* published in Scotland, may agree for the same with John Matthews, Printer, in Little Britain, and sending the same to him, it will be faithfully inserted in the said paper in Scotland, without any further charge. *Note*. The counties of Northumberland and Westmoreland, are also supplied with this Paper, from Scotland, together with the towns of Belfast, Carrickfergus, and city of Londonderry, in Ireland."

To the power of the *Review*, as the organ of liberal opinions, and as an antidote to the schemes of the high-flyers, there needs no other testimony than the malice of its enemies, who were unceasing in their endeavours to suppress it. Unable to silence the writer, they determined to fall upon the publisher, whom they at length succeeded in detaching from the work. The particulars of this affair are related by De Foe in his Paper for the 25th of April, 1710; and are as follows.

" Alas, poor *Review!* The rage of the party has reached thee among the rest; and the world is thus deprived of this day's publication. For, behold, a party of high-churchmen falling upon Mr. Matthews, the honest publisher, have taken him prisoner; and the man being entirely in their custody, and consequently not *sui juris,* you are to expect no more *Reviews* from his hand. Nor can any body blame him; for, when people are frighted, they are not masters of their usual resolution, nor, indeed, of their understandings. The case is this:

" It has been observed in several *Reviews* past, that great endeavours have been used to stifle and suppress this paper. Sometimes, the author has been threatened and bullyed, at other times the printer; sometimes, they carry it to this grand-jury to be presented, sometimes to that; sometimes, the government is solicited to discourage and silence it; sometimes, the indignation of the party is shewn one way, sometimes another; but finding all in vain, and that the author continues to gall them with plain truth, their last poor shift has been to tamper with the publishers and dispersers of it. This I endeavoured to rectify, by appointing two houses in town for the sale of it, besides the usual place; but the party soliciting every publisher to suppress it, we have now removed it from the former place of publication, and put it into the hands of Mr. Baker, who will not be biassed, terrified, or any way prevailed upon to keep it back." The first paper published by him was the thirteenth of the seventh volume, and is the first with an imprint.

About this time, one Cooper, a Yorkshire clergyman, of loose morals, contrived to introduce himself to the notice of Lord Wharton; and by avowing the same political opinions as his lordship, hoped to secure his favour, and by that method to procure some preferment in the church. As the man was a stranger to that noble Lord, who seems to have been imposed upon by his representations, De Foe, who had become acquainted with his real character, was desirous of undeceiving him upon this point, as well as to spare the church the disgrace of so unholy a pastor. In pursuance of these laudable motives, he transmitted a private letter to Lord Wharton, to whom he appears to have been hitherto unknown. The effect of this communication cannot be now told; but the letter, for which the present writer is indebted to Mr. Upcott of the London Institution, the reader will find in the note. (s) De Foe, who seems to have had his eyes

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(s) " My Lord,—As this is written from a sincere principle of duty, and respect to your L^{d}pp. and a just concern for that honest cause your L^{d}pp. is so heartily embarked in, I hope your L^{d}pp. will pardon the forwardness and presumption of the attempt, tho' you should not accept of y^{e} hint. I am not going to offer to yo^{r} L^{d}pp. any thing that wants proof, or that shuns sufficient inquiry. I should not have insulted a person of yo^{r} L^{d}pp's. character in that manner. The design is not to speak in y^{e} dark, but to assist truth to come into y^{e} light, and offer something to y^{r} L^{d}pp. for y^{r} L^{d}pp's farther and pticular enquiry, and services, and therefore, my Lord, I shall neither conceal from yo^{r} L^{d}pp. the story, nor who it is that writes it.

" I have my Lord repeated importunitys from some people in y^{e} north, men of honesty and friends to y^{r} L^{d}pp's. interest, to acquaint y^{r} L^{d}pp. of the following affair. Their only mistake is that they suppose I have y^{e} honor to be known to y^{r} L^{d}pp., which is their error as it is my misfortune, and my not having that honour is the occasion of my makeing so much preamble to y^{r} L^{d}pp. contrary to my custom in y^{e} world, and for w^{ch} I ask y^{r} L^{d}pp's. pardon. The story is this:

' There is one Cooper, a Clergy Man of or near Leeds, who if Fame every where, was not unacquainted with the low state of morals amongst the Yorkshire clergy. In order to awaken the people, and especially the holders of church patronage, to the propriety of decorum in their teachers, he announced the following squib in his *Review* for January 14, 1710. "Just published, The Northern Worthies: Or a Visitation

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sayes true, is now or has been lately, applying himself to y^{r} L^{d}pp. either to be entertained in y^{r} L^{d}pp's. service, or to obtain y^{r} L^{d}pp's favour and recommendation to some living, or some other way to be employ'd or advanced by y^{r} L^{d}pp.; and pticularly, it is alledged that he gets himself recomended to y^{r} L^{d}pp. as a Low Churchman or a moderate man, and as persecuted and turn'd out by the Vicar on account of his moderation, &c.

"Now my Lord, the business of this Letter is to give yo^{r} L^{d}pp. a true acco^{t} of y^{e} morals and manners of this man, that yo^{r} L^{d}pp. may be inform'd from unquestioned authority what kind of person he is, and nobody then questions but y^{r} L^{d}pp. knows what measures to take either that y^{e} church may not be ill served and further reproach^{t}, or y^{r} L^{d}pp's. recommendac̃on dishonour'd by the most scandalous person alive.

"And my Lord, that yo^{r} L^{d}pp. may not depend upon my single authority, I shall give y^{r} L^{d}pp. his brief character in the words I rec^{d} it, and the psons. shall at any time be produced for yo^{r} L^{d}pp's. farther satisfacc̃on."

"From Leeds, March 22.—'This scandalous priest his name is Cooper, he was seen in y^{e} very act, debauching a woman on a Sunday morning, and pticularly. being to administer y^{e} Sacrament the same day, and did also actually administer y$_{e}$ Sacram^{t} in our church that same day (called y^{e} old Church in Leeds). Perjury in several cases can be proved against him, and that in severall places he has been discarded as a common drunkard, and for his being a common swearer our whole town will witness it. For these crymes our Vicar turn'd him out, and deny'd him his pulpit, upon which he is fled to my L^{d} Wharton for preferm^{t}, and we are told my Lord has given him hope of a liveing, &c.'

"Thus far my author. There is more in my Letter, but I presume this is enough to prevent yo^{r} L^{d}pp. being imposed upon—and this I thought it my duty to lay before y^{r} L^{d}pp. If your L^{d}pp. please to hear any more, or that I should make farther enquiry about it, in that, or any thing else for y^{r} L^{d}pp's service, I shall esteem it my hono^{r} to receive y^{r} L^{d}pp's. com̃ands.

"I am, may it please yo^{r} L^{d}pp.
"Yo^{r} L^{d}pp's. most humble and obedient Serv^{t},
"De Foe."

"From Newington, near Hackney,
"Ap^{ll} 7th. 1710."

of the Yorkshire Clergy; a Satire humbly dedicated to Parson Plaxton, the Reverend Author of the Yorkshire Racers. To be bought where it is to be sold, and to be sold where it is to be bought: Written for the edification of the Northern Gentry, and to cure them of the Contagion of Priestcraft. In five volumes in Folio. Price *5l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* being a very voluminous work."

CHAPTER V.

Effects of Sacheverell's Trial.—De Foe's Picture of the Times.—His Opinion of the Tories.—Addresses to the Queen.—De Foe's Remarks upon them.—Letter to Sir Jacob Banks.—Prosecution of the Author.—Further Remarks upon the Addresses.—De Foe threatened for his writings.—Defies his Enemies.—Sacheverell's Progress in the Country.—De Foe's notice of it.—And of the expected change in the Ministry.—His character of the Earl of Sunderland.—And of the other Ministers.—Corruption of the Times.—Harley's Mysterious Conduct.—De Foe's Reflections upon the Times.—He recommends a Sermon by Dr. Goddard.—Both Satirized by Dr. King.—Completion of the Ministerial Changes.—Character of Harley, St. John, and Harcourt.—Publications for and against the new Ministers.—Decline of Public Credit.—De Foe writes for its support.—Essay upon Public Credit.—Essay upon Loans.—Publication of the "Examiner."—History of that work.—"Swift's Political Conduct."—"The Whig Examiner."—"The Medley."—De Foe's Remarks upon these works.

1710.

The trial of Sacheverell was the commencement of a drama, which unfolded plot after plot, and in which the whole nation became the actors. Church-politics, having become the order of the day, were no longer confined to the clergy and to ministers of state; even women and children arranged themselves in the hostile attitude of party, and the very street-gentry dealt out learned discourses upon the subject. In the following narrative, De Foe has furnished us with a curious picture of the times.

"The women lay aside their tea and chocolate, leave off visiting after dinner, and forming themselves into cabals, turn privy-councillors, and settle the affairs of state. Every lady of quality has her head more particularly full of business than usual; nay, some of the ladies talk of keeping female secretaries, and none will be fit for the office but such as can speak French, Dutch, and, which is worse, Latin. Gallantry and gaiety are now laid aside for business; matters of government and affairs of state are become the province of the ladies; and no wonder if they are too much engaged to concern themselves about the common impertinences of life. Indeed, they have hardly leisure to live, little time to eat and sleep, and none at all to say their prayers. If you turn your eye to the park, the ladies are not there; even the church is thinner than usual; for, you know, the mode is for privy-councils to meet on Sundays. The very play-house feels the effects of it; and the great Betterton died a beggar on this account. Nay, the Tatler, the immortal Tatler, the great Bickerstaff himself was fain to leave off talking to the ladies, during the Doctor's trial, and turn his sagacious pen to the dark subject of death, and the next world; though he has not yet decided the ancient debate, whether Pluto's regions were, in point of government, a kingdom or a commonwealth."

The influence of high-church politics upon the character of the nation in general, is thus described by our author. "Mobs, rabbles, and tumults, possess the streets; whores, pimps, and cullies, the walks; the dressing, the powdering, the beau-monde is adjourned to the chocolate-houses, and is all among the men: the ladies are otherwise engaged; even the little boys and girls talk politics. Little Miss has Dr. Sacheverell's picture put into her prayer-book, that God and the Doctor may take her up in the morning before breakfast; and all manner of discourse among the women runs now upon war and government. Tattling nonsense and slander is transferred to the males, and adjourned from the toilet to the coffee-houses and groom-porters. This being the general state of the nation, you must no more wonder that our wiser statesmen, and able ministry, totter in their high posts, and you are every day alarmed with changes at court. This new invasion of the politician's province, is an eminent demonstration of the sympathetic influence of the clergy upon the sex, and the near affinity between the gown and the petticoat; since all the errors of our present or past administrators, and all breaches made upon our politics, could never embark the ladies till you fell upon the clergy. But, as soon as you pinch the parson, he holds out his hand to the ladies for assistance, and they appear as one woman in his defence."

Some political changes in favour of the Tories having been talked of, our author observes, "Nobody but old women would propose such a set of state-cripples to rectify the mistakes, as they call them, of the present government. If ever earth produced such a wretched society of statesmen, then I have lost my eye-sight. Some people," says he, "have thought I have been too plain for my own safety, but they are mistaken: I can yet be plainer, and shall be so, for who shall truth be afraid of? This nation is come to a time when the actions of the greatest men are accountable to law; and no man can run the length, that former ministers have ventured upon, with impunity." Our author proceeds to inquire into the character of the persons who supported the high-flyers, and describes them as, generally speaking, the worst-principled, and most immoral part of the people. "A wretched contemptible party assault the constitution, address the sovereign in terms they ought to be indicted for, caress the queen by invading her title, and trump up the shadow of a title which would cause her overthrow. I would fain ask how they can have the impudence to speak in the same addresses, of the Protestant succession? And I wonder, when these people come to truckle under the Hanover succession, what they will say of hereditary right, when they come forward with their addresses." * (T)

The manifestoes of loyalty here alluded to, now flowed in upon the queen in great abundance. As the sentiments conveyed in such documents vary with time and circumstances, the absence of consistency in the framers precludes any suspicion of their value; nor did the parties concerned, attach any greater meaning to them at this time, than they had been accustomed to do upon former occasions. In such matters, however, there is always a wheel within a wheel, and the crafty politicians of the period knew well how to turn them to account. Although the language they were made to speak was too absurd to be believed, yet, being contrived for party-purposes, they were adapted accordingly; and their anticipated effect was in proportion to their number. Besides incorporating the exploded doctrines of the Tories, they recommended the queen to change her councils, and dissolve the parliament.

The addresses began in Gloucestershire, which also set the pattern of servility. The city of London, "over-ruled by 114 against 95, chimed in with the times, and voted an address after the mode of their Gloucestershire masters, entreating her majesty to accept their assistance in turning tyrant, and setting up the prerogative above the law." Upon which De Foe remarks, that it was but twenty-six years before, that the same wise body surrendered their

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* Review, vii. 69—76.

(T) "I well remember I was once questioned before the privy-council of England, in the beginning of the queen's reign, for a Paper of some *Questions*, which they that brought me there never thought fit to let the world know what they found fault with; and one of the Questions was this: 'Whether her majesty was not as much an usurper as King William?' A great many objections were made to the rest of that Paper; but when their lordships came to this, and it was read, not a word was said to it; and I would be glad to hear what any body could say to it now."—*Review*, vii. 90, 91.

charter to a former sovereign, and petitioned him to accept of their liberties, which they placed at his absolute disposal.* The Oxfordshire address makes a curious association of blasphemy and revolution-principles. "It is easy to observe," say the addressers, "that the most open patrons of resistance are equally encouragers of blasphemy and profaneness; as if their poisonous arrows, which have been shot as well against *God* as his *vicegerent*, have come out of the same quiver." De Foe advises these loyal persons to present another address, beseeching her majesty to appoint a solemn day of fasting and humiliation to deprecate the anger of heaven, for resisting and deposing her royal father; and to appoint suitable prayers to be offered for his male-heirs, that they may be prospered in all their righteous endeavours for the recovery of the throne of their ancestors, from which they are illegally excluded by an ungodly resistance. In exhorting the public to repent of this national sin, and reform it accordingly, he proceeds in a strain of irony, "I might dilate a little here upon the terrible judgments this land groans under at this time, occasioned by the long continuance of this great sin of rebellion and resistance; such as, the curse of liberty, the plague of parliaments, and the like; which, if it please God but to deliver us from, we might in time come to enjoy the invaluable blessings of Popish devotion, arbitrary domination, golden chains, most beautiful wooden-shoes, *Jure Divino* princes, passively-obedient slaves, and universal bondage; with all the wealth, plenty, commerce and peace, that constantly attends slavery."†

The address from Minehead asserted the doctrine of non-resistance, in the most unqualified terms, even in cases of tyranny and oppression. This gave rise to a very popular pamphlet, which passed through at least twelve editions within a few months, and is intitled, "A Letter to Sir Jacob Banks, by birth a Swede, but naturalized, and a Member of the Present Parliament: concerning the late Minehead Doctrine, which was established by a certain Free-Parliament of Sweden, to the utter enslaving of that kingdom. Lond. 1711." 8vo. The author was William Benson, then high-sheriff of Wilts; and in the next reign surveyor-general, and auditor of the Imprests. Having travelled in Sweden, and noticed the effects of arbitrary power there, he wished, by a review of the revolution that produced them, to run a parallel with the existing state of affairs in his own country, which he considered as tending to the same fatal consequences." It was in reality holding up a glass to the ministers, the parliament, and the queen herself, in which each of them could not but see their own resemblance."* More than sixty thousand copies were sold in London, besides two editions at Dublin, and one at Edinburgh. There was also a French translation published at the Hague, and at Amsterdam; and one in High Dutch, at Hamburgh. Being written after the change in the ministry, strong attempts were made to prosecute the author, who was cited before the privy-council, and freely owned the publication. The law-officers being consulted, gave their opinion against the probability of a conviction; but to shew the resentment of the goverment, Mr. Benson was ordered to give bail for his appearance in the court of Queen's Bench, in the sum of four thousand pounds, and was put to much trouble and expence, without being brought to trial. This work gave rise to other publications on the subject; and Mr. Benson, undeterred by the threats of the government, appeared again in the controversy.

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* Review, vii. 22.

† Ibid, 83.

In reference to the foregoing addresses, De Foe says, "I must own they are very particular, and singular above all the addresses I remember in the last thirty years." Some of them, he tells us, "were procured in a dark and clandestine manner, the ignorant people being drawn in to set their hands to them by their mad priests, and others had their names inserted without their consent; in short, every art was resorted to, and all the influence and authority of station employed in this mad work. The language, also, in which they were couched, was seditious in the extreme." By an act passed in the early part of the reign, it was made death to declare, that her majesty has no right to the crown; yet, the addresses virtually set her aside by proclaiming a political dogma, that transferred her title to the Pretender. De Foe had always rested her title upon the act of settlement, which gave her a claim to the prejudice of her brother; he therefore boldly asserts that she has no hereditary right to the crown, and that either the addressors or himself ought to be hanged. "I am sure," says he, "one of us is guilty of treason; and I challenge them fairly to come to trial, and let the law decide it." In satirizing the politics of the high-flyers, he reminds them of the invitation to the Prince of Orange, the expulsion of King James, and the battle of the Boyne, "the more effectually to put in practice the most heavenly Church-of-England doctrine of non-resistance; no question, all agreeable to, and squared by the constant practice of her best members." Coupling these transactions with the course then pursuing by the same men, he asks, "Would any man that had seen the temper of this people, in the time of the late King James, believe it possible, without a judicial infatuation, that the same people should re-assume their blindness, and rise up again for bondage? Never, since the children of Israel demanded to go back and make bricks without straw, and to feed on onions and garlick, was any nation in the world so sordid, and so unaccountably bewitched." *

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* Oldmixon, iii. 477.

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* Review, vii. 105—107.

The party that De Foe had so long mortified by his writings, discovered an impatience of opposition, that arose in proportion as it approached the seat of power. In the politics of high-church, wit was an insupportable grievance, unless wielded in support of priestcraft and intolerance; and these stood no chance with fair discussion. That our author had frequent notifications of the party's displeasure, is not surprising; but it is rather so, that he should have weathered the storm. In the *Review* for June 1, he writes thus: "I am told of presentments and prosecutions, which they are preparing against this Paper, and its so much hated author. Indeed, I know not how soon power may oppress law, and justice be taken captive by the party; and so freedom of speech may be taken way with our other liberties. Therefore, 'tis time to speak, while truth has the protection of a just government, and the laws retain their due sovereignty. I am far from prompting prosecutions, or despising courts of justice; but party-resentments I cannot respect. And what is it makes the party so diligent to find occasion against this author, and if possible, to stop his mouth? The thing is very plain," He then challenges the high-church faction to support their doctrines by legal proceedings, and says, he is ready to repeat his offence, that they may not want matter of crimination.*

Intoxicated by the popularity he had acquired in London, Sacheverell, who still panted for fame, now sought it in remote parts of the country; and early in the summer, set out upon what has been technically termed his *progress*. Upon this redoubtable journey, De Foe has the following remarks. "All our accounts from the country are full of the triumphs of the party, the counties making the second part to the tune of Sacheverell's jig. The Doctor makes his grand tour through the kingdom; he affects all possible popularity, courts the crowd, and makes his leg to the rabble. The inferior clergy, instructed before-hand, make their interest to get him an appearance. Here he is met by the fool-ridden populace, there by some priest-ridden gentlemen, and sometimes by the mob-ridden magistrates. If, at a great city, he foresees some disappointment, and the magistrates seem not to be sensible of his mighty merit, as in other places, he stops and puts into a little bye-ale-house on the way, till his emissaries go into the city to raise the *posse*. But when, with all their skill, they cannot get any body of fashion to shew themselves, then he consents to make his entry with a few forced scoundrels, just as his master, the late King James, of blessed memory, was lamely hallooed into the city, by the same rabble that the next day huzza'd with ten-fold acclamations, the prince that deposed him."* A little afterwards, he tells us, that Sacheverell was parading over the country, to mob the corporations into a high-church election, a dissolution of parliament being daily expected.†

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* Review, vii. 109.

The prospect of a change in the ministry, which had been for some time hanging over the nation, began now to be realized. That an event of such deep importance should create melancholy forebodings in our author, is not surprising. Writing upon the subject, the 17th of June, he says, "For my part, though my view of the approaching mischiefs which a desperate party will bring upon the nation, is as melancholy as any man's, and my own share in the ravages they shall make upon our liberties is likely to be as severe, from the fury of a party, who are in themselves implacable, yet I cannot be so cast down as to give up a cause which God himself has not given up, however the folly, the divisions, and the security of a party that has had it to defend, have brought this all upon them." Upon the falling ministers, De Foe observes, "'Tis to their honour, that they have distinguished themselves from all that ever went before them, not only in zeal for the service of their sovereign, and right judgment of her interest, by which they have raised her glory abroad, and fixed her in the hearts and affections of her subjects at home, but have done it from such disinterested and hearty principles, that we neither hear of their oppressions among the people, nor find any of their misapplications, neglects, or mistakes in the mouths of their worst enemies. It is not for me to inquire, nor for any body to dispute, why her majesty is pleased at any time to change her administration. Hitherto, almost every remove has been for the better; and may it still be so, say I, without in the least suggesting whether it is likely or not." In these remarks, he tells us, he shall not be suspected of flattery; for, when men flatter, 'tis generally the rising, not the falling party.

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* Review, vii. 134. † Ibid, 166.

The first sacrifice was the Earl of Sunderland, one of the Secretaries of State, upon whose merits De Foe pronounces the following eulogium:—"I am not ashamed to own, that I take no delight in panegyrics; yet, there is a justice due to merit, and especially in such an age as this, when it is so scarce. It is particularly remarkable, that of all the removals that have at any time taken place in the court, I never knew one but for which I could see a reason before; some ground of discontent, some breach, or accusation of the person. My Lord Sunderland leaves the office with the most unblemished character that ever I read of any statesman in the world. Nay, so little is to be said, that we do not find his enemies furnish themselves so much as with pretended reasons, contenting themselves with glorying in it. Instead of running into flourishes upon a character that, however bright, has no ears to his own praise; that studies rather to do well than to hear of it; that has the reward of virtue in himself, and seeks rather that virtue whose praise is not of men, but of God; I shall sum up what I have to say, in asking the high-flyers of this age two questions: 1. Is it true, that when her majesty prepared to change hands, and part with his lordship, or as you rudely call it, turn him out, that her majesty, as a testimony of her royal favour, and after being fully satisfied of his lordship's services, sent him word that she had presented him with a pension of 3,000*l. per ann.*, to be settled upon him for life, in some measure to make up the loss of his office? 2. Is it true, that his lordship, though with all respect and duty to his sovereign, yet with a generosity the high-party may be challenged to parallel, answered, No; he was glad her majesty was satisfied that he had done his duty, but if he could not have the honour to serve his country, he would not plunder it; and so refused the pension?" De Foe adds, "I am making no court to my Lord Sunderland. The unpolished author of this Paper never had the talent of making his court to the great men of the age; besides, you see, the tables are turned. Nor am I making any satire upon the queen for changing hands. But the object is, to examine who makes the best servants to her majesty,—those who serve with a disinterested honesty, and seek the service rather than the salary; or those that prey upon their country, and make the enriching themselves the end of their grasping at public employments." Our author bears a like testimony to the public zeal and disinterestedness of the Lord-Treasurer, Godolphin, who was sparing of the public treasure, but lavish of his own. Lord Orford, the First Commissioner of the Admiralty, he tells us, contented himself with the same salary as the other commissioners, by which he sacrificed 2,000*l.* a-year. Of Lord Cowper, he says, "That he studies to make the law easy to the subject, by shortening the process, and putting everything in the cheapest method possible for the client, by refusing customary presents, new-year's gifts, &c., consenting to receive motions instead of petitions, merely because the latter come clogged with fees to himself; and upon all occasions, parting with his perquisites to ease the people." De Foe wishes he could give similar instances of public spirit on the other side, but professes himself unable to do so.*

In reference to these changes, one of our historians observes, " In these corrupt times, there were very few who did not prefer their own private friendship before the public good. The whole sect of Tories was prejudiced against the ministry, and averse to the Duke of Marlborough; some of them being actuated by old animosities, and others drawn over by promises and expectations. Some were provoked by the refusal of their demands, and others again went along with the rest through mere want of thought, mistake, levity, or insatiable avarice; a vice with which very few were at that time untainted. Many were also miserably seduced by false reports, industriously raised: nor were the inferior clergy wanting to promote them, whose number was now greatly increased, as well as their vices, which appeared flagrant before they were ripe, and even among the very youngest of that order."†

The same writer, alluding to a recent trial, speaks thus of the principal agent in these changes: " Mr. Harley, according to his usual way, did not think fit to let this opportunity slip without making his advantage of it, and courted the familiarity of all sorts of people.(U) For he, little regarding his own affairs, spared neither pains nor expence to draw any person into his measures. He was wont to feast with the zealots of all sects and parties, and to invite them to dinner. He never refused any thing they desired of him; he filled many with hopes of what they wished for, promising every one what he desired; but at the same time, he seemed to discover his most secret designs to those only whom he knew to be more solicitous about the public affairs than their own."* Although Harley made use of Sacheverell as a stepping-stone to his own ambition, yet, he had a sovereign contempt for the man, and the cause he served. His conduct throughout the proceedings relating to that incendiary, was marked by the same ambiguity of character that he indicated upon other occasions. When the impeachment was debated in the House of Commons, "Mr. Harley, in a speech not in the least defending the party accused, but condemning the liberty used by the clergy in their discourses, seemed to reflect on his sermon as a *circumgyration* of incoherent words, without any regular order. However, Mr. Harley would not say, but some of the passages drawn from the sermon, as they were put together in the impeachment, by changing the order of the words, were such as he could not approve, although he could not think they deserved a charge of high crimes and misdemeanours. He was, therefore, of opinion, that the censure should either be left to the parliament, or else, that the whole prosecution should be dropped. For, he did not look upon the man to be considerable enough to be prosecuted by an impeachment before the House of Lords, though he owned the sermon rather offensive than religious. The members observed, that Mr. Harley had, in his speech, made use of such a *circumgyration* of incoherent words, as he himself had before condemned in Sacheverell; so that the House could not discover from his expressions, whether he spoke for him or against him."†

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* Review, vii. 141—146. † Cunningham, ii. 280.

(U) Harley was entertaining a party of friends to dinner at his seat in Herefordshire, when he received a packet from London, which having opened, he looked with an air of joy upon his friends, and snapping his finger, cried out in exultation, " The game is up!" Meaning as started by Sacheverell, whose sermon was just then published. He immediately ordered his horses to be got ready, and set out upon his journey to the metropolis.—*Nichols's Anecdotes*, i. 68. *n.*

Whilst the changes were in agitation, De Foe penned the following reflections: "Certainly, these are strange times, and it cannot be amiss to observe the outside of affairs, at least what may, or may not be the consequence. The politics of a party are now every where at work upon the common people, as if the business was to be carried on as it was begun by the mob. The high-flying faction, for such I must call them, have these great works to effect.—1. To get the present parliament dissolved, without which, it is evident truth will have another year to breathe in; and time, the great friend of illuminations, may wear off the scales from the eyes of the deluded people. And, indeed, they have gone so far, that a dissolution seems to be absolutely necessary to them, like a pardon to a thief.—2. To possess the people with innumerable delusions, suggesting the church is struck at, animating them against the Dissenters as attempting to undermine the establishment, and running the country people into heats, tumults, and disorders, that the elections, which they hope to carry by this method, may go their own way.—3. To set up new notions in the people's heads of the queen's right to the crown, less consistent with, and by consequence more preparatory to, a restoration, than the doctrine of the revolution. If I take things in any manner right, this is the present state of the nation." Having been reproved for speaking too plainly, and with too much fire, he says, with submission to the cool judgment of his reprover, "I must tell him it is for want of speaking plain that the party has gotten so much a-head, and that they are able to impose upon the poor people with such absurdities. Had not some people, who pretend to be for a right cause, let it cool in their hands, temporized, flattered, and halted between their zeal and their politics; had they spoken and acted plainly to the information and instruction of the nation, our poor Commons had never been deluded with such ridiculous things as now do this party's business."* The bad effect of the policy pursuing at court, is thus described by our author: "Upon the late removal of a minister of state, the people, whether alarmed at that removal singly, or in apprehension of further alterations, shewed great concern, and the public credit felt it immediately; and it would have felt it more, had it not been for the assurances we are told her majesty gave to the Directors of the Bank, that no other alterations were then designed. This restored things, and made people easy, till the town was alarmed with the report of a dissolution of parliament, when Bank stock again fell from 126 to 118, and other securities in proportion, If any thing will shew the true sense of the nation, it is the rising and falling of credit."†

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* Cunningham, ii. 282.

† Ibid, 285.

To those who were carried away by the foolish notions of Sacheverell, our author recommends "an excellent sermon," preached June 25, in her majesty's royal chapel at Windsor, entitled "The Guilt, Mischief and Aggravation of Censure;" by the Rev. Thomas Goddard, M.A. canon of Windsor. From this discourse, De Foe cites the following passage: "It is not to be wondered at, that an angry, restless, discontented parson should undertake to blacken and asperse a ministry who have all along shewn themselves enemies to violence, and promoters of union. But, that the reviler of the government should be hugged and caressed wherever he goes; that he should be conducted in triumph and with acclamations through part of the kingdom; that his wicked slanders should meet with approbation and encouragement, is the most astonishing thing in the world. This is such a contradiction to the Christian religion, such an affront to government, that I want the spirit of that slander to know by what name to call it."‡ De Foe's commendation of the Whig preacher, excited the misplaced ridicule of Dr. William King, the civilian, who, emulating the folly of the age, employed his wit in the support of Sacheverell and high-church politics. His publications upon this occasion, are thus noticed by a contemporary writer. "In answer to Mr. Goddard's sermon, there came out two frothy, scurrilous libels, stuffed with indecent rudeness. 1. 'A friendly letter from honest Tom Boggy, to the Rev. Mr. Goddard, canon of Windsor; occasioned by a sermon against Censure, preached in St. George's chapel, dedicated to her Grace the Duchess of Marlborough. Very proper to be tacked to the canon's Sermon. 1710.' 8vo. 2. 'A second letter from Tom Boggy, to the canon of Windsor; occasioned by the late panegyrick given him by the *Review* of Thursday, July 13, 1710. London. 8vo.'" * In the last publication, the author introduces a supposed epistle from De Foe, to the canon of Windsor, in which they are made to possess a sympathy of souls. It is in rhyme, and may be seen in the collections of the British poets.

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* Review vii. 191, 2. † Ibid. 181, 2. ‡ Ibid, vii. 183.

The plot so artfully laid by Harley, with the assistance of the new favourite, Mrs. Masham, at length exploded in his favour. "The unhappy queen, tired out with the wrangling of scolding women, seduced by the chattering of her physicians, and withal moved with compassion for her brother, having inquired into the strength of parties, not only began to change her ministers, but her measures also." † The Earl of Sunderland had been re-placed by Lord Dartmouth; and the other ministers being now removed, Harley was put into the treasury, and made Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. St. John, Secretary of State, in the room of Mr. Boyle; (x) the Earl of Rochester, President of the Council;

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* Wisdom of Looking Backwards, p. 49. † Cunningham, ii. 303.

(x) "Mr. St. John, the most eloquent speaker in the whole House of Commons, was a man of parts and ambition greatly beyond his years. His father was always afraid of the forwardness of his youth, but the Duke and Sir Simon Harcourt, Keeper of the Great Seal. (Y) The Lieutenancy in London and other places was also changed; and as the new ministers were suspected of being hostile to the Protestant succession, it was further confirmed by some appointments in favour of persons who were declared friends of the Pretender. "Mr. Harley, to whom it was natural to give fair words to every body, gained upon many people by his address, who were far from being of his sentiments. He judged it most prudent to proceed with moderation; and it is said, he persuaded his friends, and the queen herself, to dissemble many things concerning the Pretender, on account of the Duke of Marlborough's forces, and his extraordinary power both at home and abroad. He was also afraid of the authority and inconstancy of the parliament. The Tories therefore resolved that the present parliament should be dissolved, and another called. Mr. Harley, who had formed his whole scheme, gave many instructions to divers men of different parties, how to

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of Marlborough, who had an excellent talent at discerning any man's capacity, had a few years before conceived a great esteem for him, and looked upon him as one who would in time become a very eminent statesman. I wish this young gentleman had had the conduct to endear himself to his father, and the parliament, and all good men. Whereas, without any regard to them, neglecting true glory, improvement in virtue, and all the rules for good conduct in life, he consumed the whole strength of his parts, which were extraordinary great, in pleasures and popular vanities; and forsaking the right road to the highest honour, which was pointed out to him in his youth, he thought fit to prefer vain and fleeting pleasures to true and lasting glory. But as he was very forward both to speak and act, Mr. Harley took great pains to keep him within bounds."—*Cunningham's Great Brit.* ii. 341.

(Y) "HARCOURT was the most eloquent lawyer of the whole profession, in which he had made great profit; and having now got the place he had long wished for, he adorned his high station with great splendour, and trod the paths of justice with incredible constancy and diligence. Nor did he in council dissemble his being well-affected to the Pretender. He was soon promoted to the peerage, and did not disappoint his friends, who expected he would amass a large fortune."—*Ibid*, p. 342.

reconcile the minds of people to him, and to render them subservient to his measures. Many were inquisitive to know his design; nay, some said, he had no design at all, or else, that it was most artfully concealed, lest by the dissent of any one, the whole combination should be broken. Those who are supposed to know him thoroughly, own that he was averse to the Pretender; but if we may judge of him by his actions, men of all parties agreed in concluding that his designs were in his favour: and it is certain, that he affected to have it thought so." * As the writer just quoted was well acquainted with Harley, he may be considered a competent judge of his character, as far as the mystery with which it was encircled would allow. (z)

To support the pretensions of the new ministers, a variety of pamphlets were now circulated. Their claims to favour were laid open in "An Essay towards a History of the last Ministry and Parliament, containing seasonable Reflections on Favourites, Ministers of State, Parties, Parliaments, and Public Credit. Lond. 1710." Without falling into the fanaticism of the times, the author takes a flattering view of the prospects of the nation, from a review of the past

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* Cunningham, ii. 303.

(z) Harley.—"He was known to every body, but hardly well-known or understood by any; he returned every body's compliments with great civility, spoke kindly to all, and refused nothing to any man. To foreign ministers and the ambassadors of the allies he declared, that he engaged in the administration to strengthen the confederacy, not to break it. But, to our own countrymen he said, he had undertaken that employment to defend our liberty, to support the church in her distress, and to maintain in those difficult times the rights of the people, and the dignity of the queen; protesting and promising, that he would always be the same he then was, and such as we ought to desire and wish him to be. But as he had made the very same professions to every man of all parties, they were no more to be regarded than if he had said nothing; and indeed Mr. Harley was the same now as he had formerly been; always ambitious, but a bitter enemy to the military power in parliament."—*Cunningham's Great Brit.* vol. ii. p. 345.

services of the leading individuals who had now the direction of affairs. Harley, in particular, has a large space allotted to him; and all the ministers are set out in a high strain of panegyric.

About this time, Hoadly, the celebrated Whig churchman, attacked the Tories in disguise; and under the semblance of a friend to the party, dealt out some severe censures upon its proceedings. His tract is intitled, "The Thoughts of an Honest Tory, upon the present proceedings of that Party. In a Letter to a Friend in Town. Lond. 1710." This produced an answer in the same disguise, called, "The Thoughts of an Honest Whig, upon the present proceedings of that Party. In a Letter to a Friend in Town. Lond. 1710." In the last work, De Foe is held up to censure for writing the "Experiment," and is loaded with the same reproaches that the Tories had been long dealing out to him. The stale charge of his being supported by the Whigs is brought forward, and an attempt is made to disparage the political doctrines he had long defended in his *Reviews*. He was also attacked at this time in a libel levelled at Burnet, and called, "The No Church Catechism;" in which he is made to keep good company. To the question put to the bishop, "What Canons are the support of your opinions?" The answer is, "None but two great blunderbusses—the sweetening *Review* and souring *Observator*, the mouths of cozenage. This, of contradiction; that, general of all corrupt principles and guardian of the good old cause." It was a cause, however, of which neither of the writers had any need to be ashamed.

Hoadly's pamphlet above-mentioned, gave rise to a work in defence of the new ministers, that obtained great popularity at the time, and has been ascribed both to Harley and to De Foe; but probably without any just reason in either case. The minister had no leisure for writing pamphlets, nor was there any lack of writers to render it necessary; and there is sufficient internal evidence that it was not written by De Foe. The work is intitled, "Faults on both Sides: an Essay upon the Original Cause, Progress, and mischievous Consequences of the Factions in the Nation: shewing, that the Heads and Leaders on both sides have always imposed upon the Credulity of their respective Parties, in order to compass their own selfish Designs, at the Expence of the Peace and Tranquillity of the Nation. Sincerely intended for the allaying the Heats and Animosities of the People, and persuading all honest, well-meaning Men to compose their Party-quarrels, and unite their Hearts and Affections for the promoting the public Good, and Safety of their Queen and Country. By way of Answer to the 'Thoughts of an Honest Tory.' Lond. 1710." 8vo. As Harley professed to steer a medium between the two great political parties, this was a plausible effort to procure him popularity with the moderate men of each; and it appears to have partly succeeded. It is evident, from the strain of the work, that the writer was no Tory. Indeed, he openly avows himself a Whig, whilst he censures the leaders of the party for departing in practice from their own professed principles. From hence, he infers the necessity of new councils to reform what has been amiss, and to heal the distemper of the nation. All his affectation of purity, however, is no other than an artifice to draw away the most compliable men of both sides, and to unite them in forming a third party, headed by Harley, who is described as a genuine Revolution-Whig. From the writer's own account it may be gathered, that his labours met with the approbation of the ministers. The writer of the fifth number of the "Medley," judging from the tone of the pamphlet, supposes the author to be no other than "a great minister of state;" but, upon more certain information, he afterwards corrects his opinion, and observes, that "by the writings his great men publish every day, a man may easily enough be drawn into such an error, and mistake a small jobber of New England for a courtier and statesman."* Oldmixon says, his name was Clements, and that he had been "a sort of merchant or broker, and was for that performance of his, preferred to be secretary to the Earl of Peterborough: his pamphlet had a prodigious run."†

It was not to be expected, that a work which professed to expose the errors of both parties, would give satisfaction to either. It was, therefore, attacked both by Whigs and Tories, who were each of them solicitous to transfer the political failings charged upon them to the share of their adversaries. A Whig writer, imitating the title of Clements, published "Faults on both Sides: Part the Second. Or an Essay upon the original Cause, Progress, and mischievous Consequences of Factions in the Church. Shewing, that the Clergy, of whatsoever Denomination, have always been the Ringleaders and Beginners of the Disturbances in every State; imposing upon the Credulity of the Laity, for no other End than the accomplishing their own selfish Designs, at the Expence of the Peace and Tranquillity of the Nation. Faithfully produced from the most eminent Authorities. Sincerely intended for allaying the Heats and Animosities of the People, and persuading all honest and well-meaning Men to compose their Party Quarrels, and unite their Hearts and Affections for promoting the Public Good, and Safety of their Queen and Country. By way of Letter to a new Member of Parliament. Lond. 1710." 8vo. As the former treatise had been confined to political errors, the object of the present writer was to point out those of the Clergy, of which he gives a brief extract from the English records.

In reply to the first work, Dr. Trapp, a violent Tory, published "Most Faults on one side: Or the shallow

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* Medley, No. 18.

† Life of Maynwaring, p. 171.

Politicks, foolish Arguing, and villanous Designs of the author of a late Pamphlet, intitled 'Faults on both Sides, considered and exposed:' In Answer to that Pamphlet. Shewing, that the many Truths in modern History related by the Author of it, do not make amends for his many Falsehoods in Fact, and Fallacies in Reasoning. Lond. 1710." Another of its antagonists adopted the title of "Faults in the Fault-Finder; or a Specimen of the Errors in a pamphlet intitled 'Faults on both Sides.' Lond. 1710." The original writer defended himself against these assailants, in "A Vindication of the 'Faults on both Sides,' from the Reflections of the 'Medley,' the 'Specimen-Maker,' and a Pamphlet intitled 'Most Faults on one side.' With a Dissertation on the Nature and Use of Money and Paper-Credit in Trade, and the true value of Joint-Stocks, maintaining the Assertions of the Author in Relation to those matters. By the Author of the 'Faults on both Sides.' Lond. 1710." 8vo. (A)

The recent turn of public affairs had given a shock to credit that was as embarrassing to the ministers, as it was injurious to all parties. Discouraging as were the prospects of De Foe, he was not for sacrificing his country to the interests of party; and was therefore averse to any measure of annoyance that involved so serious a thing as public credit. That his motives might not be mistaken, he says,

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(A) Other pamphlets produced upon this occasion, were :—1. "A Supplement to the Faults on both sides: Containing a complete History of the Proceedings of a Party ever since the Revolution. In a familiar Dialogue between Steddy and Turn-Round, two displaced Officers of State, which may serve to explain Sir Thomas Double; and to shew how far the late Parliament were right in proceeding against Dr. Sacheverell by way of Impeachment. Lond. 1710."—2. "An Answer to that part of the Pamphlet intitled 'Faults on both Sides,' which relates to the Deficiency of the English Army in Spain at the time of the Battle of Almanza. Lond. 1710."—3. "Memorials on both Sides, from the year 1687, to the Death of King James II. With original Papers never before published. Useful for such as desire to be fully informed of the true State of the Revolution and the Birth of the Pretender. Lond. 1711."

"I believe no man will deny, that this is the most critical time for any man that writes of public affairs. I know but one man in the world so qualified; and find him where you will, this must be his character:—He must be one that, searching into the depths of truth, dare speak her aloud in the most dangerous times; that fears no faces, courts no favours, is subject to no interest, bigotted to no party, and will be a hypocrite for no gain. I will not say, I am the man; I leave that to posterity. If I have had any friends, it is amongst those that are turned out; and if I had the power to lead, perhaps, I should bring them all in again. If Tories, Jacobites, High-flyers, and madmen are to come in, I am against them. I ask them no favour, I make no court to them, nor am I going about to please them; and yet I expect not to oblige those that I think the best of." De Foe here remonstrates with the Whigs for giving in to the national panic, by withdrawing their property from the funds whilst in a state of depression, and thus enriching the Tories at their own expence. This was the more unwise, as the bulk of the stock was in their hands, and by contributing to a further depression, they assisted in their own impoverishment. *

Our author exhorts the Whigs to support the national credit, by an appeal to their public spirit. "Let the public affairs go into what hands they will," says he, "your concern for the nation must not lessen; nor must you do any thing that may let in a bloody, Popish, and faithless tyrant upon Europe and upon the Protestant interest. I should be very sorry to see a Tory administration, and the old game of persecution revived among us; to see the Toleration broken, the Union invaded, the Whigs trampled upon, and the Dissenters harassed and plundered as I have seen them; but if it must come to that hard choice, I had rather see all

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* Review, vii. 233—235.

this, than France triumphant, the Queen dethroned, and the Pretender and Popery established. In short, we have but one interest as Englishmen, whatever interest we may have as to parties. And, though I abhor the tyrannical principles of some men among us, yet when it comes to this,—England or France, the Queen or the Pretender, the Church of England or the Church of Rome, the choice is easy to an honest man."* In these sentiments, no one will doubt that De Foe uttered the language of good sense, and of genuine patriotism.

It was the opinion of De Foe, that let the ministry be who or what they may, neither we nor they ought to do any thing by way of party-disgust, that may endanger the public safety † In support of this principle a pamphlet was now published, that has been assigned both to Harley and to De Foe; it is intitled, "An Essay upon Public Credit: being an Inquiry how the Public Credit comes to depend upon the change of the Ministry, or the Dissolutions of Parliaments; and whether it does so or no? With an Argument, proving that the Public Credit may be upheld and maintained in this Nation, and perhaps brought to a greater heighth than it ever yet arrived at, though all the Changes or Dissolutions already made, pretended to, and now discoursed of, should come to pass in the World. London: 1710." 8vo. The author begins his treatise by tracing the origin of trade and credit, for the illustration of which, he quotes a passage from the *Review*. But his main object is to shew, that national credit depends not upon any set of ministers, but may remain safe under all changes, provided the government maintains its character for probity. "It is the honour, the justice, the fair dealing of men and nations, that raises the thing called credit: wherever these are found, it will live and thrive; where they are wanting, let all the power and wit of man join together, they can neither give her being nor preserve her life." In the following passage, he pays a just tribute to the merits of the late Treasurer, who, says he, "has done honorably, has managed the finances with great and unusual dexterity, and has acquired thereby the fame of the best officer that has for many years acted in that post. I could be content to spend a whole page in his praise. The nation is infinitely obliged to him; and his royal mistress, no doubt, has received equal satisfaction in his conduct, as appears by her keeping him so long in a post of so great trust." But after all, he adds, credit is not entailed upon names and families; but will exist so long as the parliament supplies funds to meet the nation's exigencies. The work is dexterously written, and calculated to serve the new ministers, although without that ostensible design.

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* Review, vii. 238. † Ibid, 243.

The success which attended the foregoing treatise, induced the author to follow it up soon afterwards, by "An Essay upon Loans; or an Argument, proving that substantial Funds settled by Parliament, with the Encouragement of Interests, and the Advances of Prompt Payment usually allowed, will bring in Loans of Money to the Exchequer, in spite of all the Conspiracies of Parties to the contrary: while a just, honourable, and punctual Performance on the part of the Government, supports the Credit of the Nation. By the Author of the Essay upon Credit. London: 1710." 8vo. pp. 27. The object of the present work was to dispel the alarm which still continued, in consequence of the backwardness of the Whigs to invest their money in government securities. He reasons upon the inefficacy of a scheme to distress the ministers, that would militate so strongly against their own interest; a consideration which the zeal of party would never surmount. He also shews, that in whatever way they dispose of their money, it must eventually flow into the public Exchequer. The worst consequence they can do by hanging back, is to raise the rate of interest, which the nation would have to defray. "But there need be no apprehension of this; for, as the necessity of lending will prompt on the one hand, the undoubted security of parliamentary credit removes all the jealousies our party-men would raise on the other. While the parliament supports credit, and good funds support the parliament, money will come in as naturally as fire ascends, or water flows; nor will it be in the power of our worst enemies to prevent it." As a means to smooth the path of the government in raising money upon loans, this is a judicious and practical improvement of the author's former treatise. At the end of the work, he says, "If the author of this appears again in public, it may be upon the subject of Funds." The present writer is not aware of such a treatise; and perhaps it was rendered unnecessary by the success of Harley's scheme for a lottery.

Notwithstanding the extensive influence employed to support the new minister, and the real ability which many of them possessed, yet it required their utmost exertions to withstand the well-earned reputation of their predecessors, which made its way to the cool and unbiassed judgment of men, who pay but little regard to the clamour of a mob. As the talent of the press was now decidedly with the Whigs, who wielded it with great power and effect, the ministers resolved to counteract its influence by a similar appeal to the public. For this purpose, they set on foot "The Examiner," a weekly paper, that was to exalt their own character for wisdom and integrity at the expence of their predecessors, and to give a colouring to the public transactions, as the exigencies of the government required. The ablest men of their party having been enlisted in the service, the first number appeared August 3, 1710, and opened with a sarcasm upon the *Review*, the *Observator*, and the *Tatler*. (B) The influence of these works,

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(B) "That my fellow-writers may not be alarmed at the sight of a new Paper, I promise beforehand not to encroach upon any of their provinces. I shall leave the African Company and the Coals to the *Review*: I will not touch one drop of the *Observator's* October; he and his countryman shall and the antidote that was to be provided, are modestly set forth: "These sort of writings, though they are in contempt among the *few* that judge well, yet have their influence upon the *generality* of readers; and many of them are adapted, by the cunning men who contrive them, to the capacities of the weak, who are to be misled by them. Some of these Papers I intend to *examine*, and set people right in their opinions." In an early stage of the publication, appeared the famous "Letter to the Examiner," the production probably of Mr. St. John, and distinguished by the keenness of its invective. He denounces the *Review*, the *Observator*, and the *Tatler*, as the chief organs of the fallen ministry; and says of the last, he "resembles the famous *Censor* of Rome in nothing, but espousing the cause of the vanquished." Swift, the writer of the fifteenth number, affects to pour contempt upon the two former, and calls them "fanaticks by profession;" yet he acknowledges the mischief they had done to his party, "the mock authoritative manner of the one, and the insipid mirth of the other, however insupportable to reasonable ears, being of a level with great numbers among the lowest part of mankind." It was this reason, he says, that moved him to take the matter out of their hands; but with all his vapouring, he managed it with so little decency as to bring no credit to his party. The "Examiner" was confided in the first instance to Dr. William King, who, with Prior, Friend, and Atterbury, wrote the early numbers. After the thirteenth, he was superseded by Swift, who wrote thirty-three numbers in succession, when he relinquished it to Mrs. Manley, who wrote the remaining papers in the first volume. It was then entrusted to Oldisworth, but under the control of Swift, who often speaks of him contemptuously enough; and

bouze it all up the next election: all descriptions of stage-players and statesmen, the erecting of green-houses, the forming of constellations, the beau's red-heels, and the furbelows of the ladies, shall remain entire to the use and benefit of their first proprietor."

under this management it continued to the close of the reign, when it had reached to six volumes. The last number was published July 26, 1714. From the known talents of the early writers in the work, the ministers had just reason to calculate upon its effect, and that no sophistry would be spared to make the worse cause appear the better; but the writers disgraced their talents by the scurrility of their pen, and by the rancour with which they attacked both their political and literary opponents.(c)

The efforts of the paper just named, were opposed in powerful language, aided by wit and argument, in "The Whig Examiner," a paper by Addison; of which only five numbers were published, between the 14th of September, and the 12th of October. Swift exults in its death, as a triumph over a formidable enemy; but it was only laid down to make way for "The Medley." This paper was projected by Arthur Maynwaring, a gentleman of great accomplishments, and a considerable critic, and well versed in the politics of the day. The first number appeared the 5th of October, 1710, and it closed with the 45th, which was published the 6th of August, 1711, the "Examiner" having promised to lay down his pen. Oldmixon had a considerable share in the "Medley;" and Steele, Kennet and Anthony Henley, each contributed a paper. After an interval of several months, it was revived March 3, 1712, but finally expired upon the 4th of August in the same year, when it had reached, also, to forty-five numbers. The first "Medleys" were written with much good sense, as well as strength of argument; but this, like the "Examiner," was disfigured by its scurrility. They were both collected into small volumes, soon after publication, that in this more stable form, they might give a more permanent influence to the purposes of party. Upon these rival papers, De Foe has the following remarks: "I remember, we had two party authors who vexed the town awhile, though lately they have scolded themselves out of breath, and have left off: I mean the "Examiner," and the "Medley." Between these, nothing was more frequent, except giving one another the lie, (to their mutual reputation) than to reproach each other with dullness. The authors were men of wit enough on either side, and there are many other *faux-pas* to be found in them, rather than dullness." *

(c) Swift, who was the principal mover in the *Examiner*, wrote with a malignity against Steele, that can only be accounted for by his political connexions. He had always professed himself a Whig, but his contempt for the Dissenters, of whom he appears to have known nothing, made him a high-churchman. Of his political virtue, it is impossible to entertain a very high opinion. He avowed his purpose of making his fortune by means of one party or the other, and made the first trial with the Whigs. Lord Godolphin, to whom he offered his services, had a great contempt for hireling writers, and rejected him in a manner that kindled his resentment. "My lord-treasurer," says he, "received me with a great deal of coldness, which has enraged me so, I am almost vowing revenge." This temper seems to have increased upon him; for, after "talking treason heartily for an hour and a half with Lord Radnor," he says, "I am come home, rolling resentments in my mind, framing schemes of revenge; full of which (having written down some hints) I go to bed." Speaking of the Whigs, he says, "But who the devil cares what they think? Rot 'em, for ungrateful dogs; I'll make them repent their usage before I leave this place." Meeting with disappointment from the Whigs, he faced about to the new ministers, with whom he found a more profitable market; and therefore, sold himself to the dirty work of abusing their political opponents. As some of the ministers had a taste for literature, and a contempt for religion, a man of Swift's character found an easy access to their society; and he was indulged in his vagaries, which sometimes mounted to the highest pitch of pride and insolence. Swift always paid a greater deference to talent than to station, and exacted it in behalf of others, as well as himself. He rejected with indignation a bank note of fifty pounds, sent him by Harley, looking forward to a more permanent reward for his services; but when the ministers recommended him for a bishopric, the Archbishop of York represented him to the Queen as an unfit person for such an office, and he was passed over. This interference he ever afterwards resented against that prelate, and was obliged to sit down with the deanery of St. Patrick's.

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* Review, viii. 255.

CHAPTER VI.

Address from the London Clergy.—Hoadly's Publication upon it.—And De Foe's Animadversions.—Collection of Addresses published.—De Foe Announces a Work in opposition.—He publishes "A New Test of the Sense of the Nation."—His Satire upon the Addresses.—And upon the mode of jesting with Oaths.—History of Addresses.—De Foe's political feelings at this time.—His Speculations upon the policy of the Ministers.—Accused of making court to the Ministers.—His facetious Reply.—Attempts to embroil him with the Government.—The political course he prescribed to himself.—He is attacked in a pamphlet, called "Now or Never."—His Reply.—Embarrassment of Harley.—His overtures to the Whigs rejected.—He is thrown upon the Tories.—Dissolution of Parliament.—Sets the Country in an Uproar.—De Foe publishes "A Word against a New Election."—He makes a Tour of the Country.—And describes the Outrages committed at the Elections.—Humorous remark of the "Tatler."—Plots to bring in the Pretender.—Delusion of the People.—Letter from a Gentleman at St. Germain's.—De Foe's Remarks upon it.—Reasons against receiving the Pretender.—De Foe accused of wavering in his Politics.—Defends himself.—"Secret History of Arlus and Odolphus.—Answers to it.—De Foe resides at Stoke-Newington.—Assembling of Parliament.—Altered tone of the Queen.—Act for building fifty new Churches.—Character of the Convocation.—And of the Clergy at this period.

1710.

In the former chapter, some notice has been taken of the addresses manufactured by the high-party, preparatory to a change in the ministry. After that change had taken place, the bishop and clergy of London came forward with their address, which was not prepared until the 21st of August, and was as remarkable for its contents, as the promoters of it were for the tardiness of their loyalty.

Although the incongruity of the matter was sufficient to deter any wise man from affixing his name to it, yet this trifle was easily overlooked by men who were less remarkable for their consistency, than for their artifice. But there were some who refused to be caught in the snare, being of opinion, that an address at this juncture was not necessary, and that the one in question had been managed by indirect and unfair methods. These persons were represented as enemies to the queen and the ministry, and their names were transmitted through the kingdom, in the newspapers of the day.(D) As the address made great noise at the time, so it occasioned many pamphlets *pro* and *con*. The non-subscribing clergy were not backward in vindicating themselves from the slanders of their enemies, and Hoadly, one of them, exposed the inconsistency of his diocesan, in "A Letter concerning Allegiance: Written by the Lord Bishop of London to a Clergyman in Essex, presently after the Revolution. Never before published. To which are added, some Queries, occasioned by the late Address of his Lordship, and the Clergy of London and Westminster. Lond. 1710." 8vo.

The address is supposed to have been penned by Dr. Smalridge, the friend of Atterbury, and like him, the patron of Sacheverell. De Foe, to whose writings some passages in it seem to be directed, bestowed some remarks upon it in his *Reviews,* in which he mixes gravity of argument with keenness of satire. He exposes the inconsistency of that part of the address in which the clergy speak "of

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(D) Dyer, in his News-Letter for August 24, has the following account: "The Address of the Bishop and Clergy of London, was inserted in this day's Gazette, by order of the Queen, as a distinguished favour to them. The Clergymen who refused to sign it, were Dr. Barton, and Mr. Baker; and those who did not answer to the Bishop's summons, were Dr. Kennet, Dr. Bradford, Dr. Hancock, and Mr. Hoadly. And, therefore, as they have no share in the Queen's thanks, so I hope they will have as little in her favours."

their vigorously and successfully withstanding arbitrary power, and in the same breath talk of her majesty's irresistible authority;" and he congratulates them upon their concession of those political doctrines which he had always advocated. "Before they addressed the queen," says he, "in their sermons and printed books, they talked as other of the clergy; they preached up passive-obedience and non-resistance as warmly as any Sacheverell of them all. But when they begin to talk to the queen, this jargon of the press and pulpit vanishes at once; they then speak plain English, and own that all the pretences to these things have been cheats and frauds; and that truly they have vigorously resisted arbitrary power, and taken arms against their sovereign in defence of religion and liberty; and let none of our princes deceive themselves, if ever they meditate the return of Popery and arbitrary power, they, the bishop and clergy of London, will manifest an equal zeal against them."* Our author justly observes, that the doctrines taught by the clergy were a force upon their understandings to bring about some private end; but at the bottom, they were all of a mind: "And, let any prince hereafter trust them at his peril. King James is a beacon upon that rock where he split and shipwrecked all his fortunes: then it was their fault; if any man believe them again, it will be his own."† Upon the whole, he observes, if we would speak intelligibly, we must dismiss the jargon of tyrants, and use the language of the constitution, as the only one that is reconcileable to common sense.

The addresses presented in the former part of the year being calculated for the service of the party now in power, they were collected together and published at this time, being preceded by the following advertisement in the *Post-Boy:* "A Collection of the Addresses that have been presented to the Queen since the Impeachment of Dr. Henry Sacheverell, whereby it most evidently appears, that the Sense of the Nation, whether Nobility, Clergy, Gentry or Commonalty, is express for the Doctrine of Passive-Obedience and Non-Resistance, and for her Majesty's hereditary Title to the Throne of her Ancestors." By way of antidote to this mass of nonsense, De Foe advertised the following work, in his *Review* for July 4, to appear in a few days: "A Collection of the several Addresses in King James's time, presented to his Majesty from the several Counties and Boroughs in England, relating to the Prince of Wales, &c., by which it may be seen, that the Sense of the Nation, Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, and Common People, was universally for arbitrary Power, for Government by a Standing Army, and for tolerating Popery, as the best Method to preserve the Monarchy, and support the Church of England: and, that they promised to choose such a Parliament as should concur to those ends." In prosecuting this work, says our author, "I may perhaps shew you how far the sovereign ought to depend upon the flourishes of a party, and their pretended majorities in such corporation appearances; how far addresses are to be valued, and how far the sense of the nation may or may not be determined by them. But to leave my new collection to its fate, I doubt not but it shall speak for itself; and perhaps let some people further into the secret of procuring, forming, and receiving addresses, than has yet been done.*" If the addresses speak the sense of the nation, he says, "It looks as if the nation had lost its senses; and thanks to God and our wise ancestors, 'tis what never was the sense of the nation before."†—"The practice of addressing, has cheated many already; a jest that was put upon Richard Cromwell, and yet they deprived him three weeks afterwards. It was a second time put upon King James II. and they all flew in his face a year after. And I could give some instances of the little value that has been put upon it since, even such as one would think the very people themselves expect; that for time to come, addressing should pass for nothing with their princes."*

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* Review, vii. 298. † Ibid, 301.

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* Review, vii. 166—7.

† Ibid, 173.

De Foe afterwards published the work above alluded to, under the title of "A New Test of the Sense of the Nation: Being a modest Comparison between the Addresses to the late King James, and those to her present Majesty. In order to observe how far *the Sense of the Nation* may be judged of by either of them. London. Printed in the year 1710." 8vo. pp. 91.

Our author opens his work with the following observations. "Nothing is more certain, than that the method of understanding things, must vary with the method of expressing them; or else the actions of men will soon come to speak a language not at all to be understood. Custom has by the law of nations obtained a very great authority all over the world, having in all ages been the only judge of propriety, and having given the true legitimacy to words. From hence, it is a most necessary consequence, that custom is the great arbiter of meaning in speech; nor can we give any greater reason, nor in many cases any other, for the extensiveness of words. No man can say, why a weak-headed man is called a fool, but that it is the custom of the place that such words should be so understood. By this authority of custom, a high churchman, and a madman; a Tory, and a thief; a Whig and a Presbyterian, are all become synonimous; though if we take the people and examine them, they pretend quite other things; but it must be so understood, for 'tis *the sense of the nation*. Though there may be some objection, perhaps, to this tyranny of custom, yet we receive it as a thing by which we can the better solve some strange and wonderful *phœnomena* in the conduct of mankind, which can be no otherwise accounted for. By this glorious system, a man may sail north and south at the same time in the great ocean of politics; he may swear to the man he fights against, and fight for the man he swears against; and this only, by custom stepping in and legitimating the words *swearing* and *jesting* to mean the same thing in the *sense of the nation.* Nor is this a novelty, or started to gratify a party; but it has ever been the custom of such kind of people, especially among us."

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* Review, vii. 175.

De Foe proceeds to illustrate the nullity of oaths, whether taken by princes or subjects. "What need I examine the jest which princes have made in the world, of their swearing to treaties and capitulations; the oaths, *Anglicè jests,* of renunciations of right and disclaiming successions? Nor the *jesting,* I mean *swearing* of nations to princes, whom they think fit afterwards nationally to resist and depose; since their *non-signification* has, on all occasions, appeared to be *the sense of the nation*? Custom has taken off the sanctity of oaths, and established this for a law; that you are to take them just as they that swear them mean them, viz. for nothing at all." The solemnity of an oath, he tells us, has been corruptly appropriated to serve party-interests, "and therefore contrary to its institution, placed as a test of civil distinction; a key (the devil they say has the lock) to civil preferments, a support to parties, and a property to hypocrites. And what's the language of all this? but that it really signifies *nothing*; is received without *thinking,* administered without *meaning,* and stands for a cipher." This explanation, he says, "clears up the difficulty of people's abjuring the Pretender, and yet acting for his interest; and it reconciles the consistency of hereditary right and non-resistance, with the Revolution and the act of succession."

For further illustration of his subject, our author brings forward the various addresses "which, upon sundry occasions, have been presented to our princes by the good people of England, particularly those in the late King James's time, not excluding some now presented to her majesty." These, he observes, are nothing more than the usual compliments which pass, as a matter of course, from subjects to their sovereign, but to which no meaning is attached by either party. In opposition to the outrageous effusions of loyalty expressed in most of them, De Foe places the address from the London clergy, "who thank God from the bottom of their hearts for the legal provisions against Popery and arbitrary power, which they had vigorously resisted once, and would not fail to do so again, should an occasion offer." If the clergy of London had any meaning in all this, he justly asks what agreement it bore with the general strain of their sermons, or with the commencement of their address, in which they told the queen her authority was irresistible? He therefore concludes, that it is most for their reputation to suppose, that they had no meaning at all. "For he that means nothing, can have nothing said against him; nothing said for him; and nothing said to him, but that he signifies nothing." Our author observes, that the queen must not expect to be treated better than her predecessors, nor than even God himself; nor that she should be above their mockery when their Maker is not. "It is evident, that in all their pretences to absolute subjection, they have bantered both God and their kings; and so, it may be hoped, the goodness and mercy of this reign will bear with the follies which have so long a prescription to plead for the practice." In conclusion, he exhorts the people to leave off "this simple nothing-meaning way of proceeding;" and, in justification of his performance, he observes, "When people talk in the clouds, it merits to be a little exposed, if it be only to instruct the honest country-people, that when they make solemn addresses, they ought not to talk nonsense."

It may be proper to notice in this place, that "The History of Addresses," so generally attributed to De Foe, of which the first volume appeared in the former year, and the second in 1711, was the work of Oldmixon, who expressly claims it in his "Memoirs of the Press." That writer, who has no kindness in speaking of De Foe, bestows some flippant and angry remarks upon the work just noticed. He says, "An author of noise has interloped, and assumed part of my province since I set up for an historian of Addresses."* But the game was common to any one who chose to hunt it; and De Foe, as we have seen, was excited to the chase by the unwary zeal of an inexperienced sportsman. How the "History of Addresses" could have been ascribed to De Foe, must surprise any one who has had the curiosity to look through it, as he is alluded to more than once in the work in terms of disrespect. (E)

The political feelings of our author at this time, are thus detailed by himself. "I believe every body that knows me, or has read what I have written on the subject, will know that I have been no friend to the high-church party. I ever did, and still do look upon them to be enemies to the nation's peace, destroyers of all the blessings we hope for, and disturbers of all we possess; and that the principles these gentlemen pursue, are in their own nature destructive to the liberties of the nation. God knows, I have no personal malice towards any man; but I abhor the principles of slavery, let them come from, or be professed by, whom they will." Prudence now dictated greater caution in his writings. "I have as little need to embroil myself with the government," says he, "and am in as ill a case to defend myself against resentment as any; and therefore, though I shall speak that truth I think myself obliged to speak, with as little fear as any body, yet I shall endeavour to lay it open to as few exceptions as possible."*

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* Hist. of Addresses, ii. 329.

(E) Another work growing out of the Addresses, and also given to De Foe, although perhaps improperly, is "The Character of a Modern Addresser. London: J. Baker, 1710." A half sheet, Quarto. Advertised in the *Review* for May 1. Mr. Chalmers has inserted it in the list of his supposed writings. It was re-printed in a small collection of Poems, called "Whig and Tory: Or Wit on both Sides, 1713," and is rather a satire upon De Foe and his politics; so that, unless there were two works at the time with the same title, which is not likely, De Foe can have no claim to it. Besides he expressly assures us, he never wrote penny pamphlets.

Considering the circumstances of the country, particularly with respect to our foreign relations, De Foe thought that the new ministers would be obliged to pursue the policy of their predecessors. Harley, the chief minister, he knew to be most inclined to the Whigs, and dexterously forestal his measures, from a desire, if possible, to support his patron, without compromising his own principles. He, therefore, exults in the idea, that although the Whigs had lost by the accession of the Tories, yet the latter had gained nothing in point of strength; the fallacy of which notion, he lived to see strongly verified. "The constitution," says he, "is of such a nature, that whoever may be in it, if they are faithful to their duty, it will either find them Whigs, or make them so. This is the reason that the joy of the party is already turned into chagrin; they cry out that they are betrayed, and are beginning to form new parties."† The new ministers appear to have been as unpalatable to the more violent Tories, as they were to the Whigs; a circumstance highly gratifying to De Foe, who uses much ingenuity to persuade himself and his readers, that their public acts will be conformable to the constitution, and less injurious to the cause of liberty, than from their previous conduct he had anticipated. His reliance was chiefly upon Harley, who had been educated a Whig, but made common cause with the Tories as a political malcontent.

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* Review, vii. 245, 6. † Ibid, vii. 247.

These speculations upon the future conduct of the ministers, gave no satisfaction either to Whigs or Tories, who united in saying that our author was making court for a place. To this, he facetiously replies, " And what place does he write for? Indeed, I have not yet enquired whether there is a vacancy in the press-yard; but I know of no place any body could think I should be writing for, unless it be a place in Newgate. This, indeed, may be the fate of any body that dares to speak plainly to men in power. But I must tell the kind people, that though I am like to speak as plain English as any body, yet, perhaps, I may not speak it in such gross terms as they would have it. 'Tis not my way to rail and call names. Some people think no man can serve them but he that flies in the face of government, and they want to have the *Review* speak so as he may be sure to speak no more. Let such know, I understand how to serve their interest, without gratifying their humour. They are not so generous a party that any man need covet a gaol in dependance upon their support. If the author gets a place in Newgate, which he is not afraid of in defence of truth, so he knows whose fury will send him there, and who will stand by him when he is there. *Testis Delaune, Anno.* 1684. As to places, I have been now seven years under what we call a Whig government, and have not been a stranger to men in power. I have had the honour to be told I have served the government; the fury of an enraged party has given their testimony to it, and I could produce yet greater; but the man is not alive of whom I have sought preferment or reward. If I have not applied myself for it when, I may say without vanity, I had some pretence; the pretender to this must take me for a fool to think of it now. The commissioners of her majesty's treasury have no reason to think themselves obliged to me, that I move you to support credit. The Whigs, though they are turned out of place, are not turned out of the nation; they have too great a share in the wealth, too great a cargo in the ship, to be careless what becomes of the bottom. Therefore, let the queen put in, or put out, the nation must be preserved; and this may be done without courting, or indeed approving, the officers concerned in the management."*

The enemies of De Foe were unremitted in their attempts to embroil him with the government; but he was too wary for them. "The case of the new ministry, and the case of the author of the *Review*, says he, "however opposite, stand exactly on the same footing. While they do nothing in breach of the laws, or against the constitution, though I make no court to them, on the one hand, yet I have no business to affront them on the other. *Vice versa*: While I write or speak nothing but truth, and that truth, however plainly, yet with decency and respect, they can have nothing to say to me."† It was his opinion, that "whoever comes into the ministry must recognize the Revolution, and carry on the administration upon that foundation. "If they do not," says he, "we have another language to talk to them. For, let not governors flatter themselves, nor people be dismayed; the revolution cannot be overthrown in Britain. It is not in the power of ministry or party, prince, or parliament, to do it. If the attempt is made, let them look to it that venture upon the attempt. The people of England have tasted liberty, and I cannot think they will bear the exchange."‡

Whilst some were prompting him to abuse the ministers, others were not less industrious in stimulating the government to fall upon him. This was the case with the author of a pamphlet published at Edinburgh, intitled, "Now or

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* Review, vii. 257—9. † Ibid, 275. ‡ Ibid, 314—317.

Never." "With a head as full of ignorance, as a heart full of malice," says De Foe, "he takes upon him to prompt my Lord Dartmouth, to whom he addresses his libel, to prosecute the author of the *Review*; in which he has most scandalously abused that noble person, as well as betrayed his own folly." To silence this writer, he tells a story of the Czar of Muscovy, who, when he was in England, and saw a number of fine ladies on some occasion, is said to have applied to the king, to send him twenty or thirty of them, and was surprised when he learnt that his majesty had not the power to send one of them without her consent. "Englishmen" says he, "enjoy a thing called liberty, and are protected by the laws; nor can any man be punished but after a fair hearing, and a verdict *par pares*; a privilege I hope Scotland will now learn to value, and which they will gain by the Union. To punish without law, and prosecute without crime, is not the English way; and to ask it of a minister of state, is an affront to his understanding." Our author adds, "I have been desired to bestow an answer to that ridiculous paper; but I really think it merits no better answer than this: To be laughed at for its ignorance." *

As the ministers could scarcely expect to maintain their footing with the present parliament, its dissolution was one of the measures contemplated in the new changes. But, before this could be effected, there was much opposition to encounter, and Harley was long embarrassed as to what course he should pursue. His own feelings were in favour of moderate measures, and he promised to observe a medium between the two parties. Aware of the untractable nature of the Tories, he wished to form a junction with the Whigs, and made overtures for the purpose, but they resolutely declined any compromise. "The Lord Somers and the most experienced Whigs, well knew there was no confidence to be placed in those who had more regard for their own private fortunes, than for the public safety; they therefore thought it not proper to enter into any close friendship with them."* Harley was now thrown upon the Tories; and when a dissolution was decided upon, it spread a general panic amongst the citizens of London. Addison, writing upon the 5th of August, says, "The bank have represented that they must shut up upon the first issuing out of new writs; and Sir Francis Child, with the rest of the monied citizens, on the Tory's side, have declared to the Duke of Shrewsbury, that they shall be ruined if so great a blow be given to the public credit, as would inevitably follow upon a dissolution."† Most of the monied men having brought their stock to market, there were more sellers than buyers, so that the price of bank-stock fell gradually down to 100. At this time, many foreign merchants who had large concerns in the funds, sent orders to their agents, to dispose of their stock, which not only increased the evil, but gave a tolerable hint of the general feeling abroad upon the probable policy of the new ministers.‡

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* Review vii. 275, 6.

Notwithstanding the evils that seemed to threaten this measure, and the loss of a powerful friend in the Duke of Somerset, who resigned his place as Master of the Horse, and went over to the Whigs in consequence, a proclamation for the dissolution of parliament was issued the 21st of September. As soon as it appeared, "all England was in an uproar, and so inflamed by the churchmen, that their fury was to determine elections, without any regard to the rights of the electors; for the canvassings and elections were carried on with such feuds, as had never before been known in England. In many cases they were carried on by open violence. That firebrand of sedition, Dr. Sacheverell, employed his whole time and pains to this purpose. Religion was therefore looked upon as the only popular cause, in the support of which all the furies were raised to procure votes, and ran together, as it were, to the funeral of the government and public liberty."* Innumerable were the outrages committed by the rabble; but as the cause they appeared for sanctified their crimes, they were passed over with impunity. Two flagrant instances of this fury appeared at the elections for London and Westminster. In the former place, the chief magistrates met with the grossest insults; and in the latter, the proxy of General Stanhope only escaped with his life.† "These times were full of all kinds of insolence, and the glorious actions and victories lately obtained were turned into ridicule: good men, therefore, thought it advisable to withdraw themselves from public affairs until the tumult should be ended."‡

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* Cunningham, ii. 347.

† Steele's Correspondence, i. 199.

‡ Impartial View, p. 251.

In the midst of these disorders, De Foe was one of those true patriots who stood in the breach between his country and the party that was aiming to enslave it. In energetic strains, he now warned his countrymen of the dangers that beset them, in "A Word against a New Election. That the People of England may see the happy Difference between English Liberty and French Slavery; and may consider well before they make the exchange. Printed in the year 1710." 8vo. pp. 23.

De Foe begins his pamphlet by laying open the deceptions practised upon the populace. He observes, "That the time is come, when God has been pleased to give some people up to strong delusions; and to bring this to pass, that a wicked party of men have, with too much success, assisted the general defection, having first spread a cloud over the eyes of the people, and then dug the pit in their way. In religion, they have been fed with words for substance, politics for doctrine, and railing for application; taking up principles of persecution, fury, and abhorrence of their brethren. In government, they embrace tyranny for legal monarchy, hereditary right instead of parliamentary limitation, and arbitrary will for law; by which they are led blindfold to practise absolute submission, like the true tribe of Issachar, crouching before the load is laid on, courting their own chains, and addressing their sovereign for slavery." In exposing the tendency of these things, he says, "One would have thought the tyranny we so lately groaned under could not be so easily forgot; that the Revolution might stare in their faces. The gibbets on which their murthered relations were put to death, are scarce taken down; the spikes that impaled the skulls and quarters of the nation's patriots and the martyrs for liberty, are yet standing upon our gates, both in England and Scotland; the fears of Popery, the concern for property, which possessed the very same people who are now running back to Egypt, cannot but be fresh in their memories."

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* Cunningham, ii. 305, 6.

† Impartial View, p. 258.

‡ Cunningham, ii. 307.

The distracted state of the country at this time is pathetically described by our author, who took a circuit into several parts of the kingdom. "In the counties through which I have passed," says he, "I have been an eye-witness to practices that every honest heart, concerned for the welfare of the country, cannot but bleed at the sight of: A people miserably divided against themselves, in consequence of which their destruction cannot be far off. All the arts and engines imaginable are made use of to bring the people to a wilful surrender of themselves to names and parties. To this end, they heat their blood with wine, foment their passions by continued reproaches, and expose each other to studied quarrels. No man but he that sees these things, as this author does to his amazement, could believe it possible that the animosities of the people of this nation could, in so short a time, and after such views of the danger these things have formerly brought them to, be capable of such inflammations. The name of peace is become a scandal. Nor do we fight with cudgels only, as at Marlow, Whitchurch, &c.; with swords and staves, as at Coventry; with stones and brick-bats, as at other places; but we fight with the poison of the tongue, the venom of slander, the foam of malice, and the poison of reproach. This is the present temper of the people where I have been, and too much so all over the nation; wounding not men's bodies only, but stabbing their reputation, reproaching their morals, ripping up their miscarriages, and wounding their families, without any regard to truth or honour. Even our civil war, though bloody and unnatural enough, was not carried on with such a spirit of fury as is now to be seen. Rogue and villain are in the mouths of our men of manners; and, as Sallust tells us of Cataline's conspiracy, when his men came to fight, rage and fury were to be seen in the countenances of both sides. Doubtless, God who governs the world he made, has designed some extraordinary event from this strange *phenomenon;* and men's minds cannot bear this fermentation without some eruption which, like that at Etna, must put the whole country into confusion."*

The scene that was exhibited in the city of London affords a striking picture of the times, and is thus described by our author: "Honest men have been afraid to come to the poll, for fear of being abused; and many that attempted it have been so beaten and bruised, that they thought it a happiness to get safe back again, without getting up to the books, and so have not polled at all. A lane of these furies was formed from the entrance of the hall to the hustings, and in the avenues, through which every man that came to poll was obliged to pass. Here, such insufferable insults were committed, as is a shame to this well-governed city."—"I cannot think that any wise man of either side can approve of the riots and tumults practised at the election. Let him go through the streets and view the houses, how they look like houses of ill-fame, with their windows broke, their shutters daubed with dirt, and their balconies full of stones; as if some public enemy had taken possession of the city. Rage and madness filled the streets, and every one was exposed to the discretion of the rabble. In the general disorder, no regard was paid either to friend or foe. Let any man view the streets. Are they all Whigs that dwell between Ludgate and Temple Bar? And was there a house that was not in this manner insulted? And what was it for? All for choosing parliament-men, to make laws for good government, protect our property, and preserve the peace!"[*] In reference to these disorders, the *Tatler* humorously remarks, "That if the whole people were to enter into a course of abstinence, and eat nothing but water-gruel for a fortnight, it would abate the rage and animosity of parties, and not a little contribute to the cure of a distracted nation."[†]

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* Review, vii. 335—337.

† Ibid, 356.

At this time, many rumours were in circulation of plots and conspiracies to bring in the Pretender. It was given out that the French were to land a body of ten thousand troops to assist in the design, and that there was a strong party in the nation ready to join them. Letters were industriously spread about, and found in the public streets, implicating many persons of consequence, and full of ciphers and half-sentences, pointing out the particular individuals. Of these contrivances to alarm the people, De Foe had no good opinion. He observes, that the nation was not then ripe for such a plot, nor were the measures of the party that would be most inclined to it in sufficient forwardness for its execution; but that whatever might be the ulterior design of the Jacobites and High-flyers, their pushing it forward just then would be fatal to their object.[‡] Amongst the delusions of the times, it was unblushingly given out, that the Whigs and Dissenters were favourable to the Pretender; a fallacy thus exposed by our author. "We have a wild suggestion, and the party have taken some pains in this time of public delusion, to possess the poor abused country-people with this wild story:—That the Dissenters are for the Pretender, that the Whigs are turned Jacobites, that the low-churchmen are Atheists, and that the Bishops are Presbyterians. But these things will die of themselves, and the persons accused need be under no concern for clearing their reputation from that scandal. You might as well accuse the Scotch kirk to be for episcopacy, the Non-jurors for King William, and the High-flyers for a calves'-head feast! Yet, such is the present infatuation, that the poor people are really ready to fancy such things as firmly as they believe any thing." He adds, "If the Pretender is kept out till the Whigs and Dissenters concur to bring him in, we may be all easy, and he may e'en go and hang himself; for he has nothing to do as to that matter, but to despair and die." *

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[*] Review, vii. 361. [†] No. 240. [‡] Review, vii. 351—354.

Unripe as the nation was at this time for any exertions in favour of the Pretender, it is certain that the change in the ministry inspired hopes in his adherents, and they continued to be fed until the close of the reign. At this time, there appeared a remarkable pamphlet, intitled "A Letter from a Gentleman at the Court of St. Germain's to one of his Friends in England; containing a Memorial about Methods for setting the Pretender upon the Throne of Great Britain. Found at Douay after the taking of that Town. Translated from the French Copy, printed at Cologn by Peter Marteau. Lond. 1710." 8vo. This pretended discovery was probably of English manufacture, and written by a person well acquainted with the state of parties in England. He gave a long list of instructions for the use of the Jacobites, and,

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* Review, vii. 417—419.

as De Foe observes, let out some important confessions; as, that they cannot bring about their designs by force, that their friends in England are in no condition to furnish them with troops, and that their generous protector, the King of France, is in no condition to assist them. From these circumstances, he concludes, that the blow must be struck in England, where their friends never gave stronger proof of zeal and affection, and that they had reason to hope for every thing from the happy disposition of the soundest part of the Church of England. The letter says, "That since the Prince of Orange was the great cause of all their misfortunes, it will always be a great point gained to lessen the esteem for him, and to blacken his memory as much as possible." Upon this De Foe remarks, "The poor unfortunate author of the *Review*, who had the honour once to serve, and if I may say it with humblest acknowledgments, to be beloved by that glorious prince, has run a strange variety of fate for his zeal for the honour and memory of his person and actions. By governments ruined, by pretence of justice punished, by enemies reproached, and even by Protestant writers pretending the defence of our constitution, scurrilously insulted for adhering to his service, and vindicating his character. And now it appears, that the blackening the memory of this prince, is the first maxim of the politics of St. Germain's, towards preparing a way for the Pretender."*

Another work relating to the Pretender, that appeared just before the dissolution of parliament, and has been given to De Foe, is "Reasons against receiving the Pretender. Together with some Queries of the utmost importance to Great Britain. Lond. A. Baldwin. 1710." 8vo. The object of the writer is to alarm the nation with a prospect of the consequences that would result from the admission of the Pretender: and this he considers to be the evident tendency of the late addresses, the language and sentiments of which are in perfect harmony with the avowded principles of the Jacobites. He enters upon a disproval of their favourite political dogmas ; reproves the enemies of government for their attempts to depress public credit : and laments the overthrow of an administration that had been the wonder of Europe, and the delight of the allies for its capacity and success. He also deprecates the dissolution of a parliament that had struck the greatest terror into France, at a time when a new election would be the most hazardous experiment that could possibly be tried. There does not seem to be any good reason for ascribing this work to De Foe.

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* Review, vii. 371—374.

As De Foe now wrote with great caution, and abstained from attacking the ministers, he was charged with wavering in his politics. To this, he makes the following reply : " The author of this paper finding the times perilous, the age censorious, enemies furious, friends cautious, and espousing truth dangerous, and knowing not how long he may be permitted to speak in this manner, humbly desires to state a little the case of this paper and its author. It is now seven years since this work first began ; during which time the author has had the fate of pleasing and displeasing in their turn, as must be the lot of every man who writes in an age when so many parties have alternately governed, and where the men of the same party have so often been of several opinions about the same thing. All the world will bear me witness that this is not a Tory paper ; as the rage with which I am daily treated will testify. Yet, because I cannot run the length that some would have me, new scandals fill their mouths ; and now they report, I am gone over to the new ministry. These are the men who, it seems, are angry that I write for upholding credit, without regard to changes in the administration. I have had some conference with these men, and I thank God I have ; for it has taught me to abhor their temper, pity their folly, and laugh at their censure. The scandal, therefore, of changing my principles, because I am not for ruining my country, is what I despise. I shall trouble the world with no more apologies. The method I shall take for the future in speaking of public affairs, will be with the same desire to support and defend truth, yet with more caution of embroiling myself with a party that has no mercy, and for a party that has no sense of service."

Towards the decline of the year, the praises of Harley were celebrated in a political romance of some ability, which recounted the leading incidents of his public life. It was intitled "The Secret History of *Arlus* and *Odolphus*, Ministers of State to the Empress of Grandinsula, in which are discovered the laboured artifices formerly used for the removal of *Arlus*, and the true Causes of his late Restoration, upon the dismissal of *Odolphus* and the Quinquinvirate. Humbly offered to the good people of Grandinsula, who have not yet done wondering why that Princess would change so notable a Ministry. Printed in year 1710." 8vo. In this work, the events that led to a revolution in the ministry, are set forth to the prejudice of Godolphin and Marlborough, who are represented as the persecutors of their rival, upon whose character and conduct the writer lavishes the most nauseous flattery. As there are two sides to every subject, his work produced a counter-statement of the merits of these ministers, in "The Impartial Secret History of Arlus, Fortunatus, and Odolphus, Ministers of State to the Empress of Grandinsula. In which are discovered the true and just Causes of the Removal of Arlus, who by his Treacherous Administration, rather deserved Haman's Punishment, than Mordecai's Preferment; and Justice is done to the Character of Fortunatus and Odolphus, and they proved to have discharged their Trusts with equal Honour, Honesty, and Success. Humbly offered to the Good People of Grandinsula, who love their Country, are not bigotted to a Party, and blinded by the fulsome Flatteries bestowed on Arlus by a Gang of Mercenaries. Printed in the year 1710." 8vo. If the first work is written with the most point, the last bears the greatest resemblance to historical truth. The intrigues of Harley, both in this and the former reign, are dragged to light, and visited with no unsparing hand, whilst justice is awarded to the splendid and faithful services of Marlborough and Godolphin. This work was advertised in the *Review* for December 19. There was another reply to the first work, under the title of "Animadversions upon the Secret History of Arlus and Odolphus. Lond. 1711." 8vo. De Foe has been made responsible for one of these publications, but certainly without any just reason. Whilst the town was amused with these party-missiles, Harley was deriving solid support from the queen and parliament.

At this time De Foe resided in a comfortable retirement at Stoke Newington, and appears to have been easy in his circumstances. Here, he employed himself in writing his *Reviews*, and in those various literary undertakings that were suggested to him by a lively interest in the national welfare. In the month of November, he bade adieu, for a season, to this quiet retreat, and made an excursion to Scotland, where he continued several months, exchanging the politics of the north for those in his more immediate neighbourhood. It is probable, that at this time, he was taken again into the employment of Harley, and commissioned by him to execute some service of a secret nature, the particulars of which are unknown.

The new parliament assembled upon the 25th of November, when William Bromley, member for the University of Oxford, was unanimously chosen speaker. The royal speech prepared for the occasion was ominous of the future policy of the government; for, the Duke of Marlborough being distasteful to the ministers who contemplated his removal, the exploits of his army were wholly omitted; nor was it less remarkable for adopting the slang of the times in relation to the Dissenters. Avoiding the usual mention of the toleration, the queen promised "to maintain the *indulgence* by law allowed to scrupulous consciences." This was to prepare the way for further encroachments by a party hostile even to the semblance of religious liberty, and panting for its extinction. The ascendancy of Toryism in the Commons, became perceptible by its early proceedings; but nothing was attempted in this session that had a reference to religion, unless it be the act for building and endowing fifty new churches. To defray the charges of this offering to piety, a duty was laid upon coals; and thus, the ministers discharged a debt of gratitude to the inferior clergy who had so warmly interested themselves in the late elections. But, whilst these congratulated themselves upon the additional influence which it conferred upon their order, wise men considered, that as the church was constituted, it was unnecessary to give more power to a body of men who were already too formidable for the liberties of their country.

The spirit of the times was strongly displayed in the proceedings of the convocation that sat with this parliament. It was so managed, that most of the persons named in the queen's commission were either new men, or avowed enemies to the principles of the Revolution. In the Lower House, every thing was managed under the influence of Atterbury, the prolocutor, who framed a thundering "Representation," couched in the fashion of the times, against heresy and profaneness; which was the more remarkable as he was himself a profane man, and many of his coadjutors were bad Protestants. However, this learned body made loud complaints of the diminution of ecclesiastical power, and the alienation of church-lands, without the recovery of which the church would never be restored to its former glory. To assist these pretensions, the doctrine of the unity of the church was now propagated with great zeal, and there was a strong desire to symbolize with the ceremonies of the Church of Rome; for it was shrewdly expected, that in proportion as these were multiplied, a greater degree of authority would accrue to their dispensers. "The English clergy now loudly asserted an hereditary right to the crown, and a perpetual and uninterrupted succession of bishops and holy orders in the church. These they contended for so eagerly, that they would rather renounce all the doctrines of the Church of England, than give up these points; though the Romanists themselves, and many learned men make a jest of the perpetual succession of their orders, and acknowledge that it has suffered many interruptions."* Encouragement was now given to a controversy concerning what the divines of the period termed "Lay-Baptism;" by which they pretended, that the clergy of the English and Romish churches were the only divine commissioners for administering the rite, which was null and void when performed by any other persons, and exposed both giver and receiver to the penalty of eternal damnation. This ingenious device was not new, Leslie having before asserted the same thing. In the course of his controversy with De Foe, he had said, with equal modesty and elegance, "That it was better to be baptized by a porter, than by the Moderator of the General Assembly." That many simple people were imposed upon by the craft of these cunning men is not surprising, since ignorance is always ready to swallow any delusion. But their folly was justly exposed by the more rational men of their own church; and they incurred the contempt of those who did not belong to it. This was, indeed, a sad mortification, and gave rise to so much noise about heresy and profaneness; for it was a mortal sin to pronounce upon their stupidity. In the opinion of these men, the Reformation, which had shorn the clergy of their honors and despoiled the church of its independent jurisdiction, was an injury to religion; and they were right if it consisted in the matters they pretended. The appetite for power is never satiated as long as any room is left for encroachment; and those who assisted the pretensions of the clergy at this period, for political purposes, had the mortification to see them lording it over the people, until they were become too powerful for their own management. But the charm was happily broken a few years afterwards, by the accession of a new family, which restored the nation once more to its senses.

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* Cunningham, ii. 356.

CHAPTER VII.

De Foe still in Scotland.—Appointed Publisher of the Edinburgh Courant. —He is attacked by Dr. King.—Story of the Coventry Horse.—De Foe's Explanation.—Seventh Volume of the "Review."—Pursues a middle course in Politics.—Prospect of its drawing towards a close.—The Work yields no Profit.—Violence of Parties.—De Foe's Contempt for his Opponents—Dyer, the News-writer.—De Foe's Letter inviting him to Peace.—His Contest with the "Examiner."—His ill usage by the High Party.—He satirizes the Examiner.—Scandalous Conduct of a Justice.—And of the Master of a Trading Vessel.—Projected Tax upon Papers.—De Foe's Sentiments upon it.—Impolitic as concerns the Government.—And ruinous to Trade.—Discords in the Ministry.—Pretensions of its Leaders.—Harley's temporizing Conduct.—He gives offence to the Tories—October Club.—De Foe's Account of it.—Publications upon the Subject.—Guiscard's Attempt to Assassinate Harley.—Honors paid to the Minister.—His Scheme for Paying off the National Debt.—De Foe's Sentiments upon a Trade to the South Seas.—He Publishes a Pamphlet upon the Subject.—And "Eleven Opinions about Mr. Harley."—His Defence from the Charge of Versatility. —Motives that governed his Political Conduct.—Accusations of Oldmixon and others.—His own Defence of Himself.

1711.

At the opening of the year 1711, De Foe was still in Scotland, but how employed we no where learn. During his absence, he continued his *Reviews,* which were transmitted to London with great regularity, and afforded matter for the speculation of party-writers, as their humour dictated. One incident relating to him at this time has been preserved, and is a testimony of the favor in which he was still held by the Scots. Upon the first of February, the corporation of Edinburgh, grateful for his past services, empowered him to publish the *Edinburgh Courant*, in the room of Adam Booge, deceased, and prohibited any other person to print news under the name of that paper. This was the second newspaper published in Scotland, being established by James Watson, in February, 1705. The first effort of the kind was the Edinburgh Gazette, projected by the same writer, and published by authority, in February, 1699. After he had issued forty-five numbers of the Courant, he relinquished it to the heirs and successors of Andrew Anderson, printer to the queen, the city, and the college. Watson is still remembered as the author of "A History of the Art of Printing." Before he ventured upon the experiment of a National Gazette, the Scots were content to receive their news from England, by re-printing some of the London papers; and even some years afterwards, De Foe's *Review* was circulated in that way. The *Scots Courant* was published twice a week, on Mondays and Wednesdays, in a folio half-sheet, with double columns. It is apprehended that De Foe did not continue long to edify the good people of Edinburgh with his weekly lucubrations, as affairs of a more pressing nature recalled him to London about the month of March.*

In the month of January, Dr. King, a high-church writer already mentioned, sported his wit upon a respectable Whig clergyman, in a pamphlet pretended to be "Mr. Bisset's Recantation: In a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Henry Sacheverell. Occasioned by his reading the Doctor's Vindication, lately published by Henry Clements, at the Half-Moon in St. Paul's Church Yard. Lond. 1711." In this attempt to palm a forgery upon the public, Bisset is made to unsay all the scandals he had charged upon the hero of the church, in his "Modern Fanatic;" but the joke did not succeed, for he renewed them with additional force in a second part of the same work, in which he exposed the deception. King, in his pamphlet, had associated De Foe with Bisset, and pretended that he was preparing a work to assist in the same design of exposing the church, and implicating some of her greatest men in a correspondence with the Pretender. But the whole was a mere hoax of the writer, to white-wash the character of a criminal, and hold up the Whigs to popular odium.

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* Chalmers's Life of Ruddiman, pp. 119, 120.

During his absence in Scotland, De Foe was assailed in a penny pamphlet, called "A Hue and Cry after Daniel De Foe, and his Coventry Beast: with a Letter from that worthy Horse-Courser, to a friend of Mr. Mayo in Coventry, that lent it him. Lond. 1711." 4to. This libel recites, that De Foe's travelling occasions leading him about three years since into Warwickshire, "to encourage the faction there, as well as elsewhere, he could not but pay his respects to the brethren who at that time were very numerous in Coventry;" that he there hired a horse of one Mayo, which he took with him into Scotland; and that neither the animal nor the hire of him had been heard of since. A letter is added, said to be written by De Foe, in reply to one that had been left for him at his printer's; but its contents prove it a manifest forgery. In reply to this libel, De Foe published the true state of the case in one of his *Reviews*, from which it appears, that "about three years since, the author going to Scotland, a gentleman who went with him, his horse falling lame, was obliged to leave him at Coventry, and hire another. So that in the first place, the story is a falsity as to the person; for that the author of the *Review*, hired no horse at all, neither was the other person any servant or otherwise belonging to him, but a travelling companion." It appears, that the hire of the horse was paid down, and a further sum agreed upon for the purchase, in case it was not returned. De Foe's friend settling in Scotland, kept the horse, and remitted the money to Coventry, but the horse-dealer had hitherto declined receiving it, there being a dispute between them as to the price. Such is the substance of a story that was made the ground of a senseless slander against our author, who considered it little deserving of notice, but thought fit to state it correctly "for the sake of some people who are willing to lay hold of any shift to reproach the man they hate." *

The *Seventh* volume of the *Review,* which commenced with the 28th of March, in the former year, was closed upon the 22nd of March, 1711, when it had reached to 155 numbers. The following title was then prefixed: "A REVIEW of the State of the British Nation. vol. vii. London: printed in the year 1711." 4to. pp. 620. Our author observes in his preface, "Contrary to many people's hopes and expectations, this work is happily arrived at the end of the seventh volume. When posterity shall revise the sheets, and see what turn the times have taken; what parties, what fury, what passions have reigned; how the author has treated them, and they him, it may add something to their wonder, how either the writing has been supported, or the author left alive to shew his face in the world. I have sometimes thought it hard, that while I endeavour to steer the middle course between all parties, I should be maltreated by all; but so shall it fare with any man who shall not run to the same excess of riot as other people. For my part, I have always thought it a true maxim in politics, that the government should be of no party. When ministers cease to be independent, they must expect to be mob-ridden, till they become slaves to the party they espouse, and fall under the party they oppose: and this is what has ruined all the ministries that have been these last twenty years."

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* Review, viii. 83, 84.

In the following passage, the author glances at a measure which he expected to put an end to his periodical labours. "The *Review* has subsisted under four administrations. I am now to suppose it drawing towards a period, and the party that has so long regretted that old branch of English liberty—freedom of speech, please themselves with stopping the mouths of the Whigs, by laying a tax upon public papers. If such a design goes on, it will soon appear whether it be to raise money, or suppress the papers. For my part, I am perfectly easy; for, whatever ends I may be supposed to write for, none will suggest that I do it for private gain; and shall, therefore, as readily be silent as any man that writes.(F) But I prophecy this to the party, that it will not answer their end; for the stopping the press will be opening the mouth, and the diminution of printing will be the increase of writing, in which the liberty is tenfold, because no author can be found out, or punished if he is. This made King Charles II. say, and he understood those things very well, that the licencer of the press did more harm than good; and that if every one was left to print what he would, there would be less treason spread about, and fewer pasquinades. And I take upon me to say, that let

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(F) Strange as it may appear, our author now derived no profit whatever from his *Review;* so that the time and labour he bestowed upon it, must be set down solely to his zeal for the public welfare. Upon this subject he writes thus: "I have always thought it an unjust scandal, and very injurious to the true design of this paper, to say, I write for bread; not but that the argument will lie with the same strength against all the occupations in the world. Thus, the lawyer pleads, the soldier fights, the musician fiddles, the players act, and no reflection upon the tribe—the clergy preach for bread. And where is the man that does anything but for bread; that is, gain? The only difference lies here: that this author who they say, writes for bread, goes without it; and though I have the misfortune to amass infinite enemies, and not at all to oblige even the men I serve, yet I defy the whole world to prove, I have directly or indirectly gained or received one single shilling, or the value of it, by the sale of this paper, for now almost four years; and honest Mr. Morphew is able to detect me, if I speak false."—*Review,* vii. 65.

them stop the press when they will, what is wanting in pamphlets, will be made up in lampoons. As to this work, let it fall when it will, this shall be said of it by friend and foe: It has spoken boldly and plainly to them both; and whether it shall go on or be put down, is of so equal weight to me, that no man is less concerned to enquire about it."

The *Reviews* in this volume are chiefly occupied with domestic politics.(G) Party spirit now ran higher than at any former period, and yielded fruits of the most deadly nature. A spirit of fanaticism, fostered by the exertions of a bigotted and vicious clergy, pervaded the land, and blighted all that was kind, gentle, and peaceable. The madness that possessed the people, and the dangerous principles that actuated their leaders, are minutely detailed and canvassed by our author, whose zeal for the cause of liberty was unabated in the most perilous times, and exposed him to the rage of the factious. The ascendancy of the Tories he viewed with deep regret, but without dismay; being persuaded that the laws were strong enough to hold them to their duty, and that if they attempted to break through them, it would convulse the nation, and they would be ruined in the conflict. The violence of the party, and their known hatred to the author, rendered him more circumspect and measured in his language, which some mistook for a desertion of his principles; but he repels the charge with indignation, and knew the men he had to deal with too well to give them any pretence for the exercise of their vengeance.

In these factious times, men of the best principles and of the fairest reputation, found no quarter from their political opponents. It is therefore not surprising, that so determined

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(G) The pressure of temporary matter left our author so little leisure for the prosecution of his original purpose in writing his Paper, that he advertised a separate *Review,* to be confined wholly to matters of trade. His design was first announced July 8, and repeated in some following numbers; but it was never carried into effect.

a writer as De Foe should have his full share of opprobium, and that he was often assailed in the other papers. Since Leslie had dropped his *Rehearsals,* he took but little notice of such opponents, as well from a contempt of their talents, as from a studied neglect of their scurrility. "It was always my opinion," says he, "that when the enemy roared loudest, he was pinched the hardest; and that when the patient grew sick, the physic worked well. Whence, I have often asked the *Rehearsers* and *Reviewers* of the *Review,* and the several people that rail at this paper, why, if they think the author so contemptible and so feeble as they say he is, and in which he never contradicted them, they who tell us such great things of their capacities, should be so moved at him, and bestir themselves about what he writes. For my part, I have always thought, that the weakest step the *Tatler* ever took, if that complete author can be said to have done any thing weak, was to stoop to take the least notice of the barkings of the little animals that have *Condoled* him, *Examined* him, &c. He should have let envy bark, and fools rail; and according to his own observation of the fable of the sun, continue to *Shine on.* This I have found to be agreeable to the true notion of contempt. Silence is the utmost slight nature can dictate to a man, and the most insupportable for a vain man to bear."

His most frequent assailant at this time was Dyer, the news-writer, who dealt largely in personalities, and was far from particular in the means he employed for advancing the cause of high-church. His libels upon private individuals sometimes exposed him to summary chastisement; but this did not cure him of the *cacoethes scribendi* (H).

(H) "There is a gentleman whom they call Mr. Dyer. I have no particular aim at his person: I neither am acquainted with him, nor design him any injury; nor do I think it worth while to say this by way of retaliation for many insolencies received from him. He is a person who has often

His frequent clashings with De Foe, which produced a waste of words that often degenerated into scandal and abuse, induced our author at this time to propose a literary truce; that each might advocate his cause without personal reflections, and whilst they continued to differ, might express their sentiments in language restrained by the decencies of life. But the strict observance of such a treaty could scarcely be expected at a period so distinguished for political strife. Amongst the Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum, there is a letter of De Foe's, inviting his antagonist to keep the peace (1).

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received personal correction from gentlemen that he has abused, and he knows very well how to take a dish of coffee in his face, or a cane upon his surface, decently, and like a gentleman; and of that part of his character I need say no more. This gentleman writes a news-letter to most parts of England, and really 'tis worth notice, how nicely he manages his way of information. He does not so much write what his readers should believe, as what will please them; and therefore when a friend of mine wrote him to send his letter to a coffee house he had set up in a country town, he wrote back to know what sort of people used the house, that he might send such news as would fit them. This, really, is a most excellent satire upon the times."—*Review*, vi. 527.

(1) It is directed to Mr. Dyer, in Shoe Lane, and is as follows:—

"Mr. Dyer,

I have your letter. I am rather glad to find you put it upon the trial who was aggressor, than justify a thing which I am sure you cannot approve; and in this I assure you I am far from injuring you, and refer you to the time when long since you had wrote *I was fled from justice*: one *Sammon being taken up for printing a libel*, and *I being then on a journey*, nor the least charge against me for being concerned in it by any body but your letter: also many unkind personal reflections on me in your letter *when I was in Scotland, on the affair of the Union*, and I assure you, when my paper had not in the least mentioned you, and those I refer to time and date for the proof of.

I mention this only in defence of my last letter, in which I said no more of it than to let you see I did not merit such treatment, and could nevertheless be content to render any service to you, though I thought myself hardly used.

But to state the matter fairly between you and I, [me] *a writing for different interests*, and so possibly coming under an unavoidable necessity

The factions of the time had given birth to a new paper, superior in talent to most that had gone before it, but as devoid of good-breeding as the lowest of its contemporaries. An affectation of contempt for other writers, was one of the arts employed by the "Examiner," to supplant them in public opinion; and those who conducted it were well aware of its power upon persons not qualified to judge of their pretensions. The manner in which they dealt out their blows at De Foe, has been partly told; we will now see how he met them. "I wonder much to hear an author,

of jarring in several cases: I am ready to make a fair truce of honour with you, viz. that if what either party are doing, or saying, that may clash with the party we are for, and urge us to speak, it shall be done without naming either's name, and without personal reflections; and thus we may differ still, and yet preserve both the christian and the gentleman.

This I think is an offer may satisfy you. I have not been desirous of giving just offence to you, neither would I to any man, however I may differ from him; and I see no reason why I should affront a man's person, because I do not join with him in principle. I please myself with being the first proposer of so fair a treaty with you, because I believe, as you cannot deny its being very honourable; so it is not less so in coming first from me, who I believe could convince you of my having been the first and most ill-treated; for further proof of which I refer you to your letters, *at the time I was threatened by the Envoy of the King of Sweden.*

However, Mr. Dyer, this is a method which may end what is past, and prevent what is future; and if refused, the future part I am sure cannot lye at my door.

As to your letter, your proposal is so agreeable to me, that truly without it I could not have taken the thing at all: for it would have been a trouble intolerable, both to you as well as me, to take your letter every post, first from you and then send it to the post-house.

Your method of sending to the black box, is just what I designed to propose, and Mr. Shaw will doubtless take it of you: if you think it needful for me to speak to him it shall be done. What I want to know is only the charge, and that you will order it constantly to be sent, upon hinting whereof I shall send you the names. Wishing you success in all things, (*Your opinions of Government excepted*). I am,

Your humble Servant,
De Foe.

Newington, June 17,
1710.

who first calls the *Observator* and the *Review* stupid and illiterate, should quit his talking to men of sense, to talk to these idiots. Now, what the "Observator" may do, I say nothing; but as I have all along practised with many other such scurrilous, angry sons of emptiness, so I shall still,—*answer and say nothing*." He asks the "Examiner," how it is, since he boasts of so much learning, that he comes to have so little manners? "I know nothing," says he, "that can render a gentleman so contemptible as to lose his breeding: nor does any difference of persons discharge the obligation of good manners. The author of the "Examiner" haughtily tells the world that he has kept a footman, and though he does not pretend to say that the *Review* has been in that capacity, yet he treats him as a man of behaviour would not treat a footman." He tells the "Examiner," that the *Review* is not upon equal terms with him in the use of Billingsgate language, and adds, "There is a known story of the mastiff and the little spaniel, which I could also refer him to, as most proper for such an author; but I leave it and him. When he is tired he will have done; and when he is done, he will be tired. Happy is the *Review* in pinching this party, and making them rave at this rate; it is an immortal testimony to the victory of truth, given by its enemies."* Swift was one of the writers who attacked our author in the "Examiner;" and we shall see very shortly that De Foe was a good match for him.

The ill-usage he received from the high-party, is circumstantially related in his *Review* for December 16, 1710, which records some curious particulars.—"Lest I should some time or other, as God shall let loose their hands, fall into the power of this enraged party, give me leave to show a little how they have treated the author of this paper, that it may stand upon record against them; and I'll be very brief:—When railing in print, bullying and hectoring would not silence him, letters were sent threatening to murder him. His house was marked to be pulled down by the rabble, and he was assured by writing and by messengers, that he had not long to live. The very printer was threatened to have his house mobbed for printing it. Several attempts were made to prosecute the paper at the Old Bailey, at Guildhall, and at Westminster; but when no jury could be found to present it, and no crime to present for, that was let fall. Other measures were taken to embroil him with the government; but still all was in vain. When this failed, endeavours were used to 'rouse sleeping lions, and harass him with dormant creditors; men, who, satisfied with the frequent offers he had made of a complete surrender of his effects, had declined for seventeen years. A fruitless cruelty upon a man who had given such evidence of his integrity. However, some mischief of this kind they brought him into; and when he had extricated himself from that, the same perjured villain that insulted Mr. Dan. Burgess, for a sham pretence well known, assaulted him, took fifteen guineas from him to get out of his hands again, which extortion he is now under legal prosecution for, and may speedily be brought to justice. Not content with this, the same villain insulted his house on the Sabbath-day, without any legal warrant, or the least pretence, in order, upon a sham, to get him into custody, and betray him, whether to murtherers or creditors he yet knows not. Other sets of rogues were employed after this to take out sham writs in names not known, and to men that were not officers, pretending to arrest him; which pretended officers are now under prosecution also, and one of them has confessed the fact. He has been often beset, way-laid, and dogged into dark passages; yet, when they have actually met him, and found him prepared for his defence, their hearts have failed them; for villains are always cowardly. And all this, 'tis evident, is for writing this paper.

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* Review, vii. 449—451

"And now, as if this was not enough, Mr. *Examiner* is falling upon me, with much noise, but little shot; many ill-names, but no argument. After idiot, which is the first mark of distinction, comes illiterate: much wit in that truly; for how should an idiot but be illiterate? This brings a remark into my thoughts, that I have often had occasion to make; we have abundance of learned fools in the world, and ignorant wise men. How often have I seen a man boast of his letters and his load of learning, and be ignorant in the common necessary acquirements that fit a man for the service of himself and of his country. I know a man at this time, a minister, who is a critic in the Greek and Hebrew, a complete master of the Latin; yet it would make a man blush to read a letter from him, sleep to hear him preach, and sick to read his books. Again I know another that is an orator in the Latin, a walking index of books, has all the libraries in Europe in his head, from the Vatican at Rome, to the learned collection of Dr. Salmon, at Fleet-Ditch; but at the same time, he is a cynic in behaviour, a fury in temper, unpolite in conversation, abusive in language, and ungovernable in passion. Is this to be learned? Then may I still be illiterate.

"I have been in my time pretty well master of five languages, and have not lost them yet, though I write no bill over my door, nor set Latin quotations in the front of the *Review*. But to my irreparable loss, I was bred only by halves; for, my father, forgetting Juno's Royal Academy, left the language of Billingsgate quite out of my education. Hence, I am perfectly illiterate in the polite style of the street, and am not fit to converse with the porters and carmen of quality, who grace their diction with the beauties of calling names, and cursing their neighbour with a *bonne grace*. I have had the honour to fight a *rascal*, but never could master the eloquence of calling a man so; nor am I yet arrived at the dignity of being laureated at her Majesty's bear-garden.

I have also, *illiterate* as I am, made a little progress in science. I read Euclid's Elements, and yet never found the mathematical description of a *scurrilous gentleman*. I have read logic, but could never see a syllogism formed upon the notion of it. I went some length in physics, or natural philosophy, and could never find between the two ends of nature, generation and corruption, one species out of which such a creature could be formed. I thought myself master of geography, and to possess sufficient skill in astronomy to have set up for a country almanac-maker, yet, could in neither of the globes find either in what part of the world such a heterogeneous creature lives, nor under the influence of what heavenly body he can be produced. From whence I conclude very frankly, that either there is no such creature in the world, or that, according to Mr. *Examiner*, I am a stupid idiot, and a very *illiterate fellow*."*

De Foe met with as much injustice from the public authorities, as from private individuals. The issue of the prosecution above alluded to, is thus related by himself: "It is but lately that I troubled the world with a complaint of the barbarous usage I met with from a villain's waiting and watching for me, under a pretence to arrest, though without a warrant, and whether to murther or deliver me up to those that should, is like, for want of justice, to remain a secret. I took up lately one of these fellows with a sham writ. He had taken money of a man employed by me formerly to treat with him, believing him then to have been an officer. This villain I had long pursued, and at last apprehended. He begged, confessed, offered to refund the money, and pay the charges; but not discovering his accomplices, he was carried before a justice of the peace, not a hundred miles from Sir H——y B——lds. The justice, when he heard the first complaint, readily granted his warrant; the case was so black, he could not but resolve to punish it. The rogue is brought before him, a lawyer appears, makes out the fact, and the justice discovered some indignation at the crime. But as soon as he heard the prosecutor was Daniel De Foe, author of the *Review,* he calls the gentleman that pleaded it a rogue, though as honest a man as himself, and by the way, no Whig; discharges the warrant, and bids the villain keep the money: which, for all that, he shall not do, nor shall the justice himself escape the shame of his partiality, for giving orders to a cheat to keep what he owned to have been unjustly gotten. Excellent justice, this, to make a nation flourish!"

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* Review, vii. 454, 455.

"Well, this is all on one side," observes our author, who proceeds to relate a dishonourable transaction that implicated some Whigs. "On board of a ship," says he, "I loaded some goods. The master is a Whig, of a kind more particular than ordinary. He comes to the port, my bill of lading is produced, my title to my goods undisputed; no claim, no pretence, but my goods cannot be found. The ship sailed again, and I am told my goods are carried back, and all the reason given is, that they belong to De Foe, author of the *Review,* and he is turned about, and writes for keeping up the public credit. Thus, gentlemen, I am ready to be assassinated, arrested without warrant, robbed and plundered by all sides; I can neither trade nor live; and what is this for? Only, as I can yet see, because there being faults on both sides, I tell both sides of it too plainly."*

Writing in the month of March, De Foe says, "He that will speak at all, must speak quickly; and he that has but a little while to speak, ought to speak to the purpose." This remark was suggested by a projected tax upon printed papers and pamphlets, the object of which was to suppress the fry of small writers, who gave so much annoyance to men in power. Pamphlets now flew about the nation like hail; in which the pretensions of all parties were canvassed, and their actions libelled according to the humour of the several writers. A ministry, founded upon public opinion, and honest in its designs, has nothing to fear from such missiles; but the one now existing was vulnerable upon so many points, that there was ample room for soreness, which could not be healed by silence, nor by the eloquence of its own writers. Towards the end of this year, no less than fourteen persons were taken up and held to bail for printing seditious pamphlets; and as their crime was not specified, they loudly complained, that at this rate the office of Secretary of State might be converted into a Spanish inquisition.

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* Review, vii. 490, 491.

Upon a subject so intimately connected with liberty, so important to the diffusion of just opinions upon every subject that is interesting to man, and it may be added, so useful to a government that looks to public opinion for stability, De Foe wrote with animation, and in the language of good sense. "It will be for ever a brand upon any cause," says he, "that attempts to suppress printing, and will leave it upon record to the infamy of the party that espouses it, as not able to bear the energy and force of truth; and it is fairly acknowledging that their practices, whether in politics or morals, will not bear the light." Our author observes, "It is not only an infringement of the liberty of the subject, which this nation has always been chary of, but it has something of that arbitrary cruelty in it which resembles a late barbarous practice of the same party in Scotland; who, when they had the power in their hands, and exercised it with fury and blood, caused the drums to beat when the poor victims they were sacrificing came to die, that the testimony of their innocence in a dying hour, might not be heard or known by the abused spectators."

De Foe justly observes, "A design to suppress printing on either side, can be nothing but a plot to stifle truth; since, if falsity, scandal, slander, or any thing that merits reprehension is published, the laws are already strong against them, and if in any thing defective, may be easily amended. But to lay an universal load upon every thing, or in plain English, to silence mankind, is a plot against the friends of virtue, learning, and religion, as might be made appear on many occasions. Besides, the attempt will not answer the end; for though it may suppress useful things, and rob the world of the advantage derived from the labours of honest men, yet party-rage will break through: lampoons, pasquinades, and inveterate satires will swarm more than before, and be diligently handed about by parties all over the kingdom; whose darts will be keener, and the poison stronger than any thing printed; and perhaps the more so, as they shall be received with more gust by the people on either side. I appeal to any man who remembers the days of King Charles II. when the license-tyranny reigned over the press, whether that age did not abound in lampoons and satires that wounded, and at last went far in ruining the parties they were pointed at, more than has ever been practised since the liberty of the press. He that does not know it, must be very ignorant of those times, and has heard very little of Andrew Marvel, Sir John Denham, Rochester, Buckhurst, and several others, whose wit made the court odious to the people, beyond what had been possible if the press had been open."

De Foe wishes to be understood, that he is not arguing the subject from selfish motives, being ready to lay down his pen at any time; "but to lay a general prohibition, is to suggest, they have something to do which they dare not let the people hear: it is to padlock the mouths of the free people of Britain, and to deprive men of their fair and just defence. This, I think, may merit a consideration by itself.

It is to invade the property, livelihood and employment of families innumerable, whose dependance and estates lie in several parts of the printing trade, not at all concerned with the government, but should in common justice be excepted. Among these are to be reckoned patents and properties in smaller books, such as almanacks, catechisms, psalms, and little manuals, moral and religious; the copy-rights of which are estates to many families, and to preserve which right from piracy, a very just and necessary law was made in the last parliament."*

Notwithstanding the lofty eminence to which the events of the last year had elevated the Tories, the disunion that reigned in the ministry, presented an obstacle to their complete triumph. Its leading members, inspired by ambition, and confident in their talents, disdained a superior. Hence, dissensions arose, and splitting into parties, each endeavoured to strengthen himself by other alliances. Although Harley had associated himself with the Tories from personal motives, he secretly retained his attachment to Whig principles, and was disgusted with the violence and precipitancy of his colleagues. To restrain them within any tolerable bounds, required his utmost art and address; but to counteract their influence, he was desirous of balancing his cabinet with men of greater moderation. This, however, was not to be submitted to by the Tories, who were disgusted at his half measures; and, being wholly dependant upon them for support, he was obliged to submit to their influence. The want of union amongst the ministers, had an influence upon their proceedings in parliament; for, when some severe censures were passed upon the late ministers, by the more violent, Harley interposed to moderate their warmth, and appeared more the friend of Godolphin, than his accuser. One of our historians, alluding to these divisions, gives the following summary of the pretensions of each party. "There was not any one of the cabinet, who had yet acquired that superiority of influence which was necessary to maintain a consistent energy in council, and to control the intrigues of aspiring individuals. The Earl of Rochester, Mr. Harley, and Mr. St. John, were all struggling to obtain the ascendancy in the administration; and possessed peculiar recommendations for that distinction. The Earl of Rochester on account of his long experience, his steady attachment to the Church, and his affinity to the queen, thought himself best entitled to it. Mr. Harley valued himself upon his moderation: he had been the principal instrument of persuading her majesty to change her measures; and as he had been the acknowledged head of the party when in opposition, he expected to retain the same preference after it came into power. Mr. St. John was the leader of that division of the Tories which wished for spirited and bold measures; and, as he was too ambitious to be contented with a subordinate place, he was conscious of talents far superior to any of his rivals. The reciprocal animosity which commenced between the Earl of Rochester and Mr. Harley, upon the first change of the ministry, was not concealed either from their friends or enemies. Mr. Harley and Mr. St. John were both secretly making their court to the Duke of Marlborough, with a view to secure his patronage upon the probable event of a new revolution in the cabinet. From such internal disunion, it is not likely that Mr. Harley's colleagues would have submitted to his obtaining the chief direction of affairs, had it not been for a singular occurrence, which interested the queen more deeply in his favour, and gave him an unrivalled claim to every mark of preference and honour."*

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* Review, viii. 5—8.

Upon the 8th of March, an attempt of a desperate nature was made upon the person of Harley, by the Marquis de

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* Somerville's Queen Anne, p. 427.

Guiscard. He had been formerly a French Abbot of the name of Bourlie, but threw up his abbey upon some family disgust, and formed the chimerical design of restoring the civil and religious liberties of France. For this purpose, he opened a correspondence with the Camisars, and offering his services to the allies, was made a lieutenant-general in the emperor's service. Going afterwards to the Hague, he procured an introduction to Marlborough, and obtained a small pension from the states. With this recommendation he came to England, in 1706, and being favourably received, a taste for pleasurable pursuits soon brought him into a close intimacy with Mr. St. John, then secretary at war. By his means, he obtained the command of a regiment of dragoons, with the pay of a colonel, and a descent upon the coast of France being projected, he was appointed to accompany the expedition with the rank of lieutenant-general. But the whole affair proved abortive. He was then sent into Spain, where his regiment was cut in pieces at the battle of Almanza; and a suspicion being entertained of his carrying on a clandestine correspondence with France, his pay was withdrawn. He now lived in London, in great poverty, calumniating the ministers for refusing him a pension. Upon the revolution at court, his hopes revived; and availing himself of his intimacy with Mr. St. John, he renewed his pretensions to the favour of the government. By the recommendation of that minister, he obtained a promise from the queen of a pension of five hundred pounds a-year; but when it came to be claimed, Harley, who never liked Guiscard, reduced it to 400*l.*, and declined having it placed upon a permanent footing. Exasperated at this affront, he applied for an interview with the queen, which being denied him, he resolved to attempt a reconciliation with the court of France. In executing this desperate expedient, his correspondence was detected, when a warrant was issued for his apprehension. Being taken before the privy council at the cock-pit, he underwent an examination, when the matter charged upon him was fully proved by his own letters. Disconcerted at this discovery, and seeing no means of escape from an ignominious death, he adopted the desperate resolution of dying by the swords of gentlemen rather than by the hands of the executioner. In a moment of frenzy, he withdrew a pen-knife that he had secreted, and advancing to the council-table, stabbed Mr. Harley twice in the breast. The knife taking a direction towards the bone, broke off near the handle. Guiscard seeing Harley fall, immediately rushed towards Mr. St. John, who, from his desiring to speak with him privately, is thought to have been the primary object of his fury; but drawing his sword, he made several thrusts at him, and the attendants rushing in, secured Guiscard after a violent struggle, and conveyed him to Newgate, where he died of his wounds five days afterwards. *

De Foe, in noticing this occurrence which had nearly proved fatal, describes it as the most barbarous and unprovoked assault that he ever remembered. He represents it as an open attack upon the queen and council, who would all, no doubt, have shared the same fate, had the opportunity offered. It was, therefore, properly resented by the parliament, as an insult to the whole nation. "Every man I meet with," says he, "however prejudice and parties lamentably divide us, speak of this action with abhorrence; and had it succeeded, God alone can tell the confusion that the public affairs must for a time have fallen into, under the agitation of so many contending parties." †

Mr. Harley, leaving the council-chamber covered with blood, was carried home in a chair, followed by a multitude of people. Upon the following day, the two houses of par-

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* Tindal, iii. 761.—Boyer's Q. Anne, 493.

† Review, vii. 602.—Mis-printed 562.

liament voted a joint address to the queen, in which they ascribed this outrage upon him, to his extraordinary zeal and fidelity in her service. During his confinement, many anxious inquiries were made after his health, and he received many visits from the nobility and others, who congratulated him upon his escape. As soon as he was sufficiently recovered to resume his seat in parliament, the commons voted him their congratulation, which the speaker delivered in high strains of flattery. In the midst of this tragical scene, the parliament resorted to its old folly of addressing the queen to remove all Papists from London and Westminster; as if they, or their religion, had any concern with the matter. But such was the stupidity of the times; and in compliance with it, a proclamation was issued for putting the laws in execution against them! An act was also passed, making it felony to attempt the life of a privy-counsellor; which has been since improved upon, by extending it to all other persons.

Amongst the persons who condoled with Harley during his confinement, was the Earl of Rochester, whose frequent visits were not altogether those of sympathy; for he was desirous of extracting from him a secret, of which he had boasted, for paying off the public debts of the kingdom. The Earl justly thought, that if any untoward event should befal the minister, it would be a pity that so important a scheme should be lost to the public. "But Mr. Harley being equally sound in mind and tenacious of his secret, excused himself on account of his indisposition, but promised to discover it as soon as his wound should be healed: for Harley, according to his former resolution, would have lost his life, rather than discover his secret before he should come again to the House of Commons. The House, therefore, on account of his absence, adjourned for several days. At last, Mr. Harley, though still very weak, ventured to go to the House, and there laid before them his project for a trade to the South Seas."[*] This scheme was by no means new, having been suggested to Godolphin, who laid it aside until a convenient opportunity offered for giving it mature consideration; nor did it appear to be any more than what an ordinary mind might have invented.[†] Harley had no sooner disclosed it, than Rochester and his party vented their ridicule, and did all in their power to defeat it;[‡] but the interest which he had excited by his late escape, overpowered opposition, and it was received with an implicit confidence that superseded investigation. So great was the infatuation in his favour, that it was even extolled as an effort of genius and patriotism that surpassed all his former merits.[§]

A subject of so much importance to the country was not likely to escape the attention of De Foe, who discussed it at some length in his *Reviews;* but he strips Harley of any claim to the invention. He had himself, long before, projected the establishment of a trade with South America, by the settlement of a colony there; and had suggested a plan of the kind to the government, as the least costly and most effectual way of distressing Spain, and diminishing the power and resources of France. "I had the honour," says he, "to lay a proposal before his late majesty King William, in the beginning of this war, for carrying the war, not into Old Spain, but into America; which proposal his majesty approved of, and fully proposed to put it in execution, had not death, to our unspeakable grief, prevented him. And yet, I would have my readers distinguish with me, that there is always a manifest difference between carrying on a war in America, and settling a trade there; and I shall not fail to speak distinctly to this difference in its turn. And because I purpose to dwell a little upon the subject, and to

[*] Cunningham, ii. 354. [†] Oldmixon, iii. 459. [‡] Cunningham, Ibid.
[§] Somerville, p. 429.

make what I shall say on this head, as far as my capacity extends, a perfect though short compendium both of the Spanish and English commerce as they respect each other, either in Europe or America, I shall first lay down what the circumstances of this trade are, how carried on, and by whom, and how far we are concerned in them." These points are illustrated by our author at considerable length. He then proceeds to correct some misconceptions of our people with relation to this trade, which they are not to expect upon the same footing as the French enjoyed it. "In this," says he, "I am far from designing to discourage this new undertaking, which I profess to believe a very happy one; but to correct these wild notions, it seems needful to ascertain what we are to understand by a trade to the South Seas, and what not, that in the first place our enemies may not make a wrong improvement of it, our friends in Spain may not take umbrage at it, and our people at home may not grow big with wild expectations, which might end in chagrin and disappointment." He says, "There is room enough on the Western coast of America, for us to establish a flourishing trade, without encroaching upon the Spaniards;" and intimates, that there are vast tracts of land which they hardly meddle with, combining every advantage of soil and climate, besides plenty of gold and silver, as an effectual foundation for all manner of commerce. The industry and enterprise of the English, in such a situation, he says, would open a wide door for the consumption of our manufactures, and bring a vast revenue of wealth to our own country."*

These various matters were embodied by our author in a separate pamphlet, in which he expressed his thoughts upon the subject, arranged in a methodical form, and treated at full length. It was published in the following September, under the title of, "An Essay on the South Sea Trade. London: 1710." 8vo.

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* Review, viii. 165—274.

The station to which Harley had raised himself by his intrigues, when viewed in connexion with his political associates, occasioned various speculations as to his future conduct. Although the mystery that he affected in all transactions of a public nature was such as to set conjecture at defiance, yet those who imagined themselves to be acquainted with his opinions, argued upon the future prospects of the nation, as their own wishes, or their political bias dictated. As he entered upon the ministry with large professions of moderation, it brought him the support of those who would have withheld it from the other ministers. De Foe, who was in this number, always gave him credit for the political virtue upon which he so highly valued himself, and published a work at this time, in which he lays it down as a motive for conciliating the public in his favour. It is intitled, "Eleven Opinions about Mr. H——y; with Observations. London: printed for J. Baker. 1711." 8vo. pp. 89.

In a brief introduction, our author moralizes upon the nature of prejudice, which he states to be the principal ground of that diversity of opinions which prevailed then, more than at any other time, upon the subjects of politics and religion. This he applies to the example before him; "and perhaps no instance can be given, in which a like variety can be produced, or in whom all the same errors of opinion have been more visible. No man has received more honour, and in his turn, more injury from the prejudices of opinion; nor has there been any person in this age, about whom the obstinacy of those opinions has appeared more publicly, or been more fatal to this nation." After recapitulating some particulars in his public life, he proceeds to detail the various opinions that have been formed of him by various persons and parties, under the following heads. 1. The Queen. 2. The Old Ministry. 3. The Whigs.

4. The Dissenters. 5. The October Club. 6. The Jacobites. 7. The Confederates. 8. Moderate Men on all Sides. With this number he stops short, and adds, "I have yet several opinions behind, according to the title, and I purposed to have added two heads in particular, which would have been very diverting, as well as instructing, viz. 1. My own opinion of Mr. H——y; and 2. Mr. H——y's opinion of himself. But this tract does not allow me room for it, and perhaps the subject may deserve a farther consideration, as the follies and contentions of men increase; for, as madmen grow sober, fools wise, and obstinate men persuadable, the world can never be without occasion for an observing by-stander to make such observations as may be very useful to them all.

In detailing the opinions of various parties concerning Mr. Harley, our author presents us with an abstract of their politics, with the reasons some had for supporting, and others for opposing him. This, he professes to do "with as much coldness to his character as he can, merely to shun the shadow of partiality;" but if he abstains from any direct eulogium, the strain of his pamphlet is such, that no person can mistake him for any other than a decided friend of the minister. He is anxious to make it appear, that those who suppose him to aim "at a true Tory high-flying management, and to bring in the madmen of former years, whom he so eminently appeared against," will be mistaken. Alluding to himself he says, "It is true, a certain author of their own, (the former ministry's) who, it seems, made in that article as good a politician without doors as some of those great statesmen did within, told them in public, *it could not be;* and that all would revolve into the same method of management it was in before. But they laughed at him for a fool, and gave him an opportunity to laugh at them in his turn; for, as by the event appeared, there was nothing of this in Mr. Harley's view, the contrary to which has raised a new schism in politics between the new ministry and those we call the *October Club*." This club he describes as "a faction of the hot exasperated part of the people called Tories, composed of oath-taking Jacobites, self-contradicting, moon-blind high-flyers; men that walk in their sleep, dream waking, see with their eyes shut, and are blind with their eyes open; that were fools enough to think they were coming into play, wise enough to know they are not, and madmen enough to think now that they can help it." He says, that "the first step they took in politics, convinced their friends that they were in the infancy of their understanding, and that, like children, they were not to be trusted with the edge-tools of government;" and he likens them to "the *Tinker* of Exeter, who, being to be hanged for rebellion, comforted himself at the gallows, that he had done something to have his name talked of in the world." He is displeased with the Whigs for not uniting with Harley to keep out the Tories, when so many offers had been made to them for that purpose, and resolves it into private pique, which induced them to sacrifice the interest of the nation to their own resentment. He blames the Dissenters for refusing the thousand pounds offered them by Harley for repairing the damages inflicted upon them by Sacheverell's mob, which it seems they rejected upon a political account; and he intimates, that he is the only one of the ministers whom they can look up to for the preservation of their religious privileges.

The nature of the matters discussed in this pamphlet obliged our author to adopt much circumlocution in telling his story. In his desire to forestall a favourable opinion of Harley, and of the measures he expected him to pursue, he is evidently hampered between a desire to do justice to the former ministers, and a reconcilement to the change. It is upon the whole dexterously written; and upon a presumption that Harley's moderation would have more effect upon the subsequent management than was eventually the case. The prosecution of the subject in another pamphlet, of which he holds out the expectation, does not appear to have been realized.

The temporising conduct of Harley gave so much offence to the Tories, that he was in as much danger from their impetuosity, as from the cool and well-disciplined opposition of the Whigs. A cabal of the most violent of these men, in number about a hundred and sixty, was formed at the commencement of this parliament, under the name of the "October Club." It was composed chiefly of country gentlemen, who met at the Bell-tavern, in Westminster, and during the first session went blindfold into all the measures of the ministers; but some of them finding themselves deluded with fallacious promises of preferment, and others looking upon the chief manager to be an "ambidextrous trickster," who played fast and loose with both parties, they threatened a violent opposition. The trouble which these men occasioned to the ministers, is thus noticed by Swift: "We are plagued with an October Club, that is, a set of above a hundred parliament-men of the country, who drink October beer at home, and meet every evening at a tavern near the parliament, to consult on affairs, and drive things to extremes against the Whigs, to call the old ministry to account, and get off five or six heads. The ministry seem not to regard them; yet one of them in confidence told me, that there must be something thought on to settle things better."* To allay their discontents, it was found necessary to pacify some, and to divide them from those who were in greater haste than moderate men thought convenient. Swift, who was the person employed for the purpose, procured a meeting of the principal members at a tavern, where he gave them such cogent reasons for the conduct of the ministry, as removed their fears and jealousies. This meeting infused suspicions into the absent members, and was followed by a division of the club; after which, their meetings being neither so numerous nor so frequent, they gradually dwindled away. Swift afterwards wrote "Some Advice to the Members of the October Club," with which they were in general so well satisfied, that their meetings were no more heard of; and those very persons proved the staunchest friends of the ministers in the House of Commons.

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* Sheridan's Life of Swift, p. 67.

Of these *ultra* Tories, De Foe gives the following account: "The original of this set of men, at least under this name, may be traced several ways. Some say they are called so from their pretensions to a rustic gentility, men of landed estates, who, having a substantial fund in *terra firma,* live at home, drink good country beer, brewed in March, or rather in October, and thence deriving their name; they appear on all occasions as a country reserve against the intrigues of ministers of state, court parties, factions of Whigs, and the like. These are now mightily busy in railing at the proceedings of parliament, telling us that if they were members, they would do something else before they gave supplies; they would inquire how the last money was spent, push at the impeachment of the old ministry, and call to account, even right or wrong, every one they dislike. They say, the old ministry deserve to be hanged, or else did not deserve to be turned out; they are horridly provoked at the Duke of Marlborough for not resigning his posts, and say he has a mean soul; they affront the queen for stooping to employ him again; and they could assassinate Mr. Harley a second time, as minister of state, for advising to put the army in the same hands. But we have some other derivations for this sort of men, and I shall give you the variety, that we may come to as clear a knowledge of them as possible, for the sake of the public safety. When our first alarm came abroad, of a design of the French to bring in the Pretender, on the 14th day of October, 1709, there met a set of men together, whether at the Vine tavern, in Bloomsbury, or somewhere else, history has not determined; what liquor they drank, how intoxicated; whether they paid their money in Louis-d'ors, or English coin; whether they were high-flyers, and met up two-pair of stairs, or congregated at the Beer and Beer-house, where they also drank October,—these weighty points authors differ very much about, nor shall I take upon me to determine. But that they were in their meridian, as to number, on the said famous 14th of October, many good witnesses can attest, besides Sir J. T., Sir J. B., Sir C. D., and Mr. M."

Our author adds, "Famous is this month of October. It was the same month, and not many days off from the 14th, that the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, the bright ornament of the church, to the immortal stagnation of his honour, gave, after many applications to him for it, an invitation to Dr. Sacheverell, to preach that known oration before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, at St. Paul's. On the very same day twelve-month, being the 14th of October, infamous be its memory, was the day of election for members of parliament for the city of London; when immortal violence shewed its glorious face, to the honour of a well-governed city, and the October Club reigned lord and king in the streets of this free metropolis; when our houses were bombarded by the street gentry, our windows suffered a compound fracture, that could never be reduced to their primitive state; and not magistrates, but magistracy itself suffered all the insolence of an outrageous mob. From this blessed original are deduced the names and titles by which the new sons of October are dignified and distinguished. Drunkenness and tumult have sent them up from their country recess, to turn things upside down by their fury and distraction.* (K)

The course pursued by De Foe, after the changes in the ministry, exposed him to much obloquy from the Whigs. He was accused of wavering in his politics, of supporting the ministers, and writing under their direction; and even of having a hand at the same time in a Whig and Tory paper, thus accommodating himself to both parties. (L) The stupidity of the last charge might have been sufficient to confute itself; but the zeal of party sometimes outruns its discretion. The reproach of versatility was not a new one, but as groundless now as formerly (M) Having received many favours from Harley, it was scarcely to be expected

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* Review, vii. 602—604, mis-printed 562, &c.

(K) The following works were published with a reference to this cabal.—1. The Secret History of the October Club: From its Original to this Time. By a Member. Lond. 1711.—2. The Second Part of the Secret History of the October Club; which completes the Whole. Lond. 1711. (In this part is the character of some of the members.)—3. A List of the October Club. Lond. 1711.—4. A Collection of Hymns and Poems, for the Use of the October Club; By Dr. Sacheverell, Dr. Atterbury, Dr. Smalridge, Dr. Moss, and little Trapp, of Oxford, Chairman to the said Club; Lond. 1711.—5. Æsop at the Bell Tavern, in Westminster; or, a Present from the October Club. Lond. 1711.—6. Some Advice offered to the Members of the October Club. Lond. 1711. (The last was by Swift.)—7. A Letter to a Member of the October Club: Shewing, that to yield Spain to the Duke of Anjou, by a Peace, would be the Ruin of Great Britain. Lond. 1711. 8vo.

(L) Some of these stupid tales are repeated in the early volumes of the Gentleman's Magazine, and a writer in one of them says, "I have heard that Daniel De Foe would write an answer to books before they were published; and that once he writ an answer to a book that was never published; but I never thought that Mr. Danvers would have followed the example of so mercenary a writer, for whom he takes every occasion to express so great a contempt.—vol. iii. 20.

(M) In October, 1704, De Foe writes thus: "to say of the author he has changed his principles, and writes to please a party is to show them-that he would commence open hostilities against him; yet he never flattered that minister, nor supported any of his measures when he thought them at variance with the good of his country. When reproached for subserviency, he rejects the scandal, and asks for the proof; observing with indignation, that he neither wrote under the direction of the minister, nor would submit to do so, if he were the greatest man alive.* In reply to one of his censurers, he says, "I am free to have my behaviour estimated by the conclusion of my life; and I hope it shall be all of a piece, steady, guided by things, and not persons, aimed at the public good, and entirely free from partiality and corruption. As for those that will not wait for the issue of things, but pass their unjust censure on me before-hand, I am content to wait for their good word till they are convinced they have judged the matter before they have heard it, which I am sure will at last appear."†

The motives that governed him in the line of politics that he had marked out for himself after the change in the ministry, he states thus: "when revolutions happen at court, as I have seen many, when this or that party goes in or out, it always lays the subject under some difficulties as to his behaviour; but one general rule serves me in all these turns. The constitution is my guide; so far as the ministry goes along with it, every subject that regards the general good, acquiesces and is quiet. The reason is clear, we do not go along with the ministry, but they go along with us. There is a manifest difference between a revolution in the

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selves as weak as malicious; since, as in all his practice, no man can be named who has more to his personal prejudice, despised the partiality of parties, and is not ashamed to affirm, that as no party in the world can make him an offer large enough to tempt him to forsake his principles, so neither can they terrify him from owning the truth, which he has always adhered to." *Review*, i. 281.

* Review, viii. 346.

† Ibid, 338.

government, and a revolution in the administration. The first is a change of the constitution itself, and settling it upon a new, or restoring it to its old foundation; the latter is only a change of persons. In the former I have a voice as a member of the constitution; in the latter I am passive. I may be sorry when I see some men put out, and others put in, as I think they are, or are not likely to make us happy and easy in their administration; but I have no more right to challenge the sovereign, than the sovereign has to call a subject to account for turning away his servants. While they keep within the circle of the laws, and do right, they go along with me; if they do wrong, they go away from me, and I go wrong too if I follow them. He that serves a minister of state, or joins with him in any illegal step, especially knowing it to be so, is a mercenary, a flatterer, and ought to be the contempt of mankind. But while the ministry keep within the circle of the law, preserve the constitution, uphold the liberties and interests of the nation, let their persons be who or what they will, without enquiring their names, it is my duty to join with them. This is the golden mean by which I regulate myself. If I give offence to some hot friends, when aversion to persons runs them into extremes, I am sorry for them; for I think I act by principle. He that tells me of bribery, and writing to please, is first a knave, in charging me with what he cannot prove; and secondly, a fool, in putting more value upon the *Review,* and its author, than he pretends to, and suggesting that his pen is of such consequence to the present ministry, as to make it worth their while. When the administration of affairs has run wrong, I have never spared myself, but have dared to speak the truth in the face, and in contempt of the power of arbitrary ministers of state: nay, in opposition to parliaments themselves, when I have thought they invaded the liberties of their country, which they were constituted to protect; and if I see the same cause, I dare do the same thing again, and shall not fail do it, let what power or persons soever stand in my way. But, till the ministry break in upon the constitution, invade liberty, encroach upon property, break the laws, and oppress the subject, I cannot think it is the duty or interest of any wise man, to carry on his regret at any change the queen pleases to make, to such a degree, as to fall upon the persons that succeed, only because they are in place, whether they act amiss or no. They that think otherwise, may act as they please. But it was never my talent to complain without ground, which would be to obtain the favour of not being regarded when I had cause."*

If we may believe De Foe, he lived in an age when men were very versatile in their politics; for it was so much the fashion to be governed by persons rather than things, that "it is almost impossible to find a man, either Whig or Tory, who is of the same sentiments now that he was twenty years ago."† In that age of political defection, there were perhaps few writers less open to the charge of versatility than De Foe, notwithstanding the powerful arguments of a wife and six children, with a precarious dependance for their support; a fact never told by his enemies. In spite of their calumnies, it is impossible not to believe, that he was, through life, the consistent friend of civil and religious liberty; whilst upon minor points, he never allowed his judgment to be fettered by the opinions of any party. Yet, because he did not run the full career of opposition with the Whigs, they set him down as a mercenary writer, and insisted upon his being in the pay of Harley. Oldmixon, who is resolved never to speak well either of De Foe or of his patron, repeats the charges against him, with additional scandals; but no credit is to be given to a writer who dips his pen so deeply in the gall of party.(N) He couples De Foe with Swift, as "fellow-labourers in the service of the White-Staff;" and says, "that he paid De Foe better than he did Swift; looking on him as the shrewder head of the two for business."*(O)

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* Review, viii. 338, 339.

† Ibid, viii. 365.

(N) Oldmixon, in his Life of Maynwaring (page 168) says, "He told me that Foe, who had had very great obligations to my Lord-Treasurer Godolphin, when he began to turn his *Reviews* against his benefactor," (which by the bye he never did,) "wrote his lordship a letter, that he did it in compliance with the madness of the times, and seemed to fall in with those that clamoured against his administration, only that he might get a hearing for him in his favour." A very improbable story, and of a piece with what follows: "Nay, he was so base, as to take money of the Earl of Godolphin, at the same time that he had a pension from his successor; who sent him to Scotland as a spy, when the treaty of Union was afoot, and kept him in pay ever after, as a man whose conscience was exactly of a size with his own, and who was fit for any drudgery he should put him upon. Mr. Maynwaring has often expressed to me his admiration, that either the Earl of Godolphin, or the Treasurer that came after him, could put any trust in such a fellow, or have any opinion of his capacity, he being the most ignorant rogue that ever scribbled. He would never let me take any notice of his *Reviews*, (in the *Medley*) yet himself fell upon one of them in a half-sheet, and made such a devil of the author that he laboured a long while after to clear himself of so much infamy; but it was laid on too thick and too close for him to wipe it off." The patronage of Godolphin and Harley vindicates De Foe from the contempt put upon him by this writer; and he has sufficiently cleared himself from the other charges in his *Review*.

* Life of Maynwaring, p. 276.

(O) Swift is well known to have been one of the principal tools of the ministers, in rendering their projects popular with the people; and Prior was another. Toland, writing to the Earl of Oxford, in December, 1711, says of them, "a certain couple I often see coming from you, and who are known to be high in your favour, are remarkable for nothing as much as the one for his levity, the other for his ingratitude, and both for their insufficiency; which indeed, does excellently qualify 'em for tools, if that be your design. They have ambition enough to turn and return, to say and do, to unsay and undo as they are bid; nor have you any thing to risk when you use them as tools deserve."—Toland's Works, ii. 222. It is curious to observe the contempt with which the writers of this age treated each other, when opposed in politics. Toland himself was not without his share of it.

As De Foe best knew the nature of his connexion with Harley, he shall relate it in his own words; and it affords a triumphant vindication from the aspersions of his enemies. Having recounted the favours he had received from some of the late ministers; and from the person then at the head of affairs, he says, "But let no man run away with the notion, that I am now intending to plead the obligation that was laid upon me by her majesty, or by any other person, to justify my doing any thing that is not otherwise to be justified in itself. Nothing would be more injurious than such a construction; and therefore I capitulate for so much justice as to explain myself by this declaration, viz. That I only speak of those obligations as binding me to a negative conduct, not to fly in the face of, or concern myself in disputes with those to whom I was under such obligations, although I might not, in my judgment, join in many things that were done. No obligation could excuse me in calling evil good, or good evil; but I am of opinion, that I might justly think myself obliged to defend what I thought was to be defended, and to be silent in any thing which I might think was not. If this is a crime, I must plead guilty, and give in the history of my obligation as an extenuation at least, if not a justification of my conduct.

"And this brings me to inquire what the matters of fact are; what I have done, or have not done. It is a general suggestion, and is affirmed with such assurance, that they tell me it is in vain to contradict it, that I have been employed by the Lord-Treasurer, in the late disputes about public affairs, to write for him, or to put it into their own particulars, have written by his direction, taken the materials from him, been dictated to, or instructed by him, or by other persons from him, by his order, and the like; and that I have received a pension, salary, or payment from his lordship for such services. One would think it impossible, since these things have been so confidently affirmed, but that some evidence might be produced, some facts appear, or somebody might be found that could speak of certain knowledge. To say, things have been carried too closely to be discovered, is saying nothing; for then they must own, that it is not discovered: and how then can they affirm it, as they do, with such an assurance as nothing ought to be affirmed by honest men, unless they were able to prove it?

"To speak then to the fact. Were the reproach upon me only in this particular, I should not mention it. I should not think it a reproach to be directed by a man to whom the queen had entrusted the administration of the government. But, as it is a reproach upon his lordship, justice requires that I do right in this case. The thing is true or false. I would recommend it to those who would be called honest men, to consider but one thing, viz. What if it should not be true? Can they justify the injury done to that person, or to any person concerned? If it cannot be proved, if no vestiges appear to ground it upon, how can they charge men upon rumours and reports, and join to run down men's characters by the stream of clamour.

Sed quo rapit impetus undæ.

"In answer to the charge, I bear witness to posterity, that every part of it is false and forged. And I solemnly protest, in the fear and presence of him that shall judge us all, both the slanderers and the slandered, that I have not received any instructions, directions, orders, or let them call it what they will, for the writing any part of what I have written, or any materials for the putting together any book or pamphlet whatsoever, from the said Earl of Oxford, Lord-Treasurer, or from any person by his order or direction, since the time that the late Earl of Godolphin was Lord-Treasurer. Neither did I ever shew, or cause to be shewed to his lordship, for his approbation or otherwise, any book, paper, or pamphlet which I have written, before the same was printed and published. If any man living can detect me of the least prevarication in this, or in any part of it, I desire him to do it by all means; and I challenge all the world to do it. And if they cannot, then I appeal to the honour and justice of my worst enemies, to know upon what foundation of truth or conscience they can affirm these things, and for what it is that I bear these reproaches. In all my writing, I ever capitulated for liberty to speak according to my own judgment of things; I ever had that liberty allowed me, nor was I ever imposed upon to write this way or that against my judgment, by any person whatsoever.

"I come now historically to the point of time when my Lord Godolphin was dismissed from his employment, and the late unhappy division broke out at court. I waited on my Lord the day he was displaced, and humbly asked his lordship's direction, what course I should take? His lordship's answer was, 'That he had the same good will to assist me, but not the same power; that I was the queen's servant, and that all he had done for me was by her majesty's special and particular direction; and that whoever should succeed him, it was not material to me; he supposed I should be employed in nothing relating to the present differences: my business was to wait till I saw things settled, and then apply myself to the ministers of state, to receive her majesty's commands from them.' It occurred to me immediately, as a principle for my conduct, that it was not material to me what ministers her majesty was pleased to employ; my duty was to go along with every ministry, so far as they did not break in upon the constitution, and the laws and liberties of my country; my part being only the duty of a subject, to submit to all lawful commands, and to enter into no service which was not justifiable by the laws: to all which I have exactly obliged myself.

"By this, I was providentially cast back upon my original benefactor, who, according to his wonted goodness, was pleased to lay my case before her majesty; and thereby I preserved my interest in her majesty's favour, but without any engagement of service. As for consideration, pension, gratification, or reward, I declare to all the world I have had none, except only that old appointment which her majesty was pleased to make me in the ministry of my Lord Godolphin; of which I have spoken already, and which was for services done in a foreign country some years before. Neither have I been employed or directed by my Lord-Treasurer aforesaid, to do, or not to do, anything in the affair of the unhappy differences which have so long perplexed us, and for which I have suffered so many, and such unjust reproaches.

"The first thing in the unhappy breaches which have fallen out, is the heaping up scandal upon the persons and conduct of men of honour on one side as well as on the other; those unhappy methods of falling upon one another by personal calumny and reproach. This I have often in print complained of as an unchristian, ungenerous, and unjustifiable practice. Not a word can be found in all I have written reflecting on the persons or conduct of any of the former ministry. I served her majesty under their administrations; they acted honourably and justly in every transaction in which I had the honour to be concerned with them; and I never published, or said any thing dishonourable of any of them in my life: nor can the worst enemy I have produce any such thing against me. I always regretted the charge, and looked upon it as a great disaster to the nation in general, I am sure it was so to me in particular; and the divisions and feuds among parties which followed that change, were doubtless a disaster to us all."*

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* Appeal to Honour and Justice, pp. 17—23.

CHAPTER IX.

Death of the Earl of Rochester.—His Character.—The Tories unite under Harley.—His Address to gain their Confidence.—Different Opinions of his Policy.—He is created Earl of Oxford and Lord Treasurer.—Other Changes.—A Secular Prelate.—Fleming's History of Hereditary Right.—Some awkward Appearances of Inroads upon the Constitution.—The Cause of the Pretender gains ground.—Public Demonstrations in his Favor.—The Ministers desirous of a Peace.—Enter upon a Clandestine Negociation with France.—Swift's New Journey to Paris.—De Foe attacked by Maynwaring.—He defends Himself.—He is a Friend to Peace.—His Opinion upon the Objects of the War.—And Statement of King William's Sentiments.—He is for a Partition of the Spanish Dominions.—Mis-represented by the Whigs.—He explains his Opinions in "An Essay upon that difficult Phrase, a Good Peace."—Many Pamphlets falsely charged upon him.—He publishes "The Felonious Treaty" in Defence of King William.—Defends himself from Reproaches.—The Parliament re-assembled.—Prosperous days for the Church.—Coalition between the Whigs and the Earl of Nottingham.—De Foe's Remarks upon it.—The Occasional Bill brought forward by the Earl of Nottingham.—Passes both Houses.—De Foe's Reflections upon the Measure.—Speech of the Stone Chimney-Piece in the House of Lords.—He publishes "An Essay on the History of Parties and Persecution."—Caveat against the Whigs.

1711.

Upon the second of May, died Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, second son to the great Earl of Clarendon, and the queen's uncle. He had been to dine with a friend, and after dinner was seized with apoplexy, of which he died. His education and early connexions gave him a strong bias to Toryism, which grew more inveterate with age, and possessed him with those rigorous high-church notions which were rampant in the days of Charles II. He has been celebrated for his wisdom and integrity, and he gave a proof of his attachment to Protestantism, by relinquishing the place of Lord High Treasurer, rather than conform to the religion of King James II.; but he sat in the ecclesiastical commission, and sanctioned all the measures in that reign for the subversion of liberty. His acquiescence in the Revolution was probably more the result of necessity than of choice; for he was ever the determined opponent of King William, and the short time that he held office under him, was declared by that prince to be the uneasiest of his reign. The accession of a Stuart was the signal for his return to power, which he used for the aggrandizement of the crown, and the promotion of those schemes of clerical dominion, which was the object of all the clamour now raised by the clergy upon account of religion. The Protestantism of Lord Rochester was akin to the religion of all bigots, which is that of hatred; and derives no value from the dogmas ingrafted upon it, in comparison with what it loses by the absence of those qualities which are of most value to society.

By the death of Rochester, Harley lost a formidable rival; and it paved the way for his accession to those honours which the popularity he had acquired since his late accident assigned to him without a contest. The Tories who had been hitherto divided, now united under him as their head, and engaged to support him with their whole interest. "Mr. Harley, who was no stranger to the nature of popular favour, nor to differences which were likely to arise among them on account of the succession, embraced and paid compliments to them all, and exhorted every one to exert himself for his party against the Duke of Marlborough, who seemed to have a design upon the crown." Harley had always a great dread of military power, and was jealous of Marlborough's influence with the army; but as there could be no ground for the insinuation just mentioned, it must be considered as one of those artifices in which he so largely indulged. The historian goes on to say, "But though he talked to them thus, yet it is reported, that he said to the queen from the beginning, that he would neither attempt any thing against the succession, nor act in any other business otherwise than according to law. And he persuaded the queen to follow the same maxims of conduct, and to do every thing that was fair and honourable. And in this respect, the testimony of the Earl of Godolphin was of great service to him; who declared, that Mr. Harley was always averse to the Pretender. But such was the iniquity of the times, that people now had entertained a different opinion of him; and the Pretender's friends boasted, that they knew his whole design. I shall not presume to determine this point, since nothing is harder to discover than a man's intentions. It is certain, his present conduct seemed to regard the Pretender more than the laws of the land, as that of the Earl of Sunderland, the father, formerly did, by whose example many people thought Mr. Harley's schemes were now formed."*

Although there is no proof that Harley ever had any serious design in favor of the Pretender, yet, as many of his actions tended that way, and some of his colleagues were known to be in his interest, it is not surprising that he should have the credit of it. He who resorts with bad company, however well-disposed, must not expect to escape without scars, upon his reputation; and it was the tax that Harley paid as the price of his ambition. The queen, who thought no reward too great for his services, raised him to the peerage upon the 24th of May, by the title of Earl of Oxford and Mortimer; and upon the 29th of the same month, he was constituted Lord High Treasurer. When he went to take the oaths in the Court of Chancery, the Lord-Keeper, Harcourt, complimented him in a strain of flattery rivalling that of the Speaker, and suited to the pomp and magnificence of his patent.* As for Harley, "His thoughts were full of the antiquity of his family, and his heart more set upon honours and riches: he was also more desirous to seem excellent, than to be so."†

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* Cunningham, ii. 362.

The promotion of Harley was followed by many other changes, which gave great satisfaction to the Tories. His place, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, was filled by Robert Benson, afterwards Lord Bingley; and that zealous churchman, John, Duke of Bucks, succeeded the Earl of Rochester as president of the council. But the most extraordinary appointment was that of Dr. Robinson, Bishop of Bristol, to be lord privy-seal and a member of the cabinet; being the first clergyman raised to a ministerial office since the reign of Charles I. This secular prelate had been formerly ambassador to Sweden, and afterwards negociated the peace of Utrecht, for which service he was rewarded with the bishopric of London. (P) He is said to have been a great politician; but we hear little of his merits as a divine. Indeed, the church was now raising her head as in the old days of Laud, and had a prospect of those "halcyon days," when she should be able, from the throne of power, to trample her enemies beneath her feet. With all the vices of the Jesuits, but more humble pretensions to talent, the clergy of this period, neglecting the pastoral character, emulated them in their thirst for power, which they cloaked with a noisy zeal for the church. When thwarted in any of their projects, they became inflamed with resentment, and raised cabals in the nation to assist them in gratifying their revenge. The Revolution, which recognized the civil rights of Englishmen, was an abomination in their eyes; and the more so, for its carrying along with it an "indulgence to scrupulous consciences," as they had effrontery to term the Act of Toleration, with a view to its overthrow.

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* Boyer's Queen Anne, p. 495. † Cunningham, ii. 363.

(P) When the bishop went over to Holland upon this extraordinary mission, he was greeted by the hootings and jeerings of the children: which was not done so much out of ill design, as through their wonder at the novelty of his habit. Writing over to the queen, he complained heavily of these indignities, which, it is said, her majesty took very much to heart, and complained of the dishonour done to her plenipotentiary and to the church. But it was the folly of the ministers in sending him upon such an errand, that deserved the most censure.—*Cunningham*, ii. 395. The equipage with which he travelled was somewhat curious for an apostle of Christianity; but it must be recollected that he went as envoy from the queen of Great Britain, and not as bishop of Bristol. He travelled in a carriage with eight horses, and his attendants in five coaches and six. He had four pages, and twelve footmen in liveries, partly of the colour generally used by bishops in England. His appointment comprised 9000 ounces of plate, half of which was gilt; and a black velvet gown richly covered with gold loops, having a long train borne by two pages in ash-coloured coats, with silver orraces, and green waistcoats. He was accompanied by three chaplains, to divide the laborious duty, and had eighteen gentlemen in his retinue.—*Oldmixon*, iii. 483.

The absurd doctrines upon government, propagated by the clergy, to assist them in grasping at temporal power, were properly exposed in a work that now made its appearance in an anonymous dress, and intitled "The History of Hereditary Right, from Cain to Nero: Wherein its Indefeasableness, and all other such late Doctrines concerning the absolute Power of Princes, and the unlimited Obedience of Subjects, are fully and finally determined by the Scripture-standard of Divine Right. To which is prefixed, a Preface by way of a modest Challenge, and Address to the British and Irish Jacobites, to answer what is said. London." 8vo. This work appeared without either name or date, but the author tells us, that he happened to wind up his discourse upon the 11th of April, being the day upon which the solemnity of King William's coronation had taken place twenty-one years before, but the remembrance of which was then forgotten or despised. The author was soon known to be the Rev. Robert Fleming, an eminent divine of the Scottish Church, resident in London, whose name was affixed to the second edition, published in 1717. The object of the author is sufficiently unfolded in his title. From a comprehensive view of the history of succession in the Jewish state, he forcibly points out the contempt which the Almighty poured upon hereditary right, by its frequent interruption in a favoured nation; and he adduces numerous examples to show the fallacy of the Jacobite claims to uninterrupted succession. From hence, he deduces the legality of the Revolution which placed King William upon the throne, and established the succession in the house of Hanover; and he argues upon the extreme folly of those who would set the latter aside in favour of the Stuarts, under the cloudy notion of hereditary right. The work abounds with scriptural illustrations; and the author has some sensible and judicious strictures upon the conduct of Joseph, when prime-minister of Egypt. Those who are tinctured with the absurd notions upon government which then prevailed, and have descended to some in our own day, may find them ably demolished by this writer, who united the decorations of learning with the desirable qualities of a sound mind. De Foe, who had taken a similar view of the subject, and speaks of Mr. Fleming as "the ingenious and very learned author," strongly recommends his book to general perusal.

At this time, the conduct of the ministers betrayed some awkward appearances of inroads upon the constitution, particularly with regard to Scotland; a breach of faith that was contemplated by De Foe with feelings of indignation. He denounces it as worse than Turkish perfidy, and says, "If the persons aimed at, think themselves aggrieved by his remarks, a small matter will move him to defend them."* The disguise now worn by public men was too thin to conceal their designs, or to deceive our author. He says, "I, that have lived now these twenty years in this *Presbyterian* nation, (Q) have often been guilty of wondering that we are not tired in all this time from the Revolution, with wearing masques and covering ourselves with disguises, especially when the air of parties is so sultry hot, as sometimes it is. But, as they say pride is never too hot or too cold, so it is here ; and our politics so much prevail upon our convenience, that we will bear any thing. This is evident in our concealing the principles we profess, and putting on a show of what we really neither love, own, nor practice."*

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* Review, viii. 32.

But there were strong grounds to suspect the fidelity of the ministers, not only with regard to the Union, but even to the Protestant succession, and the preservation of liberty. The sixteen peers elected to sit in parliament for Scotland, were, with only two or three exceptions, known to be in the interest of the Pretender, and some of them had already appeared in arms for him. A great number of offices, both in England and Scotland, were filled with persons of the same description ; and both arms and pay were sent by the queen's command to a barbarous race of men in the Highlands, who were in the same interest, and prepared for any scene of blood and desolation. † The spirit of Jacobitism, which had skulked in corners under the late ministry, now revived, and diffused itself through the various departments of the public administration. Amongst the remarkables of the time, was a silver medal of the Pretender, which the Duchess of Gordon presented, in the month of June, to the dean and faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh. Upon one side was the head of the Chevalier, with the motto, *cujus*

(Q) De Foe here uses the word Presbyterian sarcastically, it having been so often in the mouths of the high party to designate the queen, the bishops, and the moderate men in the nation. His subsequent remarks were a strong rebuke to Harley.

* Review, viii. 81.

† Cunningham, ii. 356.

est ; and upon the reverse, a representation of the British islands, with the word *reddite.* (R) Pamphlets were now circulated to disparage the Revolution and its hero, and to get rid of the oath of abjuration. The cause of the Pretender was audaciously pleaded by the Tory news-writers, who passed with impunity; and a book was published containing the depositions relative to the birth of the Pretender. (S) In Ireland, matters were placed upon a like prosperous footing. Sir Constantine Phipps, the new Chancellor, a cruel and unjust man, was wholly in the interest of the high party, and rendered the administration of his office subservient to the enemies of the Protestant succession.

Amongst the affronts offered to the queen and government, by the party whose leaders she was caressing, was toasting the Pretender at their private clubs, and the chaunting of songs to his success. Some of these were published and freely scattered amongst the people, containing the most bare-faced assertion of his claims to the crown. The old cavalier song of "The king shall enjoy his own again," composed during the exile of Charles II. was now revived ;

(R) The particulars of this affair, which made a great noise at the time, were published in the "Flying Post" and other papers; as also in a pamphlet intitled "The Scotch Medal deciphered, and the new Hereditary Right Men displayed. Or, Remarks on the late Proceedings of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh, upon receiving the Pretender's Medal. With an Account of the Laws which make those proceedings High-Treason. To which the said proceedings are prefixed. Lond. 1711." 8vo.

(S) It is intitled "The Several Declarations, together with the several Depositions made in council, on Monday the 22nd of October, 1688, concerning the Birth of the Prince of Wales. Lond." No date. The work had been formerly published by order of King James, and, says De Foe, "As that book was the greatest weakening and blow to the king that any body could have struck, so really will the publishing it now. There are so many takers of an impostor; so many plain deficiencies of what proof might have been made; so many fulsome follies, surfeiting blunders, such broken evidences, circumlocutions, and very weak low steps, that it is out of any wise man's doubt, that the depositions left the cause in a dirtier condition than they found it, and so it will now."—*Review,* vii. 587.

and other words were composed to the same tune, better adapted to the occasion. The following verses from one of these songs, will sufficiently unfold the intentions of the party:

"Now the Tories reign,
Our hopes revive again,
And the revolution-rogueries shall come down:
Awa, Whigs, Awa,
For we hope to see the day,
When Jemmy, bonny Jemmy, shall recover his crown.

Then let the loons run,
As they have now begun,
All their tricks to recover are in vain:
For we hope to see the day,
When the Whigs shall run away,
And the king shall enjoy his own again!" (T)

During the greater part of the year, the public mind was occupied upon the projected negociation for a general peace. The war with France had been always unpopular with the Tories, as growing out of the partition-treaty, which they condemned for the sake of its author. An early bias in favor of a connexion with that country, so long cherished by the court of England, disposed many of them to view its interruption with regret; whilst others who rested their hopes upon the Pretender, deprecated it as enfeebling the only power that was capable of assisting his pretensions. A very different feeling with regard to France had pervaded the great body of the nation, and sanctioned the policy of putting an end to her aggrandizement, by creating a balance of power in Europe. The long train of successes that crowned the arms of the confederates, had rendered the war

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(T) De Foe says, that the song as sung at their more private parties, when they gave way to their excesses, has a more genuine version, thus:

"For we hope to see the day,
When the Queen shall run away,
And the king shall enjoy his own again." *

* Review, viii. 318.

popular, and afforded a rational prospect of accomplishing this object. But so long as it continued, the Tories despaired of their accession to power, or of being able to stand their ground in the event of obtaining it. Their only hope, therefore, was to infuse discontents in the people, to sour their minds with the burthen of taxation, and to represent the Whigs as the sole obstacle to their relief by a peace. In furtherance of their object, the pulpit was laid under requisition, and the inferior clergy raised such a clamour amongst the people, that the military ardour and high spirit of liberty, which not many years before, had shone forth amongst all ranks and orders of men, were now exchanged for a rooted aversion to war, and a blind desire for peace, without any regard to the honour of the country, or the safety of those interests for which so much blood and treasure had been expended.

The French king, aware of the disposition of the Tories, hailed their accession to power, and resolved to profit by the altered tone which they had created in the nation. A clandestine correspondence had been carried on for some time between the courts of France and England, by means of inferior agents; and the inclination of both parties having been sufficiently ascertained, Mons. Mesnager was sent privately to England, in the early part of the year, clothed with powers from the French king, to ascertain the views of the English ministers. The business having assumed this serious form, Matthew Prior, the poet, who had been employed in a former negociation, was sent with the same secrecy to France, to explain the terms upon which a treaty would be negociated. Mons. Mesnager soon followed, and the preliminaries having been adjusted at Paris, they both returned with them to London, where they were signed by the English ministers, the 27th of September. Hitherto, the affair had been conducted without the knowledge of the allies, whom the French king was desirous of excluding from the treaty.

As soon as the conditions became known, they expressed great dissatisfaction, and memorialized the queen upon the subject. The Dutch prohibited the French plenipotentiaries from entering their territory; but the queen threatening to withdraw the English troops, they gradually gave way, and at length consented to a congress, at Utrecht, which was to be opened in the following January.

Whilst these clandestine negociations were going forward, the suspicions of the people began to be awakened, until the object of them ceased to be a mystery. In order to prepare the public mind, as well as to create an impression favourable to the ministers, one of their writers now published "A new Journey to Paris; together with some Secret Transactions between the French King and an English Gentleman. By the Sieur de Baudrier. Translated from the French. London, 1711." 8vo. The French name affixed to the work, was nothing more than a deception, to blind the public. Tindal says, "It was supposed by some to be written by Daniel De Foe, and by others ascribed to Jonathan Swift, who had for some years before attached himself to the Whig party, but, being disappointed in hopes of preferment, went over to the Tories."* It is now known, that Swift was the real author. The English gentleman alluded to in his title, was Matthew Prior, of whose journey to Paris he gives an amusing account. (U)

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* Tindal's History, iv. 221.

(U) Swift, in his Journal to Stella, writes thus: "I have just thought of a project to bite the town. I have told you, that it is now known that Mr. Prior has been lately in France. I will make a printer of my own sit by me one day; and I will dictate him a formal relation of Prior's journey, with several particulars, all pure invention; and I doubt not but that it will take."—"This morning the printer sent me an account of Prior's Journey; it makes a twopenny pamphlet; I suppose you will see it, for I dare say it will run. It is a formal, grave lie, from the beginning to the end. I wrote all but the last page; *that* I dictated, and the printer wrote."—*Journal* for August 31, and September 11.

The eagerness of the ministers to enter upon a treaty, and the disposition they fostered against the allies, were bad omens of their future management. But their stability depended upon a peace, and they resolved to have it, let the expense be what it would. This was not unknown to the French king, who had secret information of all that was transacting, and resolved to make his market of it, by securing the Spanish dominions for his grandson. Although the prevention of such an occurrence had been a leading object of the war, yet it was now generally believed that the ministers would not insist upon it. As De Foe had already declared himself, in strong terms upon the subject, and at the same time, had disavowed any sytematic attack upon the ministers, his enemies thought it would be a fine opportunity to try his consistency. With this view, Mr. Maynwaring now published some "Reflections on a Quotation out of the Review," being the work before alluded to by Oldmixon. Upon this paper De Foe bestows the following strictures:

"I have met with a scurrilous paper, designed to be published some days ago, and which the publisher justly refused to give out, intitled, 'A Quotation from the Review.' However, that the author may not think that I am afraid to have it come abroad, I have here published it for him, that the world may judge what fair dealing I meet with from some who pretend they are for the right side. The paper is this:

"'I ought to make an apology to the public for re-printing the words of such a writer; but, because every body does not know that he is under the direction of a much greater man than himself, and few of the better, or wiser sort of people, ever trouble themselves to read his papers, I thought it would not be unacceptable to them to see the thoughts, even of this low author, upon the subject of peace, before he was let into the true secret. And I now recommend to him, the reconciling the project so much talked of, with his opinion of that matter the first day of September last: And this he may as easily do, as what he undertook upon the late change of the ministry, which was to prove, that all ministries and managements must be alike, and that whoever were employed must be Whigs. The first thing, therefore, I now desire of him is, that he would please to give his thoughts a new turn, and endeavour to prove, according to the present language of the times, *That it is impossible to have a good peace without giving Spain to France.* This is a pretty new maxim in politics, and fit to be illustrated by so able a pen.' "

De Foe had no difficulty in answering this writer. He says, "After this wise and modest introduction, he prints a part of the *Review* for the first of September, No. 69, in which I argue against giving up Spain to the House of Bourbon; that it would ruin our commerce, and that we had as good give up Ireland. He now demands of me to reconcile this to the project, which he says is so much talked of, and to prove that it is impossible to have a good peace without giving Spain to France. Let any man judge of the justice of these people. I defy him to prove that ever any of my writings suggested any such thing; and what then have I to do with what he says is the language of the times? It is none of my languege, and it is more unfair of him to demand it of me, than it is for me to ask him *to prove* that I write under the direction of any man, or ever would submit to do so, were he the greatest man alive; which I defy him to make out."*

De Foe acknowledges himself a friend to peace, provided it can be obtained upon safe and honourable terms; and he contends, that the circumstances of the nation required it, even if we could not procure all the conditions we had expected. Although his opinion was never altered as to the immediate object of the war, which was the preservation of the balance of power, yet no one could foresee, but that circumstances might arise which would render some deviation necessary in the mode by which that object was to be obtained. In fact, an occurrence of this kind actually took place by the death of the emperor, and the elevation of his brother Charles VI., the competitor for the crown of Spain, to the empire. As it was contrary to the interest of the other princes of Europe, that the Spanish dominions should be subject either to the emperor or the King of France, the object of the treaty now became deranged, and the interests of the leading members of the alliance, in case the war continued, required to be settled by fresh stipulations. This new state of things, independent of other circumstances, was favourable to the ambitious views of the French monarch, and appeared to release the English ministers from the obligation of a literal fulfilment of the treaty of partition. They had the less reserve, therefore, in entering upon negociations for peace with France, even without the concurrence of the emperor, whose new situation occasioned a necessary change in the English policy. If De Foe's argument, therefore, took a different turn at this time, it must be attributed to a change of circumstances, rather than to any deviation from his former opinions.

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* Review viii. 345, 346.

As King William had a leading hand in forming the treaty, his sentiments upon the subject were important at this time, and there were few persons better qualified to state them than De Foe. "I remember in that famous treaty," says he, "which I had the honour to see, and *something more in its embryo,* this fundamental maxim is laid down, as what all the princes of Europe would acknowledge, viz. that it was essential to the safety and peace of Europe, that the kingdom of Spain should never devolve on one hand to any prince that was emperor of Germany; or on the other hand, to any prince that was king of France, so that they might be possessed at the same time by one and the same person." * He adds, "I have had the honour to hear his majesty speak of these things at large; and I appeal to all those noble persons now living, who were near the king at that time, who I believe often heard him express himself with great caution as to the giving too much to the empire, as equally dangerous to the public peace, with giving it to France."* "For my part," says he, "I look back with inexpressible satisfaction on this in myself; that having from the beginning seen with the eyes of his late majesty in this affair, I always saw the blessing of that design, and ever have been, and still am, of the opinion that this war can have no other end."†

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* Review, viii. 59.

Upon the whole, De Foe concludes, that it would be safer for Europe to make a partition of the Spanish dominions between the contending parties. "Every reason," says he, "argues strongly for dividing this mighty prize, and giving a part to every pretender, making them all as equal in strength and advantages, as may make them independent of each other; and this is what we call the balance of power. This was the foundation of the late treaty of partition, and this is the foundation I go upon in my politics."‡ The interest that England and Holland would have in this arrangement, he says, would consist in the security of their own dominions, and in the commercial advantages which they should stipulate for by treaty." "He that is for making a peace," says he, "that is not a good one, is for ending the war to begin it again; is for selling us to the French, and would sell us to the Devil."§

Such were the real opinions of De Foe upon the subject of the peace, and it became the more necessary to state them, because they have been grossly misrepresented by the Whig writers of the time, who have transmitted his name with odium, as a dependant upon the ministers, and an unqualified supporter of all their measures. We have seen that he rejects the charge of subserviency with disdain; and as his ideas upon the proper terms for a peace differed materially from those which were eventually submitted to by the ministers, so they remained unchanged to the last.

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* Review, viii. 354. † Ibid, 366. ‡ Ibid, 370. § Ibid, 375.

With a view to influence the people upon this all-absorbing subject, pamphlets were now scattered about by both parties in great abundance. To the general stock, De Foe paid his contributions; but they were of a pacific tendency, designed to moderate the heat of parties, and inculcated the same view of the subject that he had taken of it in his *Reviews.* In reply to the Whigs, who misrepresented his motives for advocating a peace, he says, that he did not write for it "as a Tory, high-flying project, to establish a party and restore the Pretender," as had been basely insinuated; to accuse him of which, he tells them, would be as absurd as to say, he was for setting up the Spanish inquisition, or for restoring the worship of Diana, in the Cathedral of St. Paul's.* But to silence clamour, and explain his views more effectually upon the subject, he appeared before the world, in the month of November, in "an Essay at a Plain Exposition of that Difficult Phrase, 'a Good Peace.' Printed for J. Baker, 1711." 8vo. pp. 52.

In an "Introduction" to the work, he explains his motives for undertaking it, and cautions the public not to be misled by the numerous pamphlets that had been falsely ascribed to him. "The subject I have here undertaken," says he, "is so nice, and a plain treating of it so difficult and dangerous, especially in me, so liable to censures and prejudices of both sides, that it has been with some hesitation that I go about it. Not that I am so solicitous of whom I please or displease in this affair; for he that is so, can never speak with an impartial freedom; a liberty absolutely necessary to the clear stating things of doubtful acceptation, and a liberty which, when I cease to preserve to myself, I shall cease to write at all. It is very hard with me in this case, more than with any other author, in that, whereas others are wary in what they write for fear of displeasing the government, and irritating men in power; my difficulty is a clamour raised by them, who, without arrogance I may say, cannot confute me, pretending that I am too careful to please men in power, in which I have the reproach without the profit of the charge. But as the same men brought the same charge when the other party was in power, and thought it as much a crime, I appeal to all the world what heed ought to be given to their censure. I only introduce this with a brief challenge to them, to find any change of principle in all I have written, if they can; and if what I wrote under the late ministry, and under this ministry, agrees, it must be somebody else that has changed principle, not me: let the issue determine it.

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* Review, viii. 394.

"I would be glad to please every body; but my aim is to speak truth with honesty. If it please nobody, I am not solicitous, so it be but truth and honesty. He that can say it is not, let him stand forth and be seen; he that cannot contradict the truth I speak, will have but small success in calumniating the honesty with which I speak it. And yet I had not entered now upon this subject, but that the writers of the town (according to the usage I have some years been treated with), laying all their bastards at my door, and almost every book being called mine, as well of one side as the other, I thought myself a little obliged to declare myself, and let you all know my notions of things, with my name to them, that I may no more bear the scandals of the present filth of the press, with pardon for that expression. Hitherto I have said nothing on the subject, nor do I purpose to say any thing but what I will fairly own and defend; and that I hope may answer the people, who call every thing they don't like by my name. I am not apt to make apologies, and I entreat the reader to place this impertinence to the age's follies, which oblige me to it, in order to defend myself from a charge so unjust, as that of being the author of books which I never gave myself the trouble so much as to read." (x)

In discussing the question, what is to be understood by a good peace? De Foe refers to the primary objects of the war, as laid down in the treaty of partition, and the articles of the grand alliance, and contends, that a treaty founded upon those stipulations, can be the only basis of a good peace. Since the formation of that alliance, however, an event had happened, which not being foreseen, could not be provided for, and would render some alterations necessary in the terms to be insisted upon. The event here referred to, was the accession to the empire of the Austrian King of Spain, which De Foe contends, put an end to his claim upon the latter country, and rendered a new arrangement necessary to preserve a balance of power in Europe: for this could not be attained by giving Spain either to France or Austria. It was apparent, therefore, that satisfaction must be given to both powers by a distribution of the Spanish dominions, but upon the nature of the allotment he does not presume to give an opinion. This must be settled by a general treaty between all the powers, and if France did not agree to reasonable terms, we should only be in the same situation that we were, and could renew the war. It is evident from the tenour of this discourse, that De Foe had abandoned the idea of King Philip's removal from the Spanish throne, and that he

(x) If it was not for the above avowal, the present writer would be strongly inclined to give the following works upon the same subject to De Foe. They not only breathe his sentiments, but participate of his style and phraseology. 1. "The Ballance of Europe: Or an Inquiry into the respective Dangers of giving the Spanish Monarchy to the Emperor, as well as to King Philip: with the Consequences that may be expected from either. Printed for John Baker, 1711." 8vo, pp. 48. 2. "Armageddon; or the necessity of carrying on the War, if such a peace cannot be obtained as may render Europe safe, and trade secure. London: Printed for J. Baker." No date. 8vo. pp. 47.

thought some equivalent might be provided for the allies, without compromising the honour of the country, or defeating the wishes of the people for peace. His pamphlet must have been of considerable use to the ministers; whilst it is so dexterously written, as not to compromise the politics of the writer, nor commit him with the policy which dictated the terms that were finally agreed upon.

The reproaches cast upon the memory of King William, for the Treaty of Partition, and their revival at this time for party purposes, awakened De Foe to a renewed vindication of his royal master Besides devoting his *Review* to the subject upon the anniversary of the Revolution, he published, early in December, "The Felonious Treaty: or, an Inquiry into the Reasons which moved his late Majesty King William, of Glorious Memory, to enter into a Treaty at Two several Times with the King of France, for the Partition of the Spanish Monarchy. With an Essay, proving that it was always the Sense, both of King William, and of all the Confederates, and even of the Grand Alliance itself, that the Spanish Monarchy should never be united in the Person of the Emperor. By the Author of the *Review.* London: printed and sold by J. Baker. 1711. Price Sixpence." 8vo. pp. 48. (Y)

Our author adopted this title in ridicule of John Howe, member for Gloucestershire, who had used the term in a debate in the House of Commons, for the purpose of insulting the king. He begins by saying, "I need not repeat here the severe usage which the glorious contriver of that happy treaty met with on this account. England has smarted

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(Y) This work is advertised in the Review, for December 8, as "Just published," and contains the following—"N. B. The reader is desired to correct with his pen, a sentence in French, spoken by King William, which was sent right to the press, and corrected in the revise, but slipt over by the workmen; which should be thus: *Et bien donc le roy de France est ruiné, et l'Europe aussi.* Page 5, l. 28.

severely for it since, in a long, bloody, and expensive war, which is like at last to end in recognising his wisdom, who saw, at such a distance, what we have been obliged to instruct ourselves in, at such a length of time, and at so great an expense." In the following passage, he alludes to an event in his own history not before noticed. "I am the freer in entering upon the subject at this critical juncture, because, as I had the honour *from his majesty's own mouth*, to hear many of his reasons for making that treaty, and some of the views he had in it for the future good and peace of Europe, so I have on all occasions long before this, declared, and once in particular, when under examination before some men of the greatest power in this kingdom, and the greatest enemies to that treaty, who will remember, if they see these sheets, that it was then my opinion, that after seven years' war, we should be glad to make peace on the foot of a partition; not to repeat any thing then said of the conditions. Now, though I tell you this at the beginning of this tract, to let you see I am not of that opinion in compliance to the times, as my enemies are forward to suggest, yet I must do it also in justice to the memory and wisdom of King William; and when I say they were *his majesty's own words*, I cannot think my judgment the less for retaining an opinion built upon so good an authority." Our author then discusses the nature and objects of the treaty of partition; justifies the policy of King William in resorting to it; and concludes, by observing, that a balance of power, in which alone consisted the security of Europe, could only be maintained by a peace in conformity with the principles upon which it was conducted.

The press continuing to load him with reproaches, De Foe writes thus, upon the 20th of November: "The humour of the times is a mighty stream, and we find few that can resist it. The reason is, that it is a dangerous port, full of rocks and shoals to split on, and not one in twenty ventures the dangerous voyage, but will be lost in the attempt. Every side is against him. If his courage bears up a while, his reputation will sink; one side says he is mercenary, and gone over to the enemy; the other side says, he is coming over to them, but not knowing why, thinks him fickle; those that think him honest, say he is mad; so, in short, the man is lost on every side, and no wonder so few dare stand the brush. I am one of those unhappy few, who, guided as I hope by truth, and unconcerned at reproach, which men blindly throw out on every side, stand fast in the defence of that true interest of my country, which I bless God from the bottom of my soul, I espoused in my youth, and never could be frighted by parties, nor bribed by persuasions, no, not of the greatest in the nation, to forsake. I confess I defend it now under very unhappy circumstances, viz., that they say the French and I argue for the same thing; the Tory interest is wrapped up in my argument; and, rash men! some will have it that I am turned high-flyer." To these random shots De Foe replies, "After I have first turned Papist, and then Mahometan, I may list for the Pretender; but take my word for it, I must do both the other first." *

The ministers expecting a strong opposition to their negociations for a peace, re-assembled the parliament with great reluctance, after several prorogations, upon the 7th of December. Finding the current to run against them in the Lords, they resorted to the desperate expedient of creating twelve new peers in one day; and Mr. St. John observed, that if these were not enough to overpower the Whigs, they should have another dozen. This wholesale exercise of the prerogative naturally created loud murmurs, as destructive to the design of parliaments, and placing them wholly at the will of the minister. It also exposed the occasional peers, as they were contemptuously called, to

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* Review, viii, 413, 414.

much ridicule; and many jests were passed both upon them and the ministers. Upon the first question that called for a division, Lord Wharton comparing them to a jury, asked one of them, whether they voted by their foreman? It may be observed, that upon the day of their creation, the Duke of Marlborough was turned out of all his employments, to make room for others who were more to the taste of the ministers. *

We are now approaching a measure that had been an object of earnest solicitude with high churchmen during the whole of this reign. The menaces thrown out against the Dissenters, in the bold and senseless declamations of the clergy, were not empty words, but gave an earnest of their designs upon the earliest opportunity for putting them in execution. A session of parliament having passed over without any demonstrations in their favour, or rather against the rights of their fellow citizens, they began to clamour at their friends, complaining of their slow paces towards the removal of the toleration, and the substitution of sanguinary laws for the support of the church. Not a few of them were looking forward to those "halcyon days," when they were to have the custody of scrupulous consciences; when the sword of the church, which had been in a rusty state since the Revolution, should be new-furbished, and held up *in terrorem* for the confusion of all heretics. † To prepare the minds of people for what was to follow, the proceedings of both houses of parliament upon the Occasional Conformity bill, were now re-printed, with the arguments at large, and "Reasons for bringing in such an useful Bill as this must be to the Church and Kingdom, this present Session of Parliament."

The long-wished-for day at length dawned upon them. By a strange conjunction of party-interests, the Whigs and

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* Boyer's Queen Anne, p. 533. † Impartial View, p. 341, 342.

Tories now united to fasten upon the Dissenters that yoke of bondage which the former had hitherto so successfully resisted. As the ministers had little prospect of standing their ground but in the event of a peace, the Whigs bent the strength of their opposition to that point; and the Earl of Nottingham having been soured by his exclusion from the ministry, he agreed to a coalition with them in this particular, upon the condition of their giving up the Dissenters. The ingratitude of these men was the more remarkable, as the Dissenters had always supported them with the whole weight of their influence, whether by voting for them at elections, or by contributing their money for the support of public credit by banks, joint-stock companies, and other ways. *

Those Whig writers who have dealt out the charges of versatility so copiously against De Foe, would have done well to reserve a portion of their anger for the Whigs upon this occasion; but they showed less regard for consistency than for the interests of party. The feeble assistance gained by the Whigs, as a recompense for their loss of honour, was for an object as worthless as the alliance itself was unnatural and disgraceful. This nobleman was of so little real consequence, that he had always been the subject of their ridicule. "What lampoons was the town full of," says De Foe, "when he encumbered the state; and now, how caressed! And, to gratify a desire as preposterous as all the rest, how willing are some men to give up their friends as victims to this convert, and to his mighty interest! Nay, how do they abandon the just and righteous interest they had before espoused, to oblige a man of no interest at all! Of what a camelion-like disposition is man made of!" † As the Whigs were predominant in the Lords, it is very certain, that without this dereliction of principle, so infamous

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* Present State of Parties, p. 101.

† Review, viii. 470.

a measure could not have passed; they must, therefore, participate with the Tories in its disgrace, which, says De Foe, "will infallibly ruin many hundreds of Dissenting families, or cause them to act against their consciences for bread; which I think is one of the worst kinds of persecution."* Well might our author exclaim, in the words of Julius Cæsar, when he saw the hand of Brutus lifted up against him, *Et tu Brute!* "The case of the Dissenters," says he, "is circumstanced too similarly; this mortal stab could have been received from no hand but that of a friend. The Dissenters in England, as they stood united in interest with the low-churchmen, could have received no fatal blow but from themselves. Three times the united power of their enemies had attacked them, and could never prevail; but given up by their friends, they fall of course."† (z)

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* Review, viii. 470. † Ibid, 473.

(z) Notwithstanding his intolerance, Nottingham now became as distasteful to the high party, as he had been formerly to the Whigs. A Tory writer of the time gives the following curious account of the coalition, and of the parties concerned in it. "A certain tall, sable-complexioned peer, not thinking his merits sufficiently considered in the late advancements, suddenly turned short on the principles he had inherited from an illustrious father, and which he had all along, through the former turns of state, maintained with a great deal of constancy and deserved reputation, and went over to the enemy, entered into strict engagements with them, to which he has no less punctually adhered. For the greater reputation and advantage of this new confederacy, and to create a greater confidence between the confederates, a great stumbling block was to be removed. This lord was always esteemed a true friend to the Church of England, to which most of the others were justly thought not to be over well-affected; if therefore they would now join in a bill for its security, which they had formerly so much opposed, it was hoped that this might bring over a great number of that party. However, as they do not use to do any thing for nothing, to have their part in the bargain, they thought fit to make a tack to it. They pretended that the churchmen, or at least a great part of them, were suspected not to be friends to the Protestant succession, and therefore, if in the proposed bill that might be provided for, it would take away the fears and jealousies of those who professed to be its greatest friends. This proposal had a very plausible appearance, as tending to cure jealousies on both sides; though all that was meant in the bottom, was

Upon the strength of this disgraceful alliance, the Earl of Nottingham brought forward his favourite measure in the House of Lords, the 15th of December, and meeting with no opposition, it passed through its several stages in three days! Even Burnet, who was so eloquent upon a former occasion, now preserved a dead silence, and relates the affair with a brevity and *sang-froid* that reflect no honour upon his character.* He tells us, the Whigs yielded more readily, because the court had promised to carry the measure in the Commons; but this should have been a stimulus to their exertions in the Lords, where they possessed the most weight. As a sop to their consciences, Nottingham promised to draw the bill with all possible temper; as if it made any difference to a man who is to be butchered, whether the act be performed in a passion or in cold blood! The title of the bill was singularly curious, and formed a part of the juggle then played so skilfully between politics and religion. It professed to be "An Act for preserving the Protestant religion, by better securing the Church of England as by law established; and for confirming the Toleration granted to Protestant Dissenters, by an Act, intitled, &c., and for supplying the defects thereof; and for the further securing the Protestant succession, &c." To shut out one quarter of the Protestants, and those the farthest removed from Popery, from an interest in the constitution, was rather an odd way of providing for the safety of the Protestant religion; but no man was so blind as not to see through the artifice of these cunning churchmen, who were for playing off religion upon the loaves and fishes of the state. If the body of the Bill bore but little affinity to its title, it corresponded better with the motives of its supporters. Not only were Dissenters to be excluded in future from all civil employments, but such was the contagious nature of non-conformity, that henceforward no person in office was to be allowed to put his nose within the doors of a meeting-house, gracefully called a *conventicle,* without becoming liable to the penalties of the act. These involved a forfeiture of place, and a fine of forty pounds for each offence; and the unlucky offender was to pay further for his curiosity, by being rendered ineligible to any appointment until he had passed through the purgation of conformity for a full twelvemonth. Such was the eagerness to pass this measure, that it was before the Commons only three days; and a petition from the foreign Protestants in London to be exempted from its provisions, was rejected with contempt. The Dissenters, justly alarmed at a measure so fatal to their interests, applied to the Earl of Oxford to use his influence in their favour; naturally supposing that a man who had been nearly all his life a Presbyterian, and whose family was still of the same religion, would feel some sympathy for their wrongs. But the minister thought fit to sacrifice his religion to his ambition, as was the case with Harcourt, St. John, and others, who now left the Dissenters in the lurch. (A) The bill received the royal assent upon the 22d of December, being the eighth day after its introduction.

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* Own Times, iv. 343—345.

only a hope that this tack might raise some debates in the Lower House, which might not only shipwreck the bill, but do the business of the faction another way, by fixing an odium on those whom they would scandalize as enemies of the House of Hanover.—Thus, they dropped their dear friends, the Dissenters, and did them a greater damage than burning a few slit deal pews. But though the city Shusham was wonderfully perplexed on this misfortune, and they cannot be reconciled to this law, which they compare to the decree of Ahashuerus, and would willingly double the height of Haman's gallows for a great minister, with whom they compare him; yet they have entirely forgiven those who really did them the injury."—*Caveat against the Whigs*. Part iv. pp. 127, 128.

By this measure, the Dissenters sustained a blow which

(A) John Shower, an eminent dissenting minister, addressed a letter to Lord Oxford upon this occasion, dated Dec. 20, 1711. An answer was returned in his lordship's name, but written by Swift, in the highest strain of vituperation. Both may be seen in Swift's Works, vol. xi. p. 201.

had been long aimed at them by their enemies, but without success. "A blow," says De Foe, "by which they are excluded from the common concern of fellow-subjects, in the trusts and advantages of the society they live in; by which they are treated as aliens and strangers in the commonwealth, or as persons dangerous to be trusted by the government they have so faithfully and so largely contributed to support." * Freely as he had declared himself against the practice of Occasional Conformity, yet it was a matter that concerned the Dissenters only; so that he could not contemplate this attack upon the Toleration, without dismay for the consequences.

Whilst the bill was before the Commons, De Foe wrote strenuously against it, without respect to persons or parties. He thought it very hard that those who were so anxious for a peace with France, "should bring along with it the fetters and chains of their country, and especially those worst of chains, impositions upon conscience. It would be a sad conclusion of the war," says he, "that peace and persecution should come together; and therefore, while your Protestant brethren, though dissenting from you in particulars, which are acknowledged by yourselves to be indifferent, continue peaceable, submitting to the laws, it is very hard that they should be oppressed in conscience, at a time when they ought rather to be reaping with you the consolations of peace, after they have shared the miseries of the war. On the other hand," addressing the Whigs, he says, "You that are against a peace, will you fortify your political interests by giving up for a prey, those you have so long espoused, both in their civil and religious liberties? Methinks I see some people abroad, whose characters have for some years been adorned with the word patriot, strangely easy to give up all these things, that they may but strengthen their party interest. But this is not

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* Review.

the first time that some people who call themselves friends to the Dissenters, have offered to sacrifice them to their enemies, upon very mean conditions." Our author contends, that the toleration was a legal establishment, expressly stipulated for at the Revolution, and granted to the Dissenters for the assistance they afforded to churchmen, in bringing about that event. He notices the repeated promises of the queen, who had passed her royal word that she would preserve the toleration inviolable; and expresses his fears that this was but the commencement of further breaches upon it. He forbears meddling with the proceedings in parliament, in consequence of the injunction of the Lords; but, says he, "If persecuting laws are set up, and the liberty of Dissenters established at the Revolution is attempted, God forbid that I should cease, though humbly, to complain of the injury, let what human authority soever prohibit it. If they make it criminal, I am ready to suffer; but I will never lose my little share in the liberties of my country, without crying out against both the mischief and the contrivers of it, let them be who they will."*

In another paper he makes a powerful appeal to the feelings of the nation, which had become blunted by the inroads of bigotry. After noticing the services of the Dissenters, and their contributions to the war, both personal and pecuniary, he says, "Many of the poor families who must now lay down the little places which long importunity, and perhaps some little money has helped them to, are the miserable remains of the descendants of the French in our colonies, which they assisted in taking; and give me leave to say, many are the ruined masters and owners of ships, let out to the public for transporting King William's army to Ireland, who had no provision made for them till after they were ruined by the delay. Some are victims to parliamentary deficiencies; and these are a part of the people who are now in a merciless manner to perish without any crime, and who having first lost their estates in the service of the government, must now lose their employ under it, because they cannot be hypocrites. If this is honourable dealing, let our enemies themselves be judges. For my part, I have no place to lose; no expectation of any to give over. I neither have, nor can accept of any place upon the terms that have been, any more than on the terms that are now required; though perhaps I have had as many offers and as much family occasion as any man. I cannot be arguing, therefore, any part of my own interest. The corruption of the times makes it necessary to say this; let any man equally indifferent answer it if he can." *

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* Review, viii. 466—468.

As soon as the bill had passed, De Foe published in his *Review*, a paper which he says was handed about at the time in manuscript, and was no doubt of his own composition. "I have met," says he, "with an unlucky paper in the town, said to be a speech spoken by a stone chimney-piece, which expostulates this matter very smartly."† It was afterwards printed in another of his works,‡ and purports to be "The Speech spoken by the Stone Chimney-piece in the House of Lords," and is thus introduced: "The bill having been read and committed, and no lord offering to speak against it, on a sudden a great noise was heard towards the fire, and from a crack in the Chimney-piece these words were audibly heard:

"Wonder not, my Lords, when you sit mute, like statues of stone, that I speak. I am now a Peer, and since you, with hearts harder than rocks, can tamely abandon those poor creatures who have trusted to your protection, without saying one word for them, my softer stone cannot any longer keep silence. I have often been witness, my Lords, to the zeal and passion, with which some of you have defended their cause. I heard with pleasure those Reverend Prelates, those noble patriots, plead for them, and now, I see them sit more unconcerned than myself. For God's sake, my Lords, what meant your former zeal? or what means your present indolence? Were you in the wrong, when you opposed, what now you consent to? Or are you now in the wrong, in consenting to what you before reckoned the greatest act of violence and oppression. Speak, my Lords; a reason of your change is due from you. Here was a long pause, and all silent; what, silent still! I conjure you, by your honours, my Lords, to speak; here was another pause; and yet silent, what silent still! Oh shameful change! Will not the sense of honour move you more than statues. Hearken then to me, and I will reprove you. I will not, my Lords, tell all that I have heard you whisper, while you lolled on me in your late unnatural caresses; I will not expose you too far, but I have not been totally deaf, I heard what passed when you sold your friends, and sold them for nought, for a vote, for a single worthless vote, that will desert you in the matter you depend upon it for, and so return upon you a just retribution. Was this, my Lords, an equivalent for those that had always stood by you; that had endured mobbing, plundering, burning, and all manner of abuses for your sakes; is it possible that after all this, they should be thus surrendered, without one word for them. Who, my Lords, will depend on you after this? Who will move a finger or lip in your quarrel? Depend upon it, you will miss your aim, you have ruined your own interest, and have lost the honour of your former integrity. With what regret, will you reflect on this day's action, when you shall find yourselves the jest of those that decoyed you, and the scorn of those that you have abandoned. Think of this; repent if you can, though it is too late."

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* Review, viii. 479. † Ibid, 474. ‡ Present State of Parties, p. 102.

As a last effort to avert so obnoxious a measure, our author besought the queen in pathetic terms to interpose her good offices. For this purpose, he drew up a pamphlet with so much dispatch, that it was announced for publication in the *Review* for the 22d of December, and bears the following title: "An Essay on the History of Parties and Persecution in Britain. Beginning with a brief Account of the Test Act, and an Historical Inquiry into the Reasons, the Original, and the Consequences of the Occasional Conformity of the Dissenters. With some remarks on the several attempts already made, and now making for an Occasional Bill. Inquiring how far the same may be esteemed a Preservation to the Church, or an Injury to the Dissenters. London: printed for J. Baker. 1711." 8vo. pp. 48.

Our author begins his treatise with an inquiry into the origin of Occasional Conformity, from whence he deduces the following indubitable facts, to shew that the present measure does violence to the constitution, and to the just liberties of mankind. "1. The Act of Parliament, called the Test Act, has been inverted by the sinister designs of a party among us, and being, in its true intent and meaning, formed against Popish recusants only, has been turned against our fellow-Protestants, to the weakening and injuring the interest of the Protestant religion in general in this kingdom. 2. It is a law unjust in its own nature, and inconsistent with the native rights of the subjects of England, as well as with the sovereignty of conscience, which ought not to be imposed upon. 3. It is inconsistent with the Christian religion, and with the principles and doctrines of the Church of England. 4. The manner in which it is put in practice, appears to be a plot against the peace of the nation, and a constant handle to the strife of parties, and oppression of the innocent." De Foe observes, "If upon an impartial inquiry into the history of this law, these things should appear, then it may be worth our consideration whether we should still pursue a thing so fatal to the general good, and be for ever sacrificing one another to the resentment of parties, robbing each other of the peace, liberty, and birth-right of Englishmen, under the forms, but contrary to the true intent and meaning, of the law."

Our author takes a review of the history of the Test Act, from its first rise in the reign of Charles II., the motives in which it originated, and the turn given to it by the court against the Dissenters. He observes, that it was laid asleep during the whole reign of King William, who had a natural aversion to all coercives in religion; but the present queen no sooner came to the crown, than the expectation of her patronage revived the hopes of the intolerant, who began to unfold their schemes for the oppression of their neighbours. As an introduction to the first Occasional Bill, they endeavoured to render them odious to the people by the charge of hypocrisy, but it was to conceal their own; and the glaring injustice of the measure procured it the opposition of all moderate men in the Church of England. Upon the late revolution at court, the bigots considered the day their own. They began their attack upon the toleration, by discarding the name, and reducing it to a bare exemption from certain penalties, with broad hints that it should not be of long continuance. As an earnest of this, prosecutions were commenced against some tutors of academies, and threats were held out of shutting up the meeting-houses. Insults of various kinds were now heaped upon the Dissenters, who entertained gloomy prospects of what was before them; but they little expected the first blow would be struck by those who had formerly espoused their interest.

De Foe expresses his astonishment at the supineness of the Dissenters, in submitting to their approaching bondage with so little alarm; willing to amuse themselves with the qualifications of the bill, as if it provided any additional security for their toleration. "Alas, poor people! when are ye to open your eyes. If the bitter pill is covered with a thin leaf of glittering metal, do you derive comfort from this? Or ought you not rather to see the certainty of what is to come; and that your bondage is made sure to you, by the earnest-penny given you in the beginning?" He tells them, that having learnt wisdom by their former rashness, their enemies will now proceed by gradual encroachments, until they have accomplished their destruction; and that their pretended friends were wheedling them into measures to carry on a temporal interest, at the expense of their religious liberties. To awaken them from their lethargy, he observes, "The slower the poison, the surer the operation; the lingering consumption is most certain to kill; and the toleration, which is the aim of the party, is so much the nearer to its fatal period." Our author justly observes, that the several acts passed against the Dissenters, are not so much with a view to bring them over to the church, as to shut them out of civil employments. Had the former been their object, it would have been best gained by the encouragement of Occasional Conformity: "for this liberty taken by the Dissenters has been the ruin of their strength, the breaking of their principal families, and the indifference of one age has terminated the dissenting of the next. This, the high-churchmen are not ignorant of; but their design is remote from religion. They aim at dividing the interest of the Whigs, which being linked to that of the Dissenters, has been too formidable for them to deal with. But if the low-churchmen can be brought to give up the Dissenters, they shall have the honour of being devoured at last." De Foe tells the Whigs, that they can never resist popery and slavery, which the projects of the Tories are tending to, without the assistance of the Dissenters; and he recalls to mind their past services, in order to blazon their ingratitude. He adds, that the Bill will never answer the ends set forth in the title; but if the Dissenters are true to themselves, it will serve to unite them more firmly, and enable them to distinguish their friends from their enemies. Our author concludes by beseeching the queen to interpose in this affair, in behalf of a people, to whom she had so often promised her protection. The appeal was in vain; for her bigotry was as incurable as the ambition of her ministers, and was a torment to her subjects throughout her reign.

In the course of this year, appeared the first and second parts of a work of singular curiosity, as exhibiting the views and feelings of a genuine Tory, upon the most prominent transactions, during the period that has passed under our review. It is intitled "A Caveat against the Whigs, in a Short Historical View of their Transactions. Wherein are discovered their many Attempts and Contrivances against the established Government, both in Church and State, since the Restoration of King Charles II. London: 1711." The third and fourth parts, which were published in the following year, complete the work, and the whole forms a thick octavo volume. As a register of facts, it contains little but what is to be met with in other works; but it presents a very curious picture of the times, through the distorted medium of the rankest prejudice. The writer was a bitter enemy to the Revolution, and as warm a partizan of the Stuarts. This political bias leads him to palliate all the steps that were taken to overthrow the liberties of his country, and to murder the characters of its bravest patriots. De Foe occasionally figures in the work as a scribe of the Whigs; and other writers are alluded to, in terms suited to the genius and principles of the author. Although misrepresentation and bigotry are the strong features of the work, yet the excess to which the writer carries his prejudices, disarm them of their force, and render it an amusing specimen of the ridiculous.

CHAPTER X.

De Foe's Commercial Concerns.—In Partnership with a Mr. Ward.—Who is Driven away from his Town by the Jacobites.—Disastrous Effects of Persecution.—De Foe Attacked by Ridpath.—His Defence of Himself.—Distractions of the Times.—Conduct of Parties in England.—Measures Against the Scottish Establishment.—Reflections upon the Conduct of the Tories.—And of the Scotch Presbyterians.—De Foe's Strictures upon the Measures of Parliament.—He Publishes " The Present State of Parties in Great Britain."—Account of his Work.—His Answer to the Charge of Bribery.—Tax upon Newspapers.—De Foe exemplifies its Inefficiency.—And its Tendency to Impoverish the People.—His Banter upon the Measure.—Its Evil Consequences pourtrayed.—Appearance of the Mohocks.—De Foe's Project for getting rid of them.—Malice of his Enemies.—Alarm for the Protestant Succession.—" Hannibal at our Gates."—Replied to, in " Hannibal not at our Gates."—De Foe threatened both by Whigs and Jacobites.—His Answer to Reproaches.

1712.

At the opening of the year 1712, De Foe was engaged in some commercial concerns, the nature of which remains unknown. Whether it was at this time, or at an earlier period of the present reign, that he was concerned in a partnership speculation in Warwickshire, is not certain; but it was at a time when parties ran very high, and the Jacobites exhibited an unusual degree of effrontery. This circumstance, and his political engagements with the late ministers, seem to point it to the present period.

His partner in this trading speculation was a Mr. Ward, who for many years carried on a respectable business as a mercer and draper at Coleshill, in Warwickshire. He was then a member of the Established Church, but a Whig in politics, which exposed him to the rage of his high-church neighbours, who, following the fury of the times, raised such an odium against him, as occasioned his business to decline. Mr. Ward was the only Whig in the town; but being a man of a mild temper, and of inoffensive manners, he gained the respect even of his enemies. Unable to move him from his principles, party malignity at length triumphed over this deference to his character, of which the following anecdote furnishes a striking instance. The curate of Coleshill, whose name was Badger, paid a visit one afternoon to Mr. Ward, who had the company of other neighbours. Whilst they were enjoying themselves over a cheerful bottle, the Jacobite priest thought fit to propose for a toast, the health of *James the Third,* which from prudence and principle, Mr. Ward declined to drink. This irritated the parson so much, that he threatened to drive him from the town; and from that time he lost his business. After this occurrence, the spirit of malevolence was further manifested in the following imprecation written upon his door:

> "Curse and confusion, hell and damnation,
> Be to Ward and his generation."

The machinations of his enemies at length obliged him to leave the town, and he settled at Nuneaton, in the same county. Whether it was here, or at Coleshill, that he became connected with De Foe, is uncertain; but if it was at the last-mentioned place, it must have been previously to March, 1712—13, when Mr. Ward was still at Coleshill. Their scheme, whatever it was, proved unsuccessful, and Mr. Ward suffered considerably in his fortune by it.* The seeds of Jacobitism were sown at Coleshill by Mr. Kettlewell, who was dispossessed of the vicarage for refusing the oaths to the government in 1690. Thomas Carte, the historian, seems to have possessed the living at this time, and was zealous in propagating the same anti-revolution principles. Badger was probably his curate. The political bias of the inhabitants was owing principally to the influence of Lord Digby, who owned most of the town, and was patron of the living. Being himself a friend to the Stuarts, he took care to place such clergymen there as were zealously attached to his own politics. Under such instructors, it is no wonder that the people went astray. (B)

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* Prot. Diss. Mag. iv. 241.

(B) The folly of persecution, De Foe has strikingly pourtrayed in the following narrative. "A certain corporation town, having abundance of poor, large manufactories, and great trade, was thus circumstanced: the magistrates, mayor, aldermen, and town-council, were all churchmen; the master manufacturers were generally Dissenters, at least, being twelve in number, nine of them were so, and the other three had the smallest business; so that the government of the town was Tory, and the trade Whig. The times running hard upon the Dissenters, the laws were put in execution against them in most places; and the magistrates, pushed on by the parson, fell upon them here also, Two meeting-houses which they had in the town were immediately demolished, many of the people sent to prison, their ministers driven five miles off by the Corporation act, and the chief of the Dissenters prosecuted in the ecclesiastical courts to excommunication, seizing of their goods, and all manner of extremities. A gentleman about six miles from the place, who was a Dissenter, and had a good estate in that country, invited two of the principal persecuted tradesmen to shelter with him, and gave them two houses rent-free in his village; their two ministers he entertained in his house, and there they preached every Sabbath day. The two tradesmen finding themselves easy here, which they could not be in the neighbouring corporation, soon removed their families and working servants, and settled in the village; such of the weavers and other work-people as were dependent upon them for employment, soon followed, and the poor of the village soon found the sweets of it. In a short time, three more of the masters, with all their *et ceteras,* followed the example, and in less than two years, all the nine master manufacturers removed, so that the village could not receive the people that followed. Some built houses, the lord of the manor letting them land, and giving them all imaginable encouragement. In the mean time the persecution of Dissenters slackened, and they began to preach openly in the new town. This also drew many from the corporation, and the trade increasing with the people, the village

Whilst De Foe was occupied in the peaceful pursuits of industry, the news-writers assailed his character for the purpose of destroying his credit. The real ground of offence, was the assistance he afforded to the ministers, by advocating a peace; but they betrayed their malice in diverging from that topic to his private misfortunes. One of the writers of whom he had thus to complain, was Ridpath, who succeeded Tutchin in the conduct of the *Observator*. "Instead of confining himself to public matters," says De Foe, "he descends to personalities, and for want of better arguments, reproaches me with private misfortunes, things altogether foreign to the matter in hand, and which he can on no honorable pretence mention, but merely *renovare dolorem*. While to make good the deficiency of his reasoning, he frequently called me bankrupt, I held my tongue, supposing he took that for a good proof that I was wrong in all I said; for how should a bankrupt have any sense? Or, how should he argue who could not pay his debts? But finding this would not move me, he comes closer, and publishes in the *Observator*, that nobody will trust me with a shilling. This indeed, though it were true, as I thank God it is a premeditated untruth, weighs not one grain in the scale of his argument; yet, it forces me to speak a word or two more than I designed. If I had not at this time, in the lawful

grew up to a great town. All this while, the corporation town decayed, the employment of the people was gone, the weight of the poor not only remained but increased, insomuch that the rate was doubled. The people ran all away, not to the village only, but to the meeting-house too, to make their court to the masters for work. These, remembering how they had been used, encouraged chiefly those that were Dissenters, so that hundreds went to the meeting-house who used to go to church, for fear of losing their work. By the industry of some, and the charity of others, all their real poor were provided for, and the few that remained in the Tory corporation, served only to show the ruins of a good town, and the fatal effects of cruelty and persecution. Some corporations in England, besides C——" observes De Foe, may take a hint from this story."—*Review*, viii. 711, 712.

pursuit of my business, by which, and not by writing, as he does, I get my bread, support a large family, and honestly set apart the overplus, all which this malicious person has thus endeavoured to blast and overthrow; if, I say, I had not in the course of this business, even at this time, the trust of several thousand pounds in my hands; if I had not since the misfortune he reproaches me with, been trusted both with public and private money to above the value of £100,000; and if I was not every day oppressed with credit of both goods and money, by friends whom I act for, much more than I desire, all which business and credit he has done his utmost to ruin and prevent, I should have said nothing. But as this is my case, justice to myself, my family, and such as are daily trusting me, obliges me to take this notice of it."

De Foe then refers him to several persons of his own acquaintance, who had trusted him with a thousand pounds at a time, which he has faithfully discharged, and observes, "Had what he says been true, he, a professed Dissenter, ought not to have mentioned it, since thereby he only calls to mind how I suffered £3,500 loss for a cause that he owns, and a party which he ought to have more respect for than to force me to upbraid them with unkindness, and to tell how easily I could have prevented that loss with advantage, if I would have betrayed honest men, even some who have since forgotten the obligation. But, as he can, without any just provocation, thus attempt to ruin and overthrow a family struggling with a known and unwearied diligence to recover its misfortunes, and do justice to all the world, so I cheerfully depend upon it, that God will not suffer so malicious a purpose to have its effect." De Foe then gives notice, that he is ready to return all goods, money, and effects entrusted to him, to such persons as may have been rendered uneasy by this villanous attempt to stab his reputation.* This was not the only occasion upon which our author had to complain of the injustice of Ridpath; but he meets his attacks with gentleness, and scorns to return the ill-language that was meted out to him by his adversary. "I own it is my affliction," says he, "to be used so, having not given the least occasion; but it is my duty when reviled, not to revile again. Time, perhaps, will better inform any that these people shall deceive; I only remember that this same man assailed me in the very same manner with being employed by the late ministry, and flew as much in their faces for mis-management, and in mine too, for defending them, as he does now. And yet, he cannot charge me with one word which contradicts any thing I said then, nor reflecting on the cause I ever espoused, which I hope is the cause of truth. I might go back to his reviling King William, but I say no more; nor shall I give any more answers to any thing he thinks fit to say, till he can assume so much of the Christian as to say nothing but what he can prove, and so much of the gentleman as to give good language."†

De Foe gives a melancholy picture of the distractions of the country, at the opening of the year. "Our divisions," says he, "are now come to a formidable heighth, and every good man trembles at the event. He alone, that can bring meat out of the eater, and good out of evil, can bring safety out of the threatened destruction, and order out of this confusion."

About this time, the merits of the Whigs, in their proceedings under the late and present administration, were freely canvassed, in a pamphlet intitled "The Conduct of Parties in England, more especially of those Whigs who now appear against the new Ministry, and a Treaty of Peace. Printed in the year 1712. 8vo. pp. 62. The author avows himself a

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* Review, viii. 495, 496. † Ibid, 434.

Whig, but a friend to the present ministers, and freely censures his party, for those deviations of conduct that have originated in ambition and selfishness. Such was the opposition offered by the Whigs to Godolphin and Marlborough, which ceased upon their admission to office; and such their recent alliance, which had led them to sacrifice the Dissenters. Much information is here brought together relating to the factions of the reign, and the party distinctions by which they were known; and the sum of the whole is, that public men have sacrificed their principles at the shrine of ambition, which, when gratified, has been of little advantage to the nation. In allusion to this temporising conduct of the Whigs, who complained loudly of abuses when out of place, but when in, neglected to reform them, the author says, "These are the men who are now making a new bargain upon the same foot, and being defeated in the delicious spoil they enjoyed, and turned out, join with highflyers, October Club, or any one else; sell their friends, deliver up their brethren, the Dissenters, and sacrifice persons, principles, and anything else, to carry on their designs." The style and spirit of this pamphlet bear strong marks of the pen of De Foe, and the sentiments are congenial with those which he delivered in others of his writings. It is observable, that in exposing the inconsistency of the Whigs, he abstains from those terms of vituperation which were dealt out against them by the Tories, and censures them chiefly for joining with a set of men, who were equally enemies to the late and present ministry.

Having accomplished a part of their schemes relative to the Dissenters in England, the Tories now turned their attention towards Scotland, where the depressed state of the episcopal church excited their sympathy and condolence. Although the religious affairs of that country had been fully canvassed and settled by the Union, in accordance with the genius of the people, yet the new ministers thought themselves strong enough to attempt the invasion of the treaty. For this purpose, a bill was brought into the Commons, upon the 21st of January, to repeal an Act of the Scottish parliament, which subjected episcopalian Dissenters to the discipline of the Kirk-courts, and to legalise the use of the liturgy in Scotland. A measure so repugnant to the feelings of the Scots, was like applying a lighted torch to a barrel of gunpowder, and afforded sufficient evidence of the views of its promoters. As might be expected, it spread a general alarm through Scotland, and produced petitions and remonstrances, but without effect. (c) The bill meeting with feeble opposition in parliament, quickly passed both Houses; and, to render it still more offensive, a clause was added, extending the oath of abjuration to Presbyterian ministers, although it was well known that nothing would induce them to take it. To avoid extremities, therefore, its execution was not insisted upon. When before the Commons, Sir David Dalrymple, one of the Scotch members, finding his opposition fruitless, proposed that the title should be altered to, "A Bill for establishing Jacobitism and Immorality." Another opponent proposed a clause to restrain persons in office from going to episcopal meetings; but it was rejected as contrary to the design of the framers, whose church politics involved them in the glorious absurdity of obliging all public officers in England to be of the national church, whilst those in Scotland were allowed to dissent from it.

At this distance of time, a measure calculated apparently to serve the cause of religious liberty, will be viewed with different feelings from those that actuated either of the parties in this transaction. The Scots emulated their southern neighbours in jealousy for their establishment, and were equally inimical to the toleration of heretics. Hitherto, these had lived only upon sufferance, and were indebted more to the protection of the English government, than to the good-will of the Presbyterians. A law, therefore, that emancipated them from the jurisdiction of their enemies, and placed their worship upon a legal footing, was nothing more than reasonable and just. The motives that dictated it, however, will not bear looking into; nor can we give any credit to the men, who, whilst they were advancing toleration in Scotland, were using all their endeavours to destroy it in England. Nothing but the most palpable knavery was at the bottom of their proceedings. From the time of the Union, which was fatal to the power of the Church of Scotland, the enemies of that establishment had been unceasing in their endeavours to undermine it, and disguised their intentions under a pretended zeal for toleration. The Scots had not now to learn the real sentiments of these men, who had been their bitter persecutors when in power, and therefore easily penetrated their hypocrisy; but, by an injudicious zeal for their church, which led the more violent into acts of private oppression, they advanced the cause of their enemies. Prosecutions were instituted by the more rigid Presbyterians against some of the episcopal clergy, who, upon the most frivolous pretexts, were deposed from their livings; and the affair of Greenshields was urged on with a degree of intemperance and bigotry, as impolitic in their present circumstances, as it was at variance with the just liberties of mankind. If they had the example of the English establishment, which admitted none but conformists into its bosom, they should have recollected the disparity of their situations, and that it was unwise to contend for a principle, unless they had the power to enforce it.

(c) The remonstrance of the General Assembly, presented to the Queen by Principal Carstares, was printed, and advertised in the *Review* for Feb. 26, 1712, as follows: "Just published, The Scots' Representation to her Majesty, against setting up the Common Prayer Book in Scotland. Sold by J. Baker, price 2d."

In the same session of parliament, an Act was passed for restoring patronages, which had been abolished at the Revolution; and it appears that a project was entertained for discontinuing the General Assembly. Although the measures here noticed were intended as so many attacks upon the Church of Scotland, and were considered as preludes to the restoration of prelacy and the Pretender, yet their operation upon that church has been less injurious than was expected. By the Act of Toleration, a rock of offence has been removed from the Presbyterians, who lost much of their bigotry with the materials which it had to feed upon; and the cause of prelacy, which lost the stimulus of opposition, rapidly declined. The restoration of patronages, also, reconciled many of the landed proprietors to the Establishment, and gave them an interest in its preservation.*

De Foe, who was a warm friend to the Scottish church, and had expressed himself in strong language against the encroachments of her enemies, now renewed his remonstrances in as broad terms as the ticklish state of the press would allow. Whilst the bill was before parliament, he writes thus: "This is an age of difficulties; and he that can steer safe among the rocks which lie in his way, must have a steady hand, and may pass for a good pilot ever after. I do confess, there are some things necessary to this work which I am very ill-provided with, I mean dissimulation, a renunciation of principles, betraying trusts, forsaking friends, and a world of cutting and turning, which he that can be an honest man, and go through, has more skill than human nature can furnish him with. Now, the happy days are at hand, when episcopal rabbles are solicitous to prevent presbyterian rabbles by a law, thereby, the better to colour their insults to the Established church of Scotland. And which way shall an author, willing to let you into the secret of these things, speak plainly, and clearly, and not ruin himself for his honesty;

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* Somerville, p. 466, &c.—Life of Carstares, p. 78, &c.

especially an author whom those that are served in it, would be willing to see lost in serving them. But I shall not decline the danger.

"I had the honour to have my hands deep in the Union. Her majesty was pleased in her speech to the parliament, at the passing it, to say these words relating to the Union, and to those who were concerned in it. "I make no doubt but it will be remembered and spoke of hereafter, to the honour of those that have been instrumental in bringing it to such an happy conclusion."—Upon this De Foe observes, "As long as England keeps sound the conditions of this treaty, I shall be fond of owning I was any way instrumental in bringing it to such a happy conclusion, and shall claim my little share in the honour her Majesty mentions. But if ever that wretched day shall come, that England should break faith with her brethren, and do any thing in contravention to the Union, what others may do, I know not, but I shall for my part be ashamed, repent, and count it my reproach that I was any way instrumental in bringing that treaty to so fatal a conclusion, and desire to forget the day that I was sent thither.

"If any man ask me what I say to the bill now brought into the House, let him obtain for me a liberty to speak my mind freely in print upon that head, and I will do it. In the mean time, one thing I hope I may hint even to the House itself without offence, and it is this: 'That they would be pleased to consider at the same time of some clause more effectually to prevent the tumults, barbarities, and inhuman behaviour of the episcopal people, in disturbing the assemblies and judicatures of the Established Church, as well as to prevent the other disturbing the meetings of the episcopalians'; otherwise, in vain are all the clauses in the Act of Security, to the church of Scotland."

De Foe relates, that nearly a sixth part of all the churches in Scotland, were quietly possessed by episcopal men, who enjoyed the stipend, the manse, and the glebe; for the proof of which he refers to a pamphlet, called "Presbyterian Persecution examined," in which their names, and those of the parishes, are set down at length. He also says, that not one in ten of the episcopal Dissenters, nor even of the Non-jurors, used the Common Prayer; and even in the late times, when episcopacy domineered, it was not received. The protection of the liturgy, as our author observes, was merely the covering of the plot; it was well known that the people would not admit it, and their resentment was expected to lead to popular tumult, which would afford a pretext for further innovations and severities. "The people there are conscientious, zealous abhorrers of innovation; and these men know they will as soon suffer the *Scarlet Whore*, as a man in a white surplice to read his prayers in a book. Upon this they depend, and expect violence and opposition, which is their design; and then they think they shall embark the government on their side, embroil a poor zealous and upright people with their laws, and then, according to former custom, they must be rated by dragoons. It is too true, that in this wicked design they are not deceived; the Devilish policy is too well founded; for those poor people will resist you all, make what laws you will, if against their consciences, and will tear them to pieces; and I know but one way to prevent it, and that is a black one, I mean *extirpation*. King Charles II. and King James II. destroyed, first and last, above 10,000 of them on this very account, by all the execrable ways in the world; but they conquered the very cruelty of the dragoons, by the patience and constancy of their sufferings. And this is just as they would have it now; first to make laws which they know the poor people would die rather than obey, and then put them to death. Let them who are the forwardest to push on this design, ask any of the northern members, whether they believe the poor people in the West of Scotland will not die at their doors rather than obey such a law? And if they believe it, what can they desire such a law to do? I am prompting no disturbances, nor vindicating a furious zeal; but I know, and it may be proved, that all attempts that have ever been made for introducing the English Liturgy into Scotland, have been to court violence and tumult, and if possible, to involve that part of the nation in blood."*

In discussing this and other public matters, De Foe artfully separates the parliament *within* from the people *without* doors, and covers his strictures upon the former, with the guise of an address to the latter. The policy of this is apparent, but his language is too plain to be misunderstood. "For my part," says he, "as I find the liberty of speaking in public is not likely to last, I will not fail to do my part to counteract these scandalous betrayers of their country; and tho' I know not but I may speak at the hazard of my life, and believe I do, for some reasons that I have heard, yet I will discharge my conscience and duty to the church of Scotland, whose ruin I see is aimed at, and which, however, shall not fall for want of their case being truly stated, and the frauds and treacherous dealings of her enemies, being exposed and detected. If my liberty of speech be taken away, I cannot help it; I shall still have the satisfaction of having applied it right while I had it."†

In their project for a toleration, the Jacobites fell into their own snare; the House of Lords having fastened to the Bill the oath of abjuration. De Foe writing soon afterwards says, "they now repent that they ever desired such a bill, and are as willing to have it destroyed, as ever they were to have it brought in; for they see it will break them all to pieces." To procure its rejection, he adds, "They are now big with a new project of getting another amendment to the bill, *to have the Presbyterians abjure the Covenant*; a thing which I verily believe there are 100,000 people in Scotland who would be burnt alive rather than do." So insane a project, De Foe justly observes, could be started with no other design than to have the bill dropped; for it is so manifestly against the Act of Union, that the Parliament of Britain could not pass it."*

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* Review, viii. 533—536. † Review, viii. 548.

In recording his sentiments thus freely against these measures, De Foe observes, "I have discharged, not my debt to the church of Scotland only, which I freely own and believe to be as pure in doctrine and exact in discipline as any Christian church in the world, and am not ashamed to declare it; but I discharge thereby the duty also of a subject to the legislature of Britain, in humbly laying the naked truth before them, that it may be out of the power of wicked men to do harm, by placing false lights before them, and misrepresenting a faithful and upright people."†

Whilst the ministers were unfolding their schemes for ruining the Presbyterians in Scotland, and the Dissenters in England, De Foe was preparing a large work upon the respective merits of the contending parties. Although it is now but little known, having never been inserted in any catalogue of his writings, yet there is sufficient internal evidence in the work, to leave no doubt as to the author. It is intitled, "The Present State of Parties in Great Britain: Particularly an Enquiry into the State of the Dissenters in England, and the Presbyterians in Scotland; their religious and politick Interest considered, as it respects their Circumstances before and since the late Acts against Occasional Conformity in England; and for Toleration of Common Prayer in Scotland. London: printed and sold by J. Baker, in Paternoster Row, 1712. Price five shillings." 8vo. pp. 352.

In this work, which contains a good historical view of the times, illustrated by some useful documents, our author freely exposes the faults of all parties, for which he did not expect their thanks; men having a natural aversion to be told of their mistakes, and discouraging those writers that faithfully serve them. He is willing to venture upon their resentment; but wished his work to be considered as a friendly reproof to those whose reformation he desires, rather than their destruction. This hint is thrown out to the Dissenters, upon whose internal management he has many just remarks, derived from personal observation. "He that loves their interest," says he, "will speak plain truth to them, whether it please them or no." He adds, "Now is the time for the Dissenters to enter upon new measures, and rectify their former mistakes. Their enemies are powerful; pretended friends have proved false; and have betrayed them to the overthrow of their civil interest. But if they can be persuaded to erect upon solid foundations a firm and lasting sheme of a religious economy, the building that shall grow up will be such as shall make them invincible on one side, and formidable on the other. Now is the time for them to stand upon their own legs, and be truly independent; in which, by a steady and faithful adhering to God and his cause, and espousing heartily all that do so, they will soon find their circumstances recover, and the figure they make differ from any thing they ever made before: their religious liberties will stand upon a better basis than ever, and they will be in a better condition to support their civil liberties also." De Foe strongly recommends a federative union amongst the Dissenters, as the only method to retrieve their affairs, and give them consideration in the country.

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* Review, viii. 583, 584. † Review, viii. 551.

The work is divided into seven chapters (D). The first

(D) The titles of the chapters are as follows: Chap. 1. The General Introduction and platform of the whole work, being a scheme of the Parties. Chap. 2. An abridgment of the History of Parties among us, deduced from their introduction into the State, from and after the Union;

treats of our public affairs, more especially as they influenced the political condition of the Dissenters, from the Revolution to the time of the Union. In this part of the work, he gives a particular account of the occasion of his writing "The Shortest Way;" its influence upon the public: and the treatment he experienced in consequence. In the second chapter, he brings down the history to the passing of the Occasional Bill, and treats largely upon the invasion of Scotland, the revolution in the ministry, and the negociations for peace. He has some free remarks upon the conduct of the Whigs during this period, and bestows a just censure upon their desertion of the cause of religious liberty. The next four chapters are wholly taken up with the eccle-

and stated and brought down as they now appear, to the time of passing the Occasional Bill, and therein finishing the ruin of the Dissenters. Chap. 3. An Account of the Attempt made immediately after passing the Occasional Bill, to introduce Toleration and the Common Prayer in Scotland. With some Observations on the injustice and unreasonableness of that design; how far it is or is not consistent with the Constitution of Scotland, with the privileges of the Kirk, and with the Articles of the Union. Also, some little Inquiry at what may probably be the consequence thereof. Chap. 4. A farther Relation of the Affairs of Scotland, as it relates to Persecution, Toleration, and the Union especially; serving as an Introduction to the Proceedings in England, for setting up the English liturgy in Scotland. Chap. 5. An Account of the attempt of Mr. Greenshields, to set up the English liturgy in the city of Edinburgh, with the several processes, appeals, &c. in that case, till the final determination thereof in the House of Lords; as also, the proceedings in England, in Parliament, for the Introduction of the said liturgy in Scotland, till the completing thereof, and erecting Toleration in Scotland. Chap. 6. Giving an Account of the endeavours of the Episcopal and Jacobite party in Scotland for the invasion of the Presbyterian church, declaring the Union alterable, and breaking in upon the express articles of it; with their success in both. Chap. 7. Containing something of a Review of the Dissenters' Case in England, at the same time as the other affairs related above; a brief state of their circumstances previous to, and how concurrent with the present posture they are in, bringing the same down to their now suppressed and suffering condition; something of the causes, errors and mistakes of their past conduct, how they might have acted, and how they must behave themselves for the future, if they expect to support their interest, as a body in the nation.

siastical affairs of Scotland. In these, he recites the various acts that were passed for the security of the Scottish church, and for the relief of the episcopal party; and he gives a large account of the attempts that were made from time to time for the subversion of the church establishment. Of the affair of Greenshields, and his attempt to introduce the English liturgy, he gives a circumstantial narrative, supported by authentic documents. He also discusses the merits of the Toleration, and of the Act for restoring patronages; recounts the opposition offered to them by the Scots; and censures both measures as a breach of the Union, and introductory to the restoration of Episcopacy and Jacobitism in Scotland.

In his last chapter, he takes a review of the state of the Dissenters in England; in the course of which he has many just remarks upon the management of their affairs, from which some lessons of wisdom might be learnt in the present day. He considers their interest to be in a declining state, not so much as regarded their wealth and numbers, as the qualifications of their ministers, the decay of piety, and the abandonment of their political friends. The deterioration of their ministers from those of the former race, he ascribes to the mode of their education, which leads him to bestow some strictures upon the management of their academies.

From the schools of learning, he traces the young divine to the pulpit and to his home; observing, that his conduct in neither place is such as to adorn his profession, or to uphold the Dissenting interest. He condemns the new method of sermon-reading which often superseded the necessity of study, and produced coldness and formality both in preacher and hearer. After noticing the foppish appearance of the young preacher, his want of reverence in the pulpit, and neglect of professional duties out of it, which he mentions "rather to correct the foundation-evil, than to attack the vices of the young clergy," he traces the whole to a defective education; "for conceit and affectation are the certain produce of a little learning, as humility is of a great deal." The effect of all this upon the laity is, the decay of religion in general, and of the Dissenting interest in particular. As a remedy for the evil, our author proposes, that no greater number should be bred to the ministry than can be afterwards maintained; and that, to ensure a sound education, the term of residence at the academy should be prolonged. "If you bred up one to five, nay to fifteen, of those that now consume the charity of your people, that one would be a man and a minister, and would do more good than the fifteen. The fewer you breed up, the fewer beggars you would have, and the fewer renegadoes to fall upon you afterwards.—When your young student comes abroad, do not starve him, but allow him a competent maintenance till he is settled and provided for; then, if he is wanted to preach, he will be found in his study, and be the better prepared to appear in public." He earnestly recommends the richer Dissenters to dedicate their children to the ministry, that their interest may be supported with credit; and he exhorts their ministers to study plainness of style, an affectionate address, and a reverence suited to the majesty of the pulpit. These, says he, were the things that recommended the gospel to the last age, and it must still be the same, "though the taste of this age is debauched by the frothy, fluttering, empty pulpit-talk which is cried up for the fine preaching of the day."

Our author has some judicious remarks upon the conformity of some of their younger ministers, who began "under two insuperable articles of necessity, want of learning, and want of bread; and he traces their subsequent writings against the Dissenters to resentment for their former ill-usage. In the following passage, he no doubt had an eye to his own experience. "It may not be unworthy here of the Dissenters' consideration, whether they have not on all occasions, treated not those people only, but all that have been willing and able to serve their interest, with too much slight and neglect; and some that have merited better from them, with contempt and unjust reproach. How this should end in any thing but in turning the hands against them that would otherwise have been employed for them, is hard to imagine. Till they think fit to alter this, they cannot expect to have many defenders, or ever to want furious enemies. Nature is born with resentment, and when men that serve faithfully and hazard themselves zealously meet with reproaches for rewards, and haughty carriage instead of countenance and encouragement, passion will prevail to set them against the people they would otherwise adhere to. Every man cannot serve and starve for them. Let those that think this hint unjust, look back on Mr. Delaune; let them ask Mr. Wesley why he conformed? Let them inquire of poor Tutchin's friends, and look upon the circumstances of his widow and family; let them inquire the fate of Harry Care, and how want of being supported forced him to submit to their enemies; and let them look around for other objects of like kind without number." De Foe has many other remarks upon the internal economy of the Dissenters, distinguished alike by correctness of taste and soundness of judgment. His work abounds in good sense and manly feeling, and contains much useful information upon ecclesiastical subjects, connected with the times.

The delicate hand with which De Foe now touched the acts of the government, and his forbearance upon topics which must have deeply engaged his feelings, induced many to suspect that he was bribed by the ministers. But the suggestion was as unfounded as it was unworthy; his conduct being wholly governed by prudential motives, and by delicacy towards the chief minister, from whom he had formerly received benefits. Some printed papers having been circulated to his disadvantage, he thought it necessary to interpose the following defence :

" I remember a malcontent of a reign not many years behind us, whether he wrote Pagan or Protestant *Post-Boys*, *Examiners*, or what, authors are not agreed, when an argument was brought a little too close to him, said, ' Sir, you would rail as I do, if you were not bribed ;'—' Aye,' replied the other, ' and you would be quieter than I, if any body would bribe you.' " Upon this De Foe remarks, " Three sorts of men always rail at a government. First, those whose opinion of their own merit makes them think they are never well-enough rewarded. The second sort are those who having enjoyed favours, but being found unworthy, are discarded from their offices ; these always rail as if they had never been obliged. But we have a third sort of people who always go with their mouths open, in order to have them stopped ; like a sort of dogs I have met with, that when they attend under your table, bark that they may be fed. I remember a man of some note who practised this with great success, and canted a long while in the House of Commons about abuses in the management, misapplying the public treasure, making felonious treaties, and the like ; but a wise old fox no sooner halved his den to this badger, but he put a stop to the clamour, and the nation's treasure was never misapplied since, because a good share of it ran his way." Our author here alludes to John Howe, M. P. in this and the former reign, who was made joint pay-master of the forces with Sir Stephen Fox.

Our author continues, " He that takes a bribe, is a traitor to his own principles and to his country. It has been the fate of these nations to be always plagued with such vermin ; but I never knew any real good come of buying them off, and therefore just governments always let them alone." De Foe intimates, that the railers of his day were of too little importance to be bought off. " For my own part, I must needs be perfectly free from the scandal; and if the rest had not more vanity, they would leave off expecting it. I do not believe many of the writers of this age were ever offered a bribe; and I'll clear them of that scandal upon the same foot as I do myself, believing that the ministry know better what to do with their money; therefore, whatever honour they do me that way, I am in no condition to return it. I have written this, upon account of two printed papers relating to myself, of which the authors have so far owned themselves ashamed, as to let them but just see the world, and retire; and upon account of those who boast of their being employed by the government, when what they write is scandalous even to human society."

De Foe continues, "And now, it appears by the late message of her majesty to the parliament, that the government will find other ways than bribing to manage them all, viz. by suppressing them." * Although the ministers had pressed into their service many writers of considerable talent, who exhausted all their powers of wit and argument in the support of their measures; yet, as the press afforded an equal license to their opponents, they were not willing to trust any longer to so powerful an engine which might destroy them in the opinion of the people. Broad hints were therefore given of their intention to lay some restrictions upon it; and in the month of April, the Commons passed some resolutions, which were immediately turned into a law, imposing upon all pamphlets and newspapers a duty of one penny for every half-sheet. The Act was to commence operation the second of August.

As the regulation of the press was a subject that had occupied much of De Foe's attention, he did not forego the opportunity of offering his sentiments upon the present enactment.

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* Review, viii. 525—527.

Desirous as he was to see a removal of the abuses of which he so often complained, he could not contemplate a measure that had so serious an aspect upon the diffusion of knowledge amongst the common people, without dismay. As a matter of revenue, he thought it would be wholly futile. "To tax any trade so that it cannot subsist under the payment, is not a means to raise the money, but to destroy the trade. That the dearness of a thing lessens the consumption, is a maxim which no man can deny; but there are some things of so diminutive a nature, that their spreading arises merely from the consideration of their being trifles. Such are the innumerable little printed tracts from the ballad and primer, at the price of one halfpenny, to the pamphlets of sixpence. When these come to be taxed, will they be sold? Let any man judge by the tax upon almanacks, laid on last year, when a printer in Scotland returned 495 out of 500 stamps." De Foe states, that the number of almanacks printed, was three-fourths less than usual, and that 60,000 stamps were returned to the government unsold. * He has no doubt, that the intention of the Act is the suppression of newspapers; but the devastation that it would create amongst the numerous families who would be deprived of a livelihood, he considers to be of more importance than any good that could result from it. He calculates that 3000 poor families would be immediately thrown out of employment, and adds, "In behalf of the poor, I cannot but earnestly recommend to the parliament, such exceptions for the propagation of Christian knowledge, the fear of God, and the instruction of the children of the poor, as they shall in due consideration of the case think fit." † De Foe had the pleasure of seeing his suggestions in this particular attended to.

The futility of all attempts to stifle public opinion, our

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* Review, viii. 687, 688.

† Ibid, 692.

author has pointedly exposed in the following passage, being the result of his own observations upon former times. "Written scandal shall revive, and the nation shall swarm with lampoons, pasquinades, (E) satires, and an inconceivable flood of written news-letters. For my part, I am already preparing a scheme for a written *Review*, which I design to invite all my correspondents in Britain to subscribe for. I purpose also to hire some large hall or great room in the city, to propagate the other purposes of a new undertaking, that the poor may not want employment. One manufacture being suppressed, we must erect others. I doubt not to employ thirty or forty clerks to write news, lampoons, ballads, any thing in the world besides that may keep up the paper trade. Two or three dozens emissaries may be useful to gather in lies, scandal, rumour, and all the excrements of that lying jade fame; another class to digest, hatch, and lick into shape every whelp of fancy which it may be found useful to bring into the world, to croak treason, snarl at government, and debauch the principles of the people. No tax can reach us here, Printed scandal may be punished, written treason can never be traced. Faction, strife, reproach, and discontented humours will spread ten thousand times faster among the people by writing than by printing; and innumerable crowds of news-writers are already preparing for the war, drawing their forces together, and forming suitable correspondences for the work. News must be written, if it cannot be printed." *

(E) De Foe gives the following account of the origin of the term Pasquinade: "The statue of Pasquin at Rome is grown famous, not half so much for the performances of the person whom it represented, as for the use made of it since it was set up. Under this figure, were always posted libels and satires, papers of personal scandal, and all manner of sarcasms, either on the Roman government, or on the actions of other princes and nations. From hence, a lampoon in modern dialect is new-christened, and now called *Pasquinade.—Review*, viii. 714.

* Review, viii. 708.

This threatened array of hostility could have been any thing but acceptable to the ministers; but the evils of the measure are seriously pourtrayed by De Foe in the following passage. "What a deluge of slander and ribaldry are these times going to let in upon us? Envy, revenge, slander, and banter, with all the attendants which gratify disturbed minds will now be unchained. No innocence can protect, no quality defend. Cowards will now fight without danger, murtherers kill without weapons, and faction depose princes without rebellion. *Aye*, (says one that stands by) *and you will have as great a hand in it as any body.* It may be so; I shall promise nothing for myself, but that when all the world goes mad, I may share in the infection. But this I am satisfied of, I shall do then as I do now, bear the scandal of other people's crimes, and father many bastards which I have no hand in the getting. In the mean time, I wish the parliament, before they suppress the evil of printing, will think of some method of preventing or punishing the evil I speak of, which it is most certain will rise up in its room, and prove the more uneasy both to the government and to the people, of any thing of the like nature." *

About this time an unmanly set of miscreants paraded the streets of London after dark, and for their cruelties received the name of Mohocks, from a small nation of savages in the back settlements of New England. The affinity in practice between these people, and the modern society of English rakes, conferred a propriety upon the name bestowed upon them; but they were the more criminal of the two, being without the plea of ignorance for their wanton barbarities. "What kind of passion or humour it gratifies, to murder or wound an unconcerned stranger, who has not given the least affront, is such a crime that the like of it has not been heard of for some ages in the world.

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* Review, viii. 715.

What secret pleasure these people find in it, I confess," says De Foe, "I am at a loss to find out;" and until they can be brought to justice, he recommends the use of the *Protestant flail*, an instrument used in the days of the Popish Plot, and described in a former part of this work. "If but half a dozen honest, stout fellows," says he, "will provide themselves with this happy instrument of reformation, and take a turn now and then through the streets in an evening, I would be a volunteer under their command at any time, and I dare say, they would deliver up to justice every one of these Mohock-monsters that dared to show their faces."*

Whilst De Foe was pointing out a ready way to get rid of these inhuman wretches, his enemies were contriving his destruction, by circulating printed papers in the streets, pointing him out as one of them. "Indeed, as the thing came out with an air of Grub-street," says he, "I had taken no notice of it; but being well assured since, that it has been dictated secretly with a villanous design to have me torn in pieces by the rabble, and that I have good reason to suspect the person concerned, I must be pardoned if I appear with more warmth than I usually carry in my temper." He then observes, "He who contrives to expose a man to the rabble for a crime which he is not concerned in, is an assassin of the worst sort, and in the eyes of God and man, will pass for nothing less than a murtherer; and I believe the person concerned has taken this method to satisfy his cowardly malice, because he could not do the work himself. But I defy and contemn his malice. A constant, steady, peaceable behaviour shall always, with the protection of the law, screen me from such men's rage, and if I offend in any other way, I am ready to appear as justice shall require. This, indeed, is Mohawking me a new-fashioned way, like crying out 'a mad dog,' and setting the parish upon him; but it will not do: I am ready to show myself to mob or magistrate, in spite of these, or any other kind of Mohawks in the nation.*" Swift, in his Journal to Stella, says, that he was one of the persons aimed at by these night marauders, and that the fear of falling in with them, put him to the expence of several shillings a week for chair hire.

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* Review, viii. 613—615.

The measures of the government, and the open countenance given to the Jacobites, excited a just alarm in the people for the safety of the Protestant succession. In order to keep alive their suspicions, many pamphlets were dispersed by the Whigs, discussing the claims of the Pretender, and the danger that would accrue from his admission. One of these, commonly attributed to De Foe, is intitled, "Hannibal at the Gates: or, the Progress of Jacobitism. With the present Danger of the Pretender. London: printed for J. Baker, 1712." 8vo. pp. 40. There does not appear to be any good reason for giving this work to our author; but the writer of it was a friend to the ministers, in behalf of whose good intentions, he quotes the *Review* as "an authority not to be questioned;" yet he is not insensible to the danger that may arise from the known zeal and activity of the Jacobites. A reply to his work was published about two years afterwards, under the title of "Hannibal not at our Gates: or an Inquiry into the Grounds of our present Fears of Popery and the Pretender. In a Dialogue between my Lord Panick and George Steady, Esq. Now first published at the request of several Ladies and Gentlemen, who desire to inform the World, that they have some Reasons not to be frightened out of their wits. London: printed in the year 1714." 8vo. It is written with some humour, but the Author's attempt to laugh away the threatening aspect of the times, was not likely to make any impression upon the sober and thoughtful.

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* Review, viii. 623, 624.

De Foe had rendered himself obnoxious to the Whigs, by writing against the continuance of the war, and by his not uniting with them in a vigorous opposition to the ministers. Hence, they involved him with the latter in all their measures, and gave him the credit of being implicated in their supposed designs against the Protestant succession. This, however, was no more than the offspring of malice; for he was no less hated by the Jacobites. "It was but two days ago," says he, "that I received at one and the same time, a Letter from a passionate Whig; and another, from a furious Jacobite; the one threatening me with the gallows when their party gets up again, and the other with assassination immediately, after the manner of John Tutchin. The first charges me with writing for the party that would bring in the Pretender; and the other with abusing the Pretender. Now, in what case is a man that dares speak truth to two such enraged parties? How is it possible that both can be in the right? Nay, what can testify more to me that I am in the right, than that the madmen on both sides are thus enraged?" De Foe then proceeds to state, that all this violence flowed from inattention to what he had written, and from a mistaken view of his sentiments, which were friendly to peace, if it could be obtained upon honourable terms; and that he had no enmity to the Pretender as a man, but merely as he was opposed to the Protestant interest. In reference to the ill usage he received from both parties, he says, "but such barbarous treatment I must expect from the people of this day, and such shall every man receive that attempts to expose any of the mad extremes of the present parties.—With what assurance do they reproach me with writing for the ministry, and being employed by them; whilst they that affirm it know at the same time, that they lie against knowledge, as well as against truth? Because, were it so in truth, as I affirm it to be a malicious forgery, yet, as those who report it do not know it to be true, it is a falsity and a slander in them; and it is wicked, even to villany, because they think thereby to injure and ruin the person they think of.

"I shall conclude with this public assertion, which I think myself bound to leave to posterity—that throughout the whole course of this ministry, I have neither written, nor forborne to write, one word by the direction of the ministry or to oblige or serve any party; nor have I directly, or indirectly, been paid or rewarded for so doing. The honour I have had to be known to some persons who are now in the administration, has had no influence upon me one way or the other; nor have they, or any for them, ever stooped so low as to desire me to write this, or not to write that. The circumstances I labour under in the world might, one would think, deliver me from the suspicion of this slander, but since it will not, for nothing will stop a railing spirit, I shall convince the world I am not bribed to write, by cheerfully laying down, and writing no more at the period approaching which the law has prepared. For my part, I abhor bribes, was never tainted with them, and have refused them at the price of my family's ruin; and that, even for those very people who upbraid me with them. After all, I doubt not but a constant, steady adherence to truth, and the interest of my country, will hereafter make many of these men ashamed of the usage they now give me. In the mean time, I shall, for the little space I have to speak, go on to express my thoughts freely and impartially; and, though I may not please, I'll endeavour to serve."*

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* Review, viii. 813—816.

CHAPTER XI.

Eighth Volume of the "Review."—The course proposed to himself in conducting it.—He writes largely upon Trade.—Upon the Negociations for Peace.—And upon the State of Parties.—Declaration of his Politics.—He is attacked in the "Medley".—Contemns his Opponents.—Anecdote of Dryden.—His satisfaction at the prospect of dropping the "Review".—His Motives for continuing it.—Narrative of his Treatment during the Progress of the Work.—Ninth and last Volume of the "Review".—De Foe's Merits as a Periodical Writer.—Gay's false estimate of his Talents.—Corrected by Chalmers.

1712—1713.

The *eighth* volume of the *Review,* which commenced the 27th of March, 1711, was closed the 29th of July, 1712, when it had extended to 211 numbers. A double paper was then published, containing the preface and following title: "A Review of the State of the British Nation. Vol. VIII. London: printed in the year 1712." 4to: pp. 848. The reason of its running so far into the year, was the tax upon papers, which it was expected would put an end to the work, and induced the author to protract it as long as possible. He says, "I have continued it beyond the usual length, expecting some period would be put to the general liberty of the press, and to this work among the rest. Very glad should I have been to lay down the ungrateful task of informing those who think they know, and of reproving those who think they cannot mistake; but while the triumphs of obstinate men on both sides go on, just satire cannot be silent, and while the plague spreads, no man ought to forbear attempting a cure."

Our author introduces the volume with the following explanation of his purpose. "I begin this eighth year of the *Review* with the subject of trade, to me a pleasant, and I hope to you all a profitable theme; and I could be very glad to set apart this paper wholly to that work, in which I flatter myself I could say some things useful and agreeable to all parties. But it is impossible; the divisions and distractions of the times will not permit. However, as I purpose as little as I can, and less than ever, to meddle with your divisions, except to heal them; give me leave by a short introduction to tell you what I purpose to do, in so much of this volume as heaven and the times will permit me to write; and unless driven to it by absolute necessity, I shall not break in upon my resolution. I resolve to let you alone in your street-follies, and not meddle with your sham reformations, your neglected societies, your punishing ragged vice, and caressing embroidered debaucheries. I shall cease a while from that worst of perjury, that I have so often told you of, your abjuring oath-taking Jacobites, who mask their principles by this happy antithesis in their practice:

"Pray for the side they swear against,
And curse the side they swear to." *

"Your priests shall rail, authors print, and traitors plot: I'll look on a while till I have the satisfaction to see some people convinced too late that they were doing the devil's work, and in the simplicity of their hearts, have joined with the enemies of the queen and government. I shall neither meddle with new ministry nor old ministry, nor inquire into the mismanagement of either; but endeavour to help every side to do the nation's work cheerfully, honestly, and diligently, and if you will quarrel, you may do it by yourselves."

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* Age of Wonders, p. 2.

This forbearance upon topics in which he felt so deeply interested, and upon which he had formerly declared himself so freely, was evidently dictated by a prudent caution, suggested by the temper of the times. But there were other subjects upon which he could not be silent, and he reserved to himself a liberty of speech upon such as these. "1. If you invade the constitution, the succession, the toleration, as settled at the Revolution; if you advance falsehoods, exalt submission to arbitrary power, deny parliamentary limitation of the crown, and impose principles inconsistent with the laws, *I must speak.* 2. If you insult the name, reproach the memory, lessen the merit, or raise slander upon the actions of the glorious King William, whom, however unworthy, I have the honour to call *my master;* whom I faithfully served, by whom I was, beyond my merit, bountifully rewarded, and for whom I cheerfully suffered because I would not betray him, *I must speak,* for I should be an ungrateful dog to forbear. 3. If the unsufferable debaucheries of the clergy go on unrestrained, and the superiors, whose duty it is to correct and reform them, and to revive the discipline of the church, continue to neglect it, *I must speak.* 4. If I find you reproaching your brethren in Scotland; if you break the sacred stipulations of the Union, invade the legal establishments, force innovations in their worship or in the government of their church, *I must speak;* no peril shall deter me. These things excepted, I shall endeavour to oblige and serve you, exhort you to peace, to trade, to credit, and to all those things which may best conduce to the public prosperity of the nation, without respect to factions or parties, either one way or the other." *

This volume, like its predecessors, is divided between trade and politics. "Trade and war," says he, "are the principal subjects of the nation's concern: I am none of those that would have the last neglected, yet methinks, our carrying it on should not thrust out our concern for the first."* He accordingly dwells largely upon trade, particularly our commercial intercourse with foreign nations; discussing the terms of a trade with France, the interests of the African Company, and the benefits resulting from a trade with South America. "I had thought," says he, "to have adjourned my observations upon trade till I began a new volume of this work, or till I enter upon a new kind of *Review*, which I have projected upon the regulation of the press; but the case will not admit of delay; things must be spoken to in their season, or they had as good be let alone."†

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* Review, viii. 1—3.

The state of parties occupied as usual a large portion of his attention; but he evidently writes with great circumspection. Although a Whig in principle, he had no desire of opposing the ministers, so long as they did not break in upon the civil and religious institutions of the country; but when these were invaded, he did not hesitate to declare his opinion boldly, and to warn his countrymen of the dangerous precipice upon which they were standing. As a friend to moderate measures, he opposed the violent men of all sides, avowing his attachment to principles rather than to individuals, by which means he pleased neither party. Upon this subject, he says, "I am not for sacrificing truth, liberty, or principle to any party, no, not to a government; but I lay down this maxim in all I do or say in public matters, not caring who I offend. Every man who lives under the government, ought in all things to submit to, and acquiesce in, the public measures *so far as he can;* that is, so far as he may be convinced they are doing right. If we do not like the instruments, I cannot say that is so much our business as some would make it. Let the persons employed be who they will, if they do the nation's business well, they are good men to us; and if they do it not all as I would have it, yet I believe it is my duty to go with them as far as I can. I believe it is of as little concern to me as to most men, who are put in or out of place: I have as little to lose, and as little to expect as most men; scorning to rise at the price now put upon preferment, I cannot therefore be making my court to any body. If the persons employed break in upon the constitution, invade the laws, break the Union, contravene the Revolution, straiten the toleration—every lover of liberty, every honest man, will be against them, and I will be the first to cry out; nay, in some cases I have already cried out, particularly in the affair of the Union, which I cannot say or think has been cultivated or kept so sacred as it ought to have been." *

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* Review, viii. 25.

† Ibid, 729.

In allusion to the suspicions then entertained of some persons in power, De Foe says, "If there are any such among our great ones, who seeming to declare for the Protestant succession, yet drive at dissolving that settlement, and introducing a Popish Pretender, God, I hope, in his due time, will detect and expose them; and in the meantime, I must confess, I fear nothing from their success, for this whole nation, with an united voice, have resolved and solemnly sworn that they will not have this man to reign over them." † What his own conduct would be under such circumstances, he thus describes. "Should the Pretender come hither, which God forbid, my course is plain. I'll fight him, I'll oppose him openly and fairly as long as I can: I'll be his fair, open, and honourable enemy; I will be a secret treacherous enemy to no man: I'll take no man's pay, and then betray him; list in his troop and wear his cloth, and march with him to the place of rendezvous, and then go over to

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* Review, viii. 774.

† Ibid, 834.

his enemy. I never thought the Revolution one jot the better for any that did so; but openly and fairly, while there is any room left to oppose him, I'll do it with all my might, and as King William said, I'll endeavour to die in the last ditch. But if it is my fate to see my country fall into his hands, and there is no more room for resistance, I'll submit, and then go on with him as far as he maintains the laws, and no further. This I think my duty under all governments. I did this before the Revolution, and I thank God I can say I went no further. This I did under the late ministry, and opposed the change as much, and as long as I could; but since it is wrought and I cannot help it, as long as the government goes on by the rule of law, and on the foot of the constitution, so far, and so long, I think it my duty to submit, and no further." He says he should do the same under any other ministers: "so that the ministry are not under one farthing obligation to me, for any thing I write or do; and if they give me any thing for writing the *Review*, as is falsely alleged, they throw their money away."*

The repeated attacks which De Foe met with from the Whigs, rendered this exposition of his politics the more necessary; and as his name often occurs in the writers of the time, as a political apostate and a retainer of the ministers, there is equal reason for its preservation. Amongst his political opponents at this time, was the writer of the "Medley," which, upon its being dropped by Oldmixon, was revived by Ridpath. Both these writers had accused him of being in the pay of the ministers, and of writing under their direction; charges that were dictated by malice, and which we have seen to be utterly groundless. "Who can but smile to see to what shifts men resort, to cry down the man whom they cannot confute. Certainly, what the *Review* writes must have some strange force in it, some unusual energy, that they will not allow me to be the author; but I must have the materials from the greatest heads in the nation. They do me an honour that I do not deserve, and which they do not design for an honour, but will for ever be so in spite of them. Methinks, it would become these men better to answer what I say, than to spend their time in railing at me; especially since they cannot bestow that labour upon any man in Britain, that has less concern for it."* De Foe sums up his animadversions upon the periodical writers, by an anecdote of Dryden, who received personal chastisement for his libels. "I remember the case of Mr. Dryden, who had described the Duke of Buckingham with a great deal of wit, but in one line had given him ill-names, as *fiddler and buffoon.* The Duke was a lover of wit, and had as much himself as most men of the age, but resolved to take some advantage of the author's weakness in that part. For which purpose, his Grace finding him at a coffee-house, charged him with want of decency as no true part of satire, and caned him very smartly. *There, Sir,* said the Duke, *is for your ill-manners; and here, Sir, is for your wit;* throwing him at the same time a purse of thirty guineas." De Foe recommends those who write satires on great men, to take care to merit the guineas without the cane; and concludes with the saying of the Macedonian king to one of his soldiers, who was always cursing and railing at the Romans, "I hired you to fight with the Romans, not to rail at them."*

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* Review, viii. 834.

When the policy of the government, with relation to the press, became too evident to be mistaken, our author devoted several of his *Reviews* to the discussion of the subject. The effect of the measure, he expected would be the extinction of his periodical labours, which he was far from contemplating with dissatisfaction. "As I begin to draw near the close of this volume," says he, "so, as things now appear, the time draws on when the liberty of speaking this way will be taken from us. And truly I am one of those that rejoice now at the period being put to a work, which however now treated by those it has served, and that by the confession of themselves, and of their enemies, yet shall stand as a monument of the gratitude of the age, to their true-born English posterity. I must confess, when they talked of a licencer for the press, I offered reasons against it as an invasion of liberty; but I have sometimes thought less of that injury, when I found our people in every coffee-house taking away the liberty of every author, by censure, raillery, reproach, and the like. If an author speaks his thoughts freely, he is treated as a servant in their pay, and subjected to their correction, for breach of duty. Thus plentifully has a part of the world treated me of late, because, forsooth, I have not pleased them, in speaking my thoughts freely about the peace. I might have asked them, who of you have I wronged? In whose pay was I listed? Whose wages have I taken, and not done their work, that you treat me thus majestically?—If I could have obliged you without belying my own knowledge and experience, I would have done it; but, as I have not for fear or favour said one word for you, so I can solemnly protest, I have spoken neither for gain, or the hopes of it, nor to oblige or serve any one party or person in the world. On the other hand, I never did, nor ever shall refrain speaking what my own conscience dictates, for fear of the face of any man, or body of men. He that fears the oppression of power, can be no servant of truth, nor has any of your fawning scribblers dared to speak the truths that I have done, or to suffer for them as I have. But he that fears reproach or clamour, is a slave to his pride, and abject below a criminal. For my part, being fully satisfied that I speak not only from principle, but for the public service, I rejoice in the contempt put upon me by clamorous and noisy men, who are so far from grieving me, that they never rob me of a smile, nor ever move me to any return, but to pity their prejudice, which God in his due time, I hope, will deliver them from.

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* Review, viii. 841, 842. † Review, viii. 724,

" As I can neither flatter nor refrain from speaking with freedom in the cause of truth, while men in power take steps to prove they are not infallible, my endeavour is to prevent the oppressions which the fury of our parties threaten on every side. When men of figure are pushing their party interests with such an ill-principled rage, that they can sell or give up their faithful friends, I have never regarded my own safety or interest to keep me silent. If I have had any interest or favour with men in power, while those I have endeavoured to serve by it have reviled me with acting for the ministry, (I speak now of the times as well of the last as the present ministry) I have always enforced that interest with faithful remonstances and representations, as far as duty and decency would permit, to serve the persons who have at the same time abused me; and I do so still, and I do it from this principle—that it is the cause, and not the persons, I desire to serve: and he that sees in secret, will reward me if he approves the service. As for the men, I know them too well to expect or desire it from them; nay, I am content they shall stone me, and throw dirt at me while I am serving them: my witness is within myself, and yet I am not without witnesses of the fact neither." Our author, still addressing the Dissenters, goes on to observe, " And now the time is coming when you shall feel your hurt before you hear of it. Authors shall no more ruin themselves and families to awaken you; your friends have sold you, and your enemies triumph, and God will humble you for your party sins. But yet, after a season of suffering, when your eyes shall be opened, and a spirit fit for deliverance appear among you, you shall be delivered, and your posterity shall be wiser and honester than their fathers."*

De Foe closes the present volume with the following remarks. "I as fully resolved to lay down this paper at the end of July, when the new tax upon papers begins, as ever I did, or can resolve any thing; and pleased myself with the hopes that, after eight years' struggling with the enemies of the nation's peace, to have enjoyed some peace myself, to have dropped insensibly out of the public broils, and as much as possible, to have been forgotten among you. But it is impossible; neither the nature of the thing, nor the nature of the people, will permit it. As to the people, unless I will give leave to the railing spirit, to triumph over me as slain in the battle, and let that slander which ceases not to insult me while living, follow me into the grave, I must be still at hand to detect the lies, and oppose the slanders with which those who cannot otherwise answer me, are daily filling the age. Nor will the nature of the thing permit me to lay it down: the crisis is too imminent, the arguments on both sides too nice, the consequences too fatal, the mischiefs approaching too threatening, and the concern every honest man has too pressing, for any man that has spoken at all, now to hold his peace. He that will save his country from ruin, must do it in the season of deliverance; he that will prevent the destruction of a town must cry fire in time; and he that will do any service on either side, must now speak, or he may for ever after hold his tongue."†

In a long preface to this volume, written towards the end of July, De Foe has an animated defence of his work, and of the mode in which he had conducted it. He also gives a narrative of the treatment he had received during its progress, and relates some affecting particulars of his past life, as well as of the existing state of his circumstances. Although the narrative is rather long, yet it throws so much light upon his personal affairs, and is so descriptive of his real character, that to suppress it would deprive the present work of an important document. It is as follows:—

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* Review, viii. 549—551.

† Ibid, 845.

"I have now finished the eighth volume of this work, and as this particular part has been the subject of as much clamour and noise as any of the former, though on a different account, and from different people, I cannot close it, without giving some account both of it and of myself. From the beginning of this undertaking, which I have now carried on almost ten years, I have always, according to the best of my judgment, calculated it for the support and defence of truth and liberty. I was not so weak when I began, as not to expect enemies, and that by speaking plain, both to persons and things, I should exasperate many against both the work and the author, and in that expectation I have not been deceived.

"I confess I did not expect, that if the same truth summoned me to differ from the people I was serving, they would treat me as they do, for it. I own, I thought an uninterrupted fidelity, and steady adhering to an honest principle for near forty years, would have been some plea in my behalf, and if not, that suffering the shipwreck of my fortunes, which were at that time recovering, and by the bounty of his late majesty, in a fair way of being restored; suffering all the indignities, penalties, and punishments, an enraged party could inflict upon me, and above three thousand pounds loss; I say, I thought this might have lodged a little in the breasts of my friends, and might have allowed them at least to examine, before they condemned me, whether they did me wrong or no.

"I thought that while I had given such proof, that I could neither be Bribed from the truth, or Threatened, or Terrified from my principles, it might at least be a ground for impartial honest men to examine, before they censured me. But I have found all this in vain; and as if forfeiting my reason as well as my estate were a debt from me to the party I espoused, I am now hunted with a full cry, *Acteon* like, by my own friends, I won't call them hounds, in spite of protested innocence, and want of evidence, against the genuine sense of what I write, against fair arguing, against all modesty and sense, condemned by common clamour as writing for money, for particular persons, by great men's directions, and the like; every tittle of which I have the testimony of my own conscience, is abominably false, and the accusers must have the accusation of their own consciences that they do not know it to be true.

"I cannot say it has not given me a great deal of disturbance; for an ungrateful treatment by a people that I had run all manner of risk for, and thought I could have died for, cannot but touch a less sensible temper, than I think mine to be: but I thank God that operation is over, and I endeavour to make other uses of it, than perhaps the people themselves think I do. First, I look in, and upon the narrowest search I can make of my own thoughts, desires, and designs, I find a clear untainted principle, and consequently an entire calm of conscience, founded upon the satisfying sense, that I neither am touched with bribes, guided or influenced by fear, favour, hope, dependence, or reward from any person or party under Heaven; and that I have written, and do write nothing but what is my native, free, undirected opinion and judgment, and which was so many years ago, as I think I made unanswerably appear by the very last *Review* of this volume.

Next, I look up, and without examining into His ways, the sovereignty of whose providence I adore, I submit with an entire resignation to what ever happens to me, as being by the immediate direction of that goodness, and for such wise and glorious ends, as however I may not yet see through, will at last issue in good, even to me; fully depending, that I shall yet be delivered from the power of slander and reproach, and the sincerity of my conduct be yet cleared up to the world: and if not, *Te Deum Laudamus.*

"In the third place, I look back on the people who treat me thus, who, notwithstanding under the power of their prejudices they fly upon me with a fury that I think unchristian and unjust; yet as I doubt not the day will still come when they will be again undeceived in me; I am far from studying their injury, or doing myself justice at their expense, which I could do with great advantage. It is impossible for the Dissenters in this nation to provoke me to be an enemy to their interest; should they fire my house, sacrifice my family, and assassinate my life, I would ever requite them in defending their cause, and standing to the last against all those that should endeavour to weaken or reproach it. But this is, as I think it, a just and righteous cause, founded upon the great principle of Truth and Liberty, which I am well assured I shall never abandon. Not that I am insensible of being ill treated by them, or that I make any court to their persons. When any party of men have not a clear view of their own case, or a right knowledge of their own interest, he that will serve them, and knows the way to do it, must be certain not to please them, and must be able to see them revile and reproach him, and use him in the worst manner imaginable, without being moved, either to return them ill, or refrain from doing them good; and this is the true meaning of that command which I thank God I cheerfully obey, viz. to pray for *them* that despitefully use me. I have not so ill an opinion of myself as not to think I merit better usage from the Dissenters; and I have not so ill an opinion of the Dissenters, as not to think they will some time or other know their friends from their enemies better than they do now. Nor have I so far forgot my friends, as not to own a great many of them do already. I remember the time when the same people treated me in the same manner upon the book called "The Shortest Way," &c. and nothing but suffering for them would ever open their eyes. He that cleared up my integrity then, can do it again by the same method, and I leave it to him. *Ad te quacunque vocas* is my rule; my study and practice, is patience and resignation; and in this I triumph over all the indignity, reproach, slander, and raillery in the world; in this I enjoy, in the midst of a million of enemies, a perfect peace and tranquillity, and when they misconstruct my words, pervert the best meaning, turn every thing which I say their own way, it gives me no other contemplation than this: how vain is the opinion of men, either when they judge well or ill.

"I have made such protestations of my receiving no reward or directions whatever, for this work, as none but those who are used to prevaricate themselves, can, upon any foundation that is consistent with christianity, suspect, and the circumstances I labour under, are a corroborating evidence of the truth of it; yet, without grounds, without evidence, without any testimony but general notion, they will have it be otherwise; two of their authors have the impudence to assert it, but not one step have they taken to prove it, nor can they do it, though both openly challenged to do it, and a hundred guineas offered upon the proof of it. Thus they give the Lie and the Rascal to themselves, without my help, who quietly let them go on their own way. My measures are to the best of my judgment steady; what I approve, I defend; what I dislike, I censure, without any respect of persons; only endeavouring to give my reasons, and to make it appear that I approve and dislike upon good and sufficient grounds; which being first well assured of, the time is yet to come, that I ever refrain to speak my mind for fear of the face of man. If what I have said were false, my enemies would certainly choose to answer rather than to rail; but as I have unanswerable truth, they choose to rail rather than to answer.

"I have lived too long, and seen too much, not to know that all these violent party-feuds are of short duration; and we see the very men I now speak of, approve to day what they were loudest against but yesterday. It is my disinterested study to serve them, but I confess 'tis not so to please them; I shall never leave off to wish well to their interest, and can I but serve it, they shall have leave to throw stones at me as long as I live. But this does by no means hinder, but that I may, and ever shall, as the best mark of my zeal for their interest, tell them plainly their mistakes.

"This passion I have for their interest fills me with resentment at the barbarity of the treatment which the Dissenters have received in the affair of the Occasional Bill, and that from a people they had deserved other usage from; and in this, as I said before, I do them but justice. That they themselves are so easy under it, as not only to make no complaint, but even to say it has done them no harm, is an evidence of their unconquerable passion to a particular view, which I believe they will always be disappointed in; since it is evident, this has ruined the interest of the Whigs in almost all the corporations in England, and put them into such a posture, as never but by miracle to recover it. I pity the delusion of those who entertain a notion, that if ever the Low Churchmen come to the administration, they will restore the Dissenters. I grant it would be both just and generous so to do, but if they will first shew me one Low Churchman in the nation of any figure, that however he may exclaim at the method, does not appear secretly satisfied that it is done, then I'll join in expecting it. But I shall farther shew them the vanity of these hopes, in my other discourses upon this head. We need not wonder at the other mistakes we see some people run into, when they are so intent upon the party interest they push at, that they are contented to be the sacrifice offered up for the purchase of human help to carry it on; in all which unchristian course, we have seen them effectually disappointed, and I must own, till I see another spirit among them, I do not look for their deliverance.

"To return to my own case, I am a stoick in whatever may be the event of things. I'll do and say what I think is a debt to justice and truth, without the least regard to clamour and reproach; and as I am utterly unconcerned at human opinion, the people that throw away their breath so freely in censuring me, may consider of some better improvement to make of their passions, than to waste them on a man, that is both above and below the reach of them. I know too much of the world to expect good in it, and have learnt to value it too little to be concerned at the evil. I have gone through a life of wonders, and am the subject of a vast variety of providences; I have been fed more by miracle than Elijah, when the ravens were his purveyors. I have sometime ago summed up the scenes of my life in this distich:

> "No man has tasted differing fortunes more,
> And thirteen times I have been rich and poor."

"In the school of affliction I have learnt more philosophy than at the academy, and more divinity than from the pulpit; in prison I have learnt to know that liberty does not consist in open doors, and the free egress and regress of locomotion. I have seen the rough side of the world as well as the smooth; and have in less than half a year, tasted the difference between the closet of a king, and the dungeon of Newgate. I have suffered deeply for cleaving to principles, of which integrity I have lived to say, none but those I suffered for, ever reproached me with it. The immediate causes of my suffering have been the being betrayed by those I have trusted, and scorning to betray those who trusted me. To the honour of English gratitude, I have this remarkable truth to leave behind me—that I was never so basely betrayed, as by those whose families I had preserved from starving; nor so basely treated as by those I starved my own family to preserve. The same checquer work of fortune attends me still; the people I have served, and love to serve, cut my throat every day, because I will not cut the throat of those that have served and assisted me. Ingratitude has always been my aversion, and perhaps for that reason it is my exercise.

"And now I live under universal contempt, which contempt I have learned to contemn, and have an uninterrupted joy in my soul; not at my being contemned, but that no crime can be laid to my charge, to make that contempt my due. Fame, a lying jade, would talk me up, for I know not what of courage; and they call me a fighting fellow. I despise the flattery; I profess to know nothing of it, farther than truth makes any man bold; and I acknowledge, that give me but a bad cause, and I am the greatest coward in the world. Truth inspires nature; and as in defence of truth, no honest man can be a coward, so no man of sense can be bold when he is in the wrong. He that is honest must be brave, and it is my opinion that a coward cannot be an honest man. In defence of truth I think (pardon me that I dare go no further, for who knows himself?) I say, I *think* I could dare to die; but a child may beat me if I am in the wrong. Guilt gives trembling to the hands, blushing to the face, and fills the heart with amazement and terror. I question whether there is much, if any, difference between bravery and cowardice, but what is founded in the principle they are engaged for; and I no more believe any man is born a coward, than that he is born a knave. Truth makes a man of courage, and guilt makes that man a coward.

"Early disasters, and frequent turns of my affairs, have left me incumbered with an insupportable weight of debt; and the remarkable compassion of some creditors, after continued offers of stripping myself naked by entire surrenders upon oath, have never given me more trouble than they were able, or less than they knew how; by which means most of the debts I have discharged, have cost me forty shillings in the pound, and the creditor half as much to recover. I have a large family, a wife and six children, who never want what they should enjoy, or spend what they ought to save. Under all these circumstances, and many more, too long to write, my only happiness is this: I have always been kept cheerful, easy, and quiet, enjoying a perfect calm of mind, clearness of thought, and satisfaction not to be broken in upon by whatever may happen to me. If any man ask me how I arrived to it? I answer him, in short, by a constant serious application to the great, solemn, and weighty work of resignation to the will of heaven; by which let no man think I presume. I have endeavoured, and am in a great measure able to say feelingly and effectually the following lines, which I recommend to the world, not only as the fruit of my own experience, but for the practice of all such as know how to value it, and think they need it." De Foe here inserts a poem of a hundred and sixteen lines, expressive of his contempt of the world, and his acquiescence in the will of Providence, under whatever fate may be determined for him.

Notwithstanding the tax upon papers, De Foe ventured upon another volume of his *Review,* which he continued for ten months longer, until May, 1713, when it was finally relinquished, after a steady publication of more than nine years. It is remarkable, that it should have commenced and terminated when the author was a prisoner in Newgate, where, at the period just mentioned, he was under a shameful prosecution, as will be noticed presently. A copy of this last volume of his work is not known to be in existence;

which is the more to be regretted, as from what is known of its contents, it would have elicited much information upon the subject of his prosecution.

De Foe's labours as a periodical writer, in awakening the nation to political discussions of the first interest and importance, and at a time when just sentiments had the array of power and proscription against them, entitle him to a higher place amongst the benefactors to his country, than has been hitherto assigned to him. The merit of his papers, as compositions, must be estimated by the state of contemporary literature, rather than by a comparison with those writers who trod in his footsteps; and it will be found, that if these attained to a greater classical purity, De Foe has still the praise of doing better than all who went before him. Of the power of his writings, we may form some estimate from the formidable opposition which he excited at a period of great political ferment; when writers of the greatest talent were arrayed against him; and when, in spite of their efforts to put him down, he continued to attract attention, and to triumph over opposition. The strength with which he wielded his arguments, was attested by the mortification of his opponents. But the force of reasoning in conquering deep-rooted prejudices being of slow operation, sometimes required the aid of ridicule; and these pages sufficiently testify, that few writers handled it with greater power than our author. When arguments failed, he battered his adversaries with satire, and withstood their scandal, by laughing at its operation. It is to his credit that he abstained in so great a degree from the coarse and vulgar abuse that was constantly levelled at him; and that his *Reviews* are stained by fewer personalities than the temper of the times would warrant us to expect. The apostacy of public men, and the ingratitude of the party he had served so long, coupled as it was with so much stupidity, must have disgusted him with politics, and have rendered him desirous of withdrawing from a contest which had once more brought him to the verge of ruin. It was with some satisfaction, therefore, that he put an end to a work, which, however useful, had in its progress exposed him to so much obloquy, whilst the profit he derived from it was not sufficient to recompence his labour.

The remarks of Mr. Chalmers upon the cessation of this work, are too good to be omitted. "Whether we consider the frequency of the publication, or the power of his disquisitions, the pertinacity of his opponents, or the address of his defences, amid other studies, without assistants, this must be allowed to be such a work as few of our writers have equalled." Yet, of this great performance, said Gay, 'The poor *Review* is quite exhausted, and grown so very contemptible, that though he has provoked all his brothers of the quill, none will enter into a controversy with him. The fellow, who had excellent natural parts, but wanted a small foundation of learning, is a lively instance of those wits, who, as an ingenious author says, will endure but one skimming.'* "Poor Gay," adds Mr. Chalmers, "had learned this cant in the Scriblerus club, who thought themselves the wisest, the wittiest, and the virtuousest men that ever were, or ever could be. But of all their works, which of them have been so often skimmed, or yielded such cream, as 'Robinson Crusoe,' the 'Family Instructor,' or 'Religious Courtship?' Some of their writings may indeed be allowed to have uncommon merit; yet, let them not arrogate exclusive excellence, or claim inappropriate praise."†

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* Present State of Wit, 1711. † Life of De Foe, p. 43.

CHAPTER XII.

Preliminaries of Peace.—Create loud murmurs in the Nation.—Communicated to Parliament.—Receive its Concurrence.—Publications in its Favour.—Writings of Swift and Arbuthnot.—De Foe libelled in a Letter from a Tory Freeholder.—Accused of writing against the Dutch.—He rejects the Charge.—Peace concluded.—Its Character.—Votes and Addresses in its Favour.—Thanksgiving for the Peace.—Specimen of Pulpit-Politics.—Estimate of De Foe's Political Conduct.—Traduced by the Whigs.—He disapproves of the Terms of Peace.—His own account of his Conduct.—He withdraws into Yorkshire.—Lives some time at Halifax.—Manner in which he employed himself.—He writes against the Jacobites.—Seasonable Caution.—His three Ironical Pamphlets.—Specimens of their Contents.—They are widely circulated.—Their meaning perverted by the Whigs.—Who instigate a Prosecution against Him.—Originated by William Benson.—His zeal in the Affair.—Taken out of his hands by the Government.—De Foe writes freely upon the subject in his "Review."—For which he incurs the resentment of the Judges.—Who commit him to Newgate.—Their indecent Conduct.—De Foe soon released.—He receives a Pardon under the Great Seal.—Stupidity of the Whigs.—De Foe's own Explanation of his Writings.—And of the Motives for his Prosecution.—He throws himself upon the justice of the Government.—Copy of his Pardon.—His Reflections upon the Prosecution.—And the injustice of his Enemies.

1713.

The subject that now engrossed the principal share of public attention, was the negociation for peace. The preliminaries, after much altercation with the allies, being at length adjusted, they were communicated to the British parliament upon the 6th of June, 1712. When the terms became known, they created loud murmurs in the nation;

nor were they better received upon the continent. Much dexterity was used to procure them a favourable reception in parliament, where the Duke of Marlborough said, "they were directly contrary to her majesty's engagements with her allies, sullied the triumphs and glories of her reign, and would render the English name odious to all other nations."* In spite of remonstrance, an address of concurrence was hastily voted; and to prevent any further discussion of so disagreeable a subject, the ministers adjourned the parliament upon the 21st of June, and thus relieved themselves from a storm of opposition with which they were threatened.

The most difficult part they had now to encounter, was to reconcile the people to their measures; but men so long accustomed to artifice, and so skilful in its management, were not at a loss for proper tools to serve their purpose. In the course of the year, the country was deluged with publications for and against the peace, which occasioned a great fluctuation in public opinion. The war of the pen was carried on with the most acrimonious feelings, and both sides descended to the grossest personalities. In order to fix an odium upon the late ministers, and to justify an unmanly persecution, charges of fraud and peculation were brought against them. Libels to this effect were circulated against Marlborough, Godolphin and Walpole; whilst the purity and patriotism of their successors were lauded in the most extravagant strains. "In those times, nothing was more common than crimes without any accuser, judgment without consideration, and condemnation without either defence or punishment."† Those who opposed the terms of the peace, were either treated with extreme insolence, or harassed with prosecutions at law,‡ whilst the hirelings of the ministry were allowed to riot in reproach and slander, and to attack the strong holds of the constitution with impunity. The allies who had contributed so essentially to the glory of the English arms, were now shamefully traduced; charges of treachery and misconduct in the war were heaped upon them; and they were accused of entertaining designs subversive of the trade and other interests of the British empire. "The clergy made a loud outcry, sometimes that we were now made a prey to the emperor, and sometimes to the Dutch: Nay, such was the madness of those times, that Dr. Swift, a contemner of all religions, and Dr. Arbuthnot, one of the queen's physicians, applied themselves to write libels against the war, and the allies of the people of England." *

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* Boyer, p. 577. † Cunningham, ii. 401. ‡ Ibid, 413.

Perhaps no writer rendered such effective assistance to the ministers, as Swift. In the early part of the year, he produced his celebrated pamphlet, intitled, "The Conduct of the Allies, and of the late Ministry, in beginning and carrying on the present war." The success of the work was answerable to the pains he had taken with it. All ranks perused it with avidity; and its effects were quickly perceived in the votes of parliament. It passed through seven editions in a short time, and no less than eleven thousand copies were sold within the space of a month. Not long afterwards, he attacked the Dutch, in "Some Remarks on the Barrier-Treaty between her Majesty and the States-General;" which was intended equally to excite the public indignation against the late ministers. In these publications, which were composed with much art, he employed all those powers of reasoning, of which he was so great a master, and seasoned his arguments with no small portion of acrimony. But whatever services he rendered to the ministers, their real nature may perhaps be more justly estimated, by the value put upon them by our enemies. The Spanish Ambassador desired Sir William Wyndham to tell him, "That his

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* Cunningham, ii. 378.

master and the king of France, and the queen, were obliged to him more than to any man in Europe;" a compliment that Swift tells us "he took very well." * But to feel flattered by congratulations from such a quarter, was neither honourable to Swift, nor to the cause for which he wrote. The French king was equally profuse in the praises he lavished upon the queen and her ministers, who had earned these marks of politeness by their condescension to his political interests.

Arbuthnot, the other writer above alluded to, ridiculed the Duchess of Marlborough, in "The Story of the St. Alban's Ghost, or the apparition of Mother Haggy, collected from the best manuscripts;" printed in the early part of the year. He also defended the policy of the ministers, and lampooned the allies, in a work written with much humour, in which the leading belligerents are characterised under the fictitious names of the Lord Strutt, John Bull, Nicholas Frog, and Lewis Baboon. The war in which they had been so long engaged, is represented under the notion of a law-suit, which had ruined all the parties to it, in so much that an accommodation became a matter of mutual interest. This was to soothe the public into an approbation of the impending peace, and he endeavours to put his readers into good humour, by the alternative use of wit and ridicule. Of these weapons, Arbuthnot appears to have been a skilful master, and his work is highly applauded by his friend Swift. It is evidently written upon the model of the "Tale of the Tub;" of which it partakes of the humour, without the vulgarity. But it abounds with severe sarcasms upon his political opponents, couched in all the bitterness of party spirit. It was said of Arbuthnot, "that he liked an ill-natured jest the best of any good-natured man in the kingdom." (F)

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* Swift's Letters, i. 268.

(F) Arbuthnot followed up his story in six successive pamphlets. 1. Law is a Bottomless Pit. Exemplified in the case of the Lord Strutt, John Bull, Amongst the productions of the period, was " A Letter from a Tory Freeholder to his Representative in Parliament, upon her Majesty's most gracious speech to both Houses on the subject of Peace, June 6, 1712. Lond. 1712." 8vo. The writer, who was a Whig in disguise, lavishes much of his abuse upon De Foe, whom he accuses of changing sides, and bringing forward other charges, repeated before by Oldmixon, who was probably the author of this pamphlet. He says, " that the Whigs now universally disowned him;" and amongst other calumnies, he accuses De Foe of advocating a war with the Dutch, who in consequence of the policy pursued in England, shewed a disposition to continue the war in conjunction with the Emperor. But for such a charge there was not the least foundation; and it could only have arisen from a desire in the Whigs to identify De Foe with the ministers, who during the negociation displayed any thing but friendly feelings towards the Dutch. In reply to the charge, he says, " If it be, as some pretend, in the last foreign news, that we are now running headlong into a war with the Dutch, which I look upon as the worst circumstance that can befal this nation, I shall convince those who would maliciously suggest me to be writing for it, that they are in the wrong. It has been along my argument, and I have seen no answer to it, that Britain and Holland are the essential strength of the Protestant interest in Europe; and in that respect, their interests are inseparable. It is for uniting these, that I have always pleaded against the union of Spain with any Popish

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Nicholas Frog, and Lewis Baboon, who spent all they had in a law-suit. Printed from a manuscript found in the Cabinet of the famous Sir Humphrey Polsworth, 1712. 2. John Bull in his Senses: being the Second Part of Law is a Bottomless Pit, 1712. 3. John Bull still in his Senses; being the Third Part of Law is a Bottomless Pit, 1712. 4. A Complete Key to the Three Parts of Law is a Bottomless Pit, and the St. Alban's Ghost, 1712. 5. Lewis Baboon turned Honest, and John Bull, Politician; being the Fourth Part of Law is a Bottomless Pit, 1712. 6. An Appendix to John Bull still in his Senses; or Law is a Bottomless Pit, 1712.

power in Europe. I appeal to all who read what I write, that the dividing this great prize has been my aim all along, though reproached and misunderstood. The safety and prosperity of the Protestant interest depend upon the joint power of the confederated Protestants; and this must be built upon the union of the British and Dutch."* "I profess to be as entirely against a war with the Dutch, as it is possible for any man that has the good of his country at heart. But if men were to read other people as they read me, truth may be turned into falsehood, and the scripture into blasphemy."†

The treaty of peace, after a protracted negociation, was at length signed at Utrecht, upon the 11th of April, 1713. The English ministers had grown weary of its delay, which was occasioned by the address of the French negociators, who taking advantage of the discord that reigned amongst the allies, added to their demands, and extorted concessions which they could not have meditated, but for the misplaced confidence of the English court. Intimidated by hostile threats, which in all probability were never meant to be executed, the Dutch became a party to the peace; but the Emperor continued the war a year longer, when finding himself unequal to maintain it single-handed, he sought refuge in a treaty. Thus, a war which had been conducted for so many years with unexampled success, was concluded with satisfaction only to the enemy. The object for which the nation had embarked in it was entirely abandoned; the fruits of many splendid victories, obtained at an immense cost of blood and treasure, were wantonly thrown away; and the repose which the ministers expected to derive from it, was disturbed by factions in the cabinet, which in a short time accomplished its overthrow. Whatever talents may be awarded to the statesmen of this period, the political intrigues that brought about the peace of Utrecht, forbid us to entertain any high opinion of their political virtue. Treachery and dishonour pervaded the whole of the negociation, from its first rise to its final termination; whilst the terms themselves were alike humiliating to England, and disgraceful to the men by whom they were conceded.

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* Review, viii. 825, 826. † Ibid, 828.

In order to screen the ministers from any consequences that might arise by a future inquiry into the merits of the treaty, every care was taken to procure for it a parliamentary sanction, by votes and addresses expressive of the approbation of both Houses; and the language put into the mouth of the queen, was in perfect harmony. The advantages that were to result from it, were not only painted in glowing colours, but reiterated in several of her speeches; and it was lauded in extravagant terms by the friends of the ministers. That the nation might participate in the same sentiments of satisfaction, the 7th of July was set apart for a day of thanksgiving to Almighty God, "for a safe and honourable peace;" and it was observed accordingly in all the churches of England. Upon this occasion, many of the clergy exhibited their loyalty according to the fashion of the times; by exalting the prerogative, praising the church, and abusing the Whigs and Dissenters. One of these loyal preachers was Thomas Burton, vicar of Halifax, who not only panegyrized the peace, but surrendered his liberty to the lust of arbitrary power. The following passage in his thanksgiving sermon, may be cited as a sample of the pulpit politics of the day. "Kings receive no authority and power from their subjects, and therefore it is neither reasonable nor just that they should be accountable to them for what does not belong to them. Some men are for storming heaven, and snatching God's authority out of his hands, who has declared that by him princes reign; and the plainest scriptures in the world cannot drive them out of this wicked and blasphemous opinion." Such men as this, have no right to complain of the exactions of their princes, nor of the utmost stretch of arbitrary power; but when the sanctions of re-

religion are brought to the support of tyranny, it becomes a free nation to keep a watchful eye over their clergy, and to exclude them from every vestige of political power.

In the odium shared by those writers who supported the peace, De Foe has largely participated. From the commencement of the treaty, he had declared himself a friend to peace, provided it could be obtained upon honourable terms. These, he never defined very explicitly; but he always contended for a partition of the Spanish dominions, according to the spirit of the partition-treaty, and from this point he never swerved. In expounding his opinions, he showed no slight degree of tact, and argued in terms much too general to entitle him to the character of a partizan. It is evident from his writings, that he never appeared as the ostensible advocate of the ministers, nor committed himself to an approval of their policy, excepting upon some commercial matters that accorded with his judgment. His attachment to Harley was indeed so far a snare to him, as to impose silence upon those points of his policy which he could not approve, and to prevent that bold avowal of his opinions to which he gave free scope under the former ministry. This forbearance of hostility was construed by his opponents into an approbation of the ministers, and gave rise to the calumny of his being one of their retainers. For this, however, there was not the smallest foundation; and if, in the early part of their career, he gave them credit for principles, which ill accorded with their subsequent conduct, it must be set down to his confidence in the chief minister, and his desire to make the best of a ministry which he could not avoid. After the peace was concluded, he thought it his duty to acquiesce in it, although he did not approve of its stipulations; but this acquiescence being construed by the Whigs into a tacit approval, he became obnoxious to their resentment equally with those who wrote expressly in its defence. A writer of those times, referring to what he had written upon the subject, says, "I know that author to be a sensible and judicious man; for his honesty and integrity let him defend himself as well as he can; and I believe too, that no man in England knows better than he, by what necessity our great King William was in a manner compelled to go into those measures of the partition-treaty."* Whilst this writer, who was a zealous Whig, does justice to the talents of De Foe, he treats him as a political apostate, and associates him with Swift, Dyer, and Roper, in no measured terms of censure. As the writers just mentioned were the constant supporters of the ministers, it is rather remarkable that they should have been amongst the most inveterate of De Foe's political opponents; and it is of itself a sufficient confutation of the calumnies of the Whigs.

If De Foe served the ministers in endeavouring to smooth the way to peace, he must have risked the displeasure of Lord Oxford, by his disapprobation of the terms upon which it was concluded. Besides recording this disapproval in his *Review*, he has the following explicit avowal of his sentiments, in a work published soon afterwards; and as he was the best judge of his own opinions, we may safely believe him in preference to his enemies. He writes thus:

"No man can say that ever I once said in my life, that I approved of the peace. I wrote a public paper at that time, and there it remains upon record against me. I printed it openly, and that so plainly as others durst not do, that I did not like the peace; neither that which was made, nor that which was before making; that I thought the Protestant interest was not taken care of in either; that the peace I was for, was such as should neither have given the Spanish monarchy to the House of Bourbon, nor to the House of Austria, but that this bone of contention should have been broken to pieces, that it might not be dangerous to Europe; and that the Protestant powers, Britain and the

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* Secret Acc. of the late Ministry, p. 288, 310.

States, should have so strengthened and fortified their interest by sharing the commerce and strength of Spain, so as to have been in no more danger of exorbitant power, whether French or Austrian. This was the peace I always argued for, pursuant to the design of King William in the treaty of partition, and to that article of the grand alliance which was directed by the same glorious hand at the beginning of this last war, viz. that all we should conquer in the Spanish West Indies should be our own. This was with a true design that England and Holland should have turned their naval power, which was eminently superior to that of France, to the conquest of the Spanish West Indies, by which the channel of trade and return of bullion, which now enriches the enemies of both, had been our's; and as the wealth, so the strength of the world had been in Protestant hands. Spain, whoever had it, must then have been dependant upon us. The house of Bourbon would have found it so poor without us, as to be scarce worth fighting for: and the people so averse to them, for want of this commerce, as not to make it ever likely that France could keep it.

"This was the foundation I ever acted upon with relation to the peace. It is true, that when it was made, and could not be otherwise, I thought our business was to make the best of it, and rather to enquire what improvements were to be made of it, than to be continually exclaiming at those who made it; and where the objection lies against this part, I cannot yet see. While I spoke in this manner, I bore infinite reproaches from clamouring pens, of being in the French interest, being hired and bribed to defend a bad peace, and the like; and most of this was upon a supposition of my writing, or being the author of, abundance of pamphlets which came out every day, and which I had no hand in. And indeed, as I shall observe again, this was one of the greatest pieces of injustice that could be done me, and which I labour still under without any redress; that whenever any piece comes out which is not liked, I am immediately charged with being the author; and very often the first knowledge I have had of a book being published, has been from seeing myself abused for being the author, in some other pamphlet published in answer to it."*

Finding himself treated in this manner, De Foe says, he declined writing at all; and for a great part of a year never set pen to paper, excepting for the *Review*.† To avoid the clamour of parties, he now withdrew to the north of England, and perhaps it was at this time that he took up his abode in Yorkshire. In Watson's "History of Halifax,"‡ he is mentioned amongst the distinguished residents in that town, and is said to have lodged at the sign of the Rose and Crown, in the Back Lane. (G) He there cultivated an acquaintance with Dr. Nettleton, the physician, (H) and Mr. Nathaniel Priestley, the Dissenting minister, ancestor of the late celebrated writer of that name. With these persons he was in the habit of spending his social hours, and of interchanging ideas upon those topics of literature and politics, in which they were mutually interested.

Of the manner in which De Foe employed himself in his retirement, he has given the following account. "Observing the insolence of the Jacobite party, and how they insinuated fine things into the heads of the common people, of the right and claim of the Pretender, and of the great things he would do for us if he was to come in; of his being to turn Protestant; of his being resolved to maintain our liberties, support our funds, give liberty to Dissenters, and the like; and finding that the people began to be deluded, and that the Jacobites gained ground among them by these insinuations, I thought it the best service I could do the Protestant interest, and the best way to open the people's eyes to the advantages of the Protestant succession, if I took some course effectually to alarm the people with what they really ought to expect if the Pretender should come to be king: and this made me set pen to paper again."

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* Appeal to Honour and Justice, p. 23—25 † Ibid p. 25. ‡ p. 471.

(G) The historian says, that he there wrote his *Jure Divino*, in which he is mistaken, as that work had been published several years before. He is also incorrect in his statement respecting the origin of *Robinson Crusoe*, as will be seen hereafter. Watson adds, that he was forced to abscond for his political writings, in which he was perhaps correct, as we shall see presently.

(H) Dr. Nettleton, besides some professional publications, was the author of "Some Thoughts concerning Virtue and Happiness:" the design of which is to shew, that as happiness is the end of all our actions, so it must be founded on virtue, which is not only the support and ornament of society, but yields the greatest pleasure, both in its immediate exercise and its consequent effects. He died Jan. 9, 1742.

De Foe continues, "In order to detect the influence of Jacobite emissaries as above; the first thing I wrote was a small tract, called "A Seasonable Caution;" a book sincerely written to open the eyes of the poor ignorant country people, and to warn them against the subtle insinuations of the emissaries of the Pretender. And, that it might be effectual to that purpose, I prevailed with several of my friends to give them away among the poor people all over England, especially in the north; and several thousands were actually given away, the price being reduced so low, that the bare expence of paper and press was only preserved, that every one might be convinced that nothing of gain was designed, but a sincere endeavour to do a public good, and assist to keep the people entirely in the interest of the Protestant succession."* The whole title of the work is, "A Seasonable Caution and Warning against the Insinuations of Papists and Jacobites in favour of the Pretender. London: 1712." 8vo.

With the same laudable design of awakening the nation to a sense of its danger, De Foe published three pamphlets in quick succession, which drew upon him the vengeance of the Whigs. Having already treated the subject argumentatively, and exhausted all the arts of persuasion in his former writings, he now sought to make an impression by the language of irony. Although he concealed his object with a dexterity suited to such a style of writing, without which he could not hope to gain a hearing from those who had been deluded by the Jacobites, yet his real design could be scarcely unperceived by the dullest comprehension. The titles he selected for his pamphlets, corresponded with the *ruse de guerre,* which he played off in their contents, and are as follows: 1. "An Answer to the Question that nobody thinks of, viz. But what if the queen should die? London: printed for J. Baker, 1713." pp. 44. 2. "Reasons against the Succession of the House of Hanover. With an Inquiry how far the Abdication of King James, supposing it to be legal, ought to affect the person of the Pretender. *Si populus vult decipi, decipiatur.* London: printed for J. Baker. 1713." pp. 45. 3. "And what if the Pretender should come? Or some Considerations of the Advantages and real Consequences of the Pretender's possessing the Crown of Great Britain. London: printed for J. Baker, 1713." 8vo.

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* Appeal to Honour and Justice, p. 28.

No one at all acquainted with the writings of De Foe, or even moderately conversant with the satires of the day, could possibly mistake his tactics upon this occasion. Indeed, he carried the burlesque in some passages so far, that even the most devoted admirers of the Pretender must have been startled at their contents, and have had their eyes open to the real intention of the writer. With regard to the first of these pamphlets, the object of the writer is not so much to answer the question in his title, which he does not attempt, as to excite such an inquiry in his reader as would enable them to answer it themselves. In order to this, he takes a review of the principal sources from whence the danger to the Protestant succession may be expected; in the course of which, he clears the ministers from any participation in the projects of the Jacobites, although their employing persons of that description, he considers to be far from placing it out of danger, concluding with the significant question, *But what if the Queen should die?* This is followed by an inquiry into the state of the nation, "that we may make a right estimate of our condition, and may know what to trust to in cases of difficulty." He here notices a variety of public interests connected with religion and liberty, the security of which stands upon the foundation of the revolution settlement, and in no danger of being overthrown during the queen's life. "But, when we look back upon those dear privileges, the obtaining of which has cost so much money, and the maintaining of which has cost so much blood, we must with a deep sigh reflect upon the precarious circumstances of the nation, whose best privileges hang uncertain upon the nice and tender thread of royal mortality." Our author observes, that his question was more than ordinarily seasonable at this time, because the Popish and Jacobite parties were more than ever encouraged to hope and believe, that when the queen shall die, their turn stands next. He says, "The people of Britain want only to be shewed what imminent danger they are in; how much their safety and felicity depend upon the life of her majesty; and what a state of confusion, distress, and all sorts of dreadful calamities they will fall into at her death, if something be not done to secure us during her life from the power of France, and the danger of the Pretender." This pamphlet, as the reader will perceive, is written with but little disguise, and is free from banter; unless it be upon the ministers for giving so much countenance to Jacobites. How it could enter into the head of any Whig to construe it into the work of a Jacobite, is hard to conceive.

De Foe's next pamphlet, although written with greater artifice, is such a palpable banter upon those who would receive the Pretender, that the dullest capacity could not mistake him. He begins with a curious display of the national broils. "The strife is gotten into your kitchens, your parlours, your counting-houses, nay into your very beds. The poor despicable scullions learn to cry *high-church, no Dutch kings, no Hanover,* that they may do it dexterously when they come into the next mob. Here their antagonists of the dripping-pan, practise the other side clamour—*no French peace, no Pretender, no Popery!* Up stairs, the 'prentices, standing some on one side of the shop, and some on the other, throw *high-church* and *low-church* at each other's heads, like battledore and shuttlecock; and instead of posting their books, are fighting and railing at the Pretender and the House of Hanover. If we go one story higher, the ladies, instead of their innocent sports and diversions, are falling out amongst each other; the mothers and the daughters, the children and the servants, nay, even the little sisters. If the chamber-maid is a slattern and does not please, I warrant she is a high-flyer or a Whig; I never knew one of that sort good for any thing in my life. Nay, go up to your very bed-chambers, and even in bed, the man and wife shall quarrel about it. People! people! what will become of you at this rate? Unless you reconcile yourselves to one another, and bring things to some better pass among the common people, it will be but to banter yourselves to talk of the Protestant succession."

By way of satire upon the high-flyers of his day, our author derives a parallel from the example of the Protestants at the accession of Queen Mary. "Such was their zeal for the hereditary right of their royal family, that they chose to fall into the hands of Spanish tyranny and of Spanish Popery, and let the Protestant religion and the hopes of its establishment go to the devil, rather than not have the right line of their princes. Why should we think it strange then, that Protestants of this age, and of the Church of England too, should be for a Popish Pretender? No doubt they may be as good Protestants as the Suffolk men in Queen Mary's time, (who being struck with a dead palsy in the better half of their understandings, took up arms for a Popish Pretender, upon the wild-headed whimsy of the right line being Jure Divino,) and if brought to it, will die at a stake for the Protestant religion; and no doubt it is in their prospect, *or they would not do it to be sure.* Now, the Protestant religion, the liberties of the nation, the dying at a stake, and the like, being always esteemed as things of much less value than the faithful adhering to the divine rule of keeping the crown in the right line, what is the Protestant religion to us? Had we not much better be Papists than traitors? Had we not much better deny our God, our baptism, our religion and our lives, than deny our lawful prince, our next male in a right line? If Popery comes, passive-obedience is still our friend. We can burn, we can do any thing but rebel; and this being our first duty, are we not to do that first? If Popery or slavery follow, we must act as becomes us; this being then orthodox doctrine, is equally a substantial reason why we should be against the Hanover succession."

The irony of the following passage is so explicit, that it could not by any possibility be misunderstood. "Learned men say, some diseases in nature are cured by antipathies; and some by sympathies; and that the enemies of nature are its best preservatives: from hence it became a proverbial saying, *desperate diseases must have desperate remedies.* Now it is very proper to enquire in this case, whether the nation is not in such a state of health at this time, that the coming of the Pretender may not be of absolute necessity, by way of cure of such national distempers as now afflict us; and that an effectual cure can be wrought no other way? If upon due enquiry it should appear, that we are not fit to receive a prince of the house of Hanover, and that we should maltreat and abuse him, and that there is no way for us to learn the true value of a Protestant successor so well as by tasting a little what a Popish Pretender is, and feeling something of the great advantages that may accrue to us by the superiority of a Jacobite party; if the disease of stupidity has so far seized us, that we are to be cured only by poisons and fermentations; if the wound is mortified, and nothing but deep incisions, amputations, and desperate remedies must be used; if it should be necessary thus to teach us the worth of things by the want of them, and there is no other way to bring the nation to its senses; why, what can be then said to the Pretender? Even let him come, that we may see what slavery means, and may inquire how the chains of French gallies hang about us, and how easy wooden shoes are to walk in: for, no experience teaches us so well as that we buy dearest, and pay for with the most smart."

Our author has many other passages equally declaratory of his true sentiments; but the foregoing will suffice. He has also some by-hits at the ministers for sacrificing the interests of the allies, by which our reputation had so far suffered, that we could not look to them for assistance in any emergency; and he gives a broad hint of their fitness to carry on the government under the auspices of the Pretender. In his third pamphlet, De Foe adduces a variety of reasons why the Pretender should be palatable to the nation, and enlarges upon the blessings that would be derived from his government; but in a strain of burlesque that rendered it a visible jest upon the proceedings of his party.

These amusements of our author's pen were so well approved by the most zealous friends of the Protestant succession, that they passed through several editions, and many thousands were circulated through the kingdom. It also appears from his own account, that they were so well-timed as to produce a considerable impression in favour of the House of Hanover. Yet, strange as it may appear, they rendered him obnoxious to the charge of Jacobitism, and brought upon him a storm of persecution, which, but for the intervention of his friend, Lord Oxford, might have been attended with serious consequences. By his efforts to cool the warlike spirit of the times, he had incurred the resentment of the Whigs, who unjustly considered him as a retainer of the ministers, and implicated him in all their measures. In these warm times, a zeal for party betrayed men into inconsistencies, which led to a gross perversion of justice. The Whigs either fancied themselves, or endeavoured to induce a belief, that all who were not of their party were no better than Jacobites. By this fallacy, they measured their opinion of the ministers; but whatever countenance the conduct of some of them might give to it, the sentence was far too general to be just. As it respects De Foe, he had already given abundant proof of his zeal for the Protestant succession; and those who had but the ordinary allotment of common-sense, might have easily found it in these pamphlets. But the Whigs were eager to vent their malice upon a writer who had now become the object of their hatred; and in their haste to seize upon this occasion, they only proclaimed their own stupidity.

By the absurd zeal of William Benson, a Whig writer before mentioned, a prosecution was now commenced against our author, for the three pamphlets above mentioned. It was undertaken at his private cost; and ill-placed malice giving a spur to his exertions, he spared neither pains nor expence to accomplish his ruin. He first caused several of the pamphlets to be purchased and marked for evidence against the publishers. Through them he obtained the name of the printer, who was threatened with legal proceedings, which induced him to give information upon oath against De Foe as the author. From this person, he obtained possession of the original manuscripts, in De Foe's own hand, or rather hands, says Oldmixon, for they were every one of them different; and all the three being proved by one of the printer's servants, before the Lord Chief Justice Parker, his lordship granted a warrant for his apprehension. This being effected, after some difficulty, he was brought before the same judge, who ordered him to be kept in safe custody until he could find bail; with directions to send proper notice of their names and places of abode to the solicitor for the prosecution. Mr. Benson endeavoured to retain the Attorney-General, Sir Edward Northey, and offered him ten guineas to appear against De Foe; but he declined it, telling him that he could not be concerned in the prosecution, without an order from a secretary of state. Oldmixon informs us, that he then went to another eminent counsel, who made no difficulty, but entered very heartily into the prosecution.* De Foe's sureties were J. Grantham printer, and T. Warner, publisher, who were excepted against by the prosecutor, as " persons of small substance;" when the ministers, finding that the affair was likely to go hard against him if he was left to the vengeance of the Whigs, took it out of Mr. Benson's hands, and ordered Mr. Borrett, the treasury solicitor, to institute proceedings. Of this, he informed the Lord Chief Justice at his chambers, and at the same time signified his approbation of the bail, who were each bound in the sum of 400*l.*, when De Foe was set at liberty. Upon this occasion, Parker forestalled his opinion upon the merits of the case, in a manner scarcely decent for a person in his situation; for he told Mr. Borrett, he was glad the government had undertaken a prosecution so highly requiring its care.†

As the business lingered in its new hands, the former prosecutor, fearful of his slipping through them, frequently waited upon the Attorney-General to remind him of the prosecution. At length an information was filed against De Foe for a misdemeanour only, contrary to the expectations of the Whigs, who were desirous of indicting him for high

* Oldmixon iii. 509.

The Craftsman's Doctrine and Practice of the Liberty of the Press, p. 33.

treason. Upon the first day of Easter term, De Foe appeared with his bail in the court of Queen's Bench, when the Attorney-General acquainted the court with his instructions, and our author was continued upon his own recognizance. But before he left the Court, the Chief Justice called for his *Reviews* of the 16th and 18th of April, in which our author, prompted by a consciousness of innocence, as well as indignation at his unjust treatment, had made some reflections upon the prosecution, and pointed particularly at the conduct of Parker. Having shown them to De Foe, and obtained his acknowledgement as the writer, he declared them insolent libels; but being himself personally concerned, he left it to the other judges to proceed as they thought fit. The *Reviews* being then read in court, the judges, who were somewhat infected with the violence of the times, concurred in opinion that they were highly insolent to the Lord Chief Justice, and a notorious contempt of that court, as well as the laws of the nation; and they adjudged the writer to be committed prisoner to the Queen's Bench for the said offences.* Mr. Chalmers says, he was committed to Newgate, from whence he was soon afterwards released upon his making a proper submission.† It appears that upon this occasion, the court went before-hand in its judgment of the accused works, pronouncing them "scandalous, wicked, and treasonable libels; so that the author had every thing to fear from the issue of a trial. When he excused himself to the court, by urging the ironical nature of the performances, his plea was not admitted. Sir Thomas Powis, who had been one of the counsel against the bishops in King James's reign, and was lately promoted to be a judge, set common sense at defiance, wasting much learning in endeavouring to extract a meaning from them, which every dispassionate reader must have known to be beside the real intention of the writer; and he concluded his argument by telling him that they contained matter for which he might be hanged, drawn and quartered.* This ominous intimation was sufficient to shake the nerves of any man who had not conscious innocence to support him. It was fortunate for De Foe, that his first benefactor was still in power, and had the disposition as well as ability to befriend him.

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* Oldmixon, iii. 510. † Life of De Foe, p. 47.

Lord Oxford, who was fully acquainted with the real sentiments of De Foe, was not so purblind as to mistake the true drift of his pamphlets; he therefore resolved that he should not be crushed by the malice of the Whigs, for an offence purely imaginary. His interference was the more honourable, as he could not but be aware, that in these publications De Foe was actually serving the cause of the Whigs, and had given real offence to none but those to whom he looked for support. (1) Our author justly attributes the prosecution to the resentment of his enemies, who were numerous and powerful, and not so blind to his object, as they were desirous to ruin him. No inconsiderable people were heard to say, that they knew the books were against the Pretender, but that De Foe had disobliged them in other things, and they resolved to take this advantage to punish him. The story, says Mr. Chalmers, is the more credible, as he had procured evidence to prove the fact, had the trial proceeded.† But this was rendered unnecessary; for before the time appointed for a hearing, a pardon was passed under the Great Seal, which relieved him from any further apprehension upon the subject. This instrument contained an ample confutation of the charges being brought against him, as well as a full and explicit exemption from any consequences that might hereafter happen to him, upon account of these publications. This act of justice was produced by the party-writers of the time, as a convincing proof of Lord Oxford's attachment to the Pretender, and consequently of De Foe's Jacobitism, but equally devoid of foundation in both cases. De Foe observes sarcastically, that they might as well have accused him of being a Mahomedan; and he desired to have it engraved upon his tomb, that he was the only Englishman who had been obliged to seek a royal pardon for writing in behalf of the Hanover succesion.

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* Oldmixon, iii. 510.

(1) Bishop Atterbury, in his tract called "English Advice to the Freeholders of England," says, "In all the late Tory ministry, there were not above two or three prosecuted for writing; and one of these wrote on their own (the Whig) side, and had done infinite services to their cause."

† Life of De Foe, p. 47.

The stupid charge of Jacobitism set up against our author, continued to be propagated by the Whigs, and it was persevered in by their writers long afterwards. How unfounded it was, the reader will have judged by the foregoing extracts; but the manner in which De Foe met it remains to be recorded; and the narrative will throw some light upon the motives for his prosecution.

"Nothing can be more plain," says he, "than that the titles of these books were mere amusements, in order to put them into the hands of those people whom the Jacobites had deluded. Previous to what I shall farther say, I must observe, that they all met with so general a reception and approbation among those who were most sincere for the Protestant succession, that they sent them all over the kingdom, and recommended them to the people as excellent and useful pieces; insomuch, that about seven editions of them were printed, and they were re-printed in other places. And I do protest, had his present majesty, then Elector of Hanover, given me a thousand pounds to have written for the interest of his succession, and to expose and render the interest of the Pretender odious and ridiculous, I could have done nothing more effectual to those purposes.

"Nothing can be severer in the fate of a man, than to act so between two parties, that both sides should be provoked against him. It is certain, the Jacobites cursed those tracts and the author, and when they came to read them, being deluded by the titles according to design, they threw them by with the greatest indignation imaginable. Had the Pretender ever come to the throne, I could have expected nothing but death, and all the ignominy and reproach that the most inveterate enemy of his person and claim could be supposed to suffer. On the other hand, I leave it to any considerate man to judge, what a surprise it must be to me to meet with all the public clamour that informers could invent, as being guilty of writing against the Hanover succession. No man in this nation ever had a more rivetted aversion to the Pretender, and to all the family he pretended to come of, than I, a man that had been in arms under the Duke of Monmouth, against the cruelty and arbitrary government of his pretended father; that for twenty years had to his utmost opposed King James, and his party after his abdication; that had served King William to his satisfaction, and the friends of the Revolution after his death, at all hazards and upon all occasions; that had suffered and been ruined under the administration of high-flyers and Jacobites, of whom some are at this day *counterfeit* Whigs; it could not be, it must be monstrous!

"For these books, I was prosecuted, taken into custody, and obliged to give eight hundred pounds bail. I do not design here to reflect upon the proceedings of the judges subsequent to this. I acknowledged then, and now acknowledge again, that, upon the information given, there was a sufficient ground for all they did; and my unhappy entering upon my own vindication in print, while the case was before their Lordships in a judicial way, was an error which I neither understood nor foresaw; and therefore although I had great reason to reflect upon the informers, yet I was wrong in making that defence in the manner and time I then made it; and which when I found, I made no scruple afterwards to petition the judges, and acknowledge they had just ground to resent it. Upon this petition and acknowledgment, their lordships were pleased, with particular marks of goodness to release me, and not take the advantage of an error of ignorance, as if it had been considered and premeditated. But against the informers, I think I have great reason to complain; and against the injustice of those writers, who, in many pamphlets, charged me with writing for the Pretender, and the government for pardoning an author who wrote for the Pretender. And, indeed, the justice of these men can be in nothing more clearly stated, than in this case of mine; where the charge, in their printed papers and public discourse, was brought. Not that they themselves believed me guilty of the crime, but because it was necessary to blacken the man; that a general reproach might serve for an answer to whatever he should say, that was not for their turn. So that, it was the person, not the crime they fell upon; and they may justly be said to persecute for the sake of persecution, as will thus appear.

"This matter making some noise, people began to inquire into it, and ask what De Foe was prosecuted for, seeing the books were manifestly written against the Pretender, and for the interest of the House of Hanover. And my friends expostulated freely with some of the men who appeared in it, and answered *with more truth than honesty*, that they knew there was nothing in it, the books meant another way; but that De Foe had disobliged them in other things, and they were resolved to take the advantage they had, both to punish and expose him. They were no inconsiderable people who said this; and had the case come to a trial, I had provided good evidence to prove the words. This is the christianity and justice by which I have been treated; and this injustice is the thing I complain of. Now, as this was a plot of a few men, to see if they could brand me in the world for a Jacobite, and persuade rash and ignorant people that I was turned about for the Pretender, *I think they might as easily have proved me a Mahometan;* therefore, I say, this obliges me to state the matter as it really stands, that impartial men may judge whether those books were written for, or against the Pretender. And this cannot be better done, than by the account of what followed after the first information, which, in few words, was this:

"Upon the several days appointed, I appeared at the Queen's Bench bar to discharge my bail: and at last had an indictment for high crimes and misdemeanors exhibited against me by her majesty's attorney-general, which, as I was informed, contained two hundred sheets of paper. What was the substance of the indictment, I shall not mention here, neither could I enter upon it, having never seen the particulars; but I was told, that I should be brought to tryal the very next term. I was not ignorant, that in such cases it is easy to make any book a libel, and that the jury must have found the matter of fact in the indictment, viz. that I had written such books, and then what might have followed I knew not. Wherefore, I thought it was my only way to cast myself on the clemency of her majesty, of whose goodness I had had so much experience many ways; representing in my petition, that I was far from the least intention to favour the interest of the Pretender, but that the books were all written with a sincere design to promote the interest of the House of Hanover; and humbly laid before her majesty, as I do now before the rest of the world, the books themselves to plead in my behalf; representing farther, that I was maliciously informed against by those who were willing to put a construction upon the expressions different from my true meaning, and therefore flying to her majesty's goodness and clemency, I entreated her gracious pardon. It was not only the native disposition of her majesty to acts of clemency and goodness that obtained me this pardon; but, as I was informed, her majesty was pleased to express it in the council, *She saw nothing but private pique in the first prosecution.* And therefore I think, I cannot give a better and clearer vindication of myself, than what is contained in the preamble to the pardon, which her majesty was pleased to grant me; and I must be allowed to say to those who are still willing to object, that I think what satisfied her majesty, might be sufficient to satisfy them. I can assure them, that this pardon was not granted without her majesty's being specially and particularly acquainted with the things alleged in the petition, the books also being looked into, to find the expressions quoted in the petition." The patent for a pardon runs thus:

"Whereas, in the term of the Holy Trinity last past, our attorney-general did exhibit an information, in our Court of Queen's Bench at Westminster, against Daniel De Foe, late of London, gent., for writing, printing, and publishing, and causing to be written, printed, and published, Three Libels, the one entitled, *Reasons against the Succession of the House of Hanover; with an Enquiry how far the Abdication of King James, supposing it to be legal, ought to affect the person of the Pretender.* One other, entitled, *And what if the Pretender should come? Or, some Considerations of the Advantages and real Consequences of the Pretender's possessing the Crown of Great Britain.* And one other, entitled, *An Answer to a Question that nobody thinks of,* viz. *What if the Queen should die?*

"And whereas, the said Daniel De Foe, hath by his humble petition, represented to us, that he, with a sincere design to propagate the interest of the Hanover succession, and to animate the people against the designs of the Pretender, whom he always looked on as an Enemy to our

Sacred Person and Government, did publish the said pamphlets: in all which Books, altho' the titles seemed to look as if written in favour of the Pretender, and several expressions, as in all ironical writing it must be, may be wrested against the true design of the whole, and turned to a meaning quite different from the intention of the author, yet the Petitioner humbly assures us, in the solemnest manner, that his true and only design, in all the said books, was, by an ironical discourse of recommending the Pretender, in the strongest and most forcible manner to expose his designs, and the ruinous consequences of his succeeding therein; which, as the petitioner humbly represents, will appear to our satisfaction by the books themselves, where the following expressions are very plain (viz.) That the Pretender is recommended as a person proper to amass the English Liberties into his own Sovereignty; supply them with the privilege of wearing wooden shoes; easing them of the trouble of chusing Parliaments; and the nobility and gentry of the hazard and expence of winter journeys, by governing them in that more righteous method, of his absolute will, and enforcing the laws by a glorious Standing Army; paying all the nation's debts at once, by stopping the Funds, and shutting up the Exchequer; easing and quieting their differences in religion, by bringing them to the Union of Popery, or leaving them at liberty to have no religion at all: that these were some of the very expressions in the said Books, which the Petitioner sincerely designed to expose, and oppose, and as far as in him lies, the interest of the Pretender, and with no other intention; nevertheless, the Petitioner to his great surprise, has been misrepresented, and his said Books misconstrued, as if written in favour of the Pretender; and the Petitioner is now under prosecution for the same; which prosecution, if further carried on, will be the utter ruin of the Petitioner, and his family. Wherefore the Petitioner humbly assuring us of the innocence of his design, as aforesaid, flies to our clemency, and most humbly prays our most gracious and free pardon.

"We, taking the premises and the circumstances of the Petitioner into our royal consideration, are graciously pleased to extend our Royal Mercy to the Petitioner. Our will and Pleasure therefore is, that you prepare a bill for our Royal Signature, to pass our great seal, containing our gracious and free Pardon unto him the said Daniel De Foe, of the offences aforementioned, and of all Indictments, Convictions, Pains, Penalties, and Forfeitures, incurred thereby, and you are to insert therein all such apt and beneficial clauses as you shall judge requisite, to make this our intended Pardon more full, valid, and effectual; and for so doing, this shall be your warrant. Given at our Castle at Windsor, the twentieth day of November, 1713, in the twentieth year of our Reign.—*By her Majesty's Command.*

BOLINGBROKE."

De Foe continues:—"Let any indifferent man judge whether I was not treated with particular malice in this matter; being, notwithstanding this, reproached in the daily public prints with having written treasonable books in behalf of the Pretender; nay, in some of those books, the queen herself was reproached with having granted her pardon to an author who writ for the Pretender. I think I might with much more justice say, I was *the first man* that ever was obliged to seek a pardon for writing for the Hanover succession; and the first man these people ever sought to ruin for writing against the Pretender. For, if ever a book was sincerely designed to further and propagate the affection and zeal of the nation against the Pretender, nay, and was made use of, and that with success too, for that purpose, *these books were so;* and I ask no more favour of the world to determine the opinion of honest men for or against me, than what is drawn constructively from these books. Let one word written or spoken by me, either published or not published, be produced, that was in the least disrespectful to the Protestant succession, or to any branch of the House of Hanover, or that can be judged to be favourable to the interest or person of the Pretender, and I will be willing to waive her Majesty's pardon, and render myself to public justice, to be punished for it, as I should well deserve.

"I freely and openly challenge the worst of my enemies, to charge me with any discourse, conversation or behaviour, in my whole life unbecoming or disrespectful, to any of the royal family of Hanover, or the least favourable to the person or designs of the Pretender. Nay, further, I defy them to prove, that I ever kept company, or had any society, friendship, or conversation, with any Jacobite. So averse have I been to the interest and the people, that I have studiously avoided their company on all occasions. Nothing can be a greater misfortune to me, than to be accused, and publicly reproached, with what is of all things in the world most abhorred by me; and that which has made it the more afflicting is, that this charge arises from those very things which I did with the sincerest design to manifest the contrary. But such is my present fate, and I am to submit to it; which I do with meekness and calmness, as to a judgment from heaven, and am practising that duty which I have studied long ago, of *forgiving my enemies, and praying for them that despitefully use me.*" *

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* Appeal to Honour and Justice, pp. 27—37.

CHAPTER XIII.

Commercial Treaty with France.—Unpopular with the Nation.—Rejected by Parliament.—De Foe writes an Essay upon the subject.—Nature of his Argument.—Another Pamphlet attributed to him.—Answer to it.—"Mercator, or Commerce Retrieved."—Fathered upon De Foe.—Boyer's Account of it.—Oldmixon's.—And Tindal's.—"The British Merchant."—Mr. Chalmers's Account of both Papers.—De Foe's own Account of his Concern in "Mercator."—And Defence of his Opinions in favour of Free-Trade.—He commences a General History of Trade.—"Groans of Europe."—Replied to in "Les Soupirs de la Grande Bretagne."—De Foe Publishes "Whigs turned Tories, and Hanoverian Tories proved Whigs."—Collection of Poems called "Whig and Tory."—"Observations upon the State of the Nation."—Animadverted upon by De Foe.—Pamphlets Pro and Con.—Demonstrations in favour of the Pretender.—His Birth-day celebrated at Edinburgh.—He is patronized in Ireland.—Leslie goes upon a Mission to convert him.—Sends home a flattering Account of him.—Success of the Catholics in England.—The Jacobites favoured at Court.—They publish "The Loyal Man's Psalter."—Some curious Specimens of the Work.—Bedford publishes "The Hereditary Right of the Crown of England Asserted."—Its pompous Announcement.—Presented to the Queen by Mr. Nelson.—Some particulars of the Publication,—Bedford prosecuted for it.—The true Author ascertained.—Steele publishes "The Crisis." Replied to by Swift in "The Public Spirit of the Whigs."—His Work censured in Parliament.—The Ministers screen him from a Prosecution.—Steele expelled the Commons.—His revenge upon the Ministers.

1713.

THE treaty of peace had imposed upon the ministers the arduous duty of fixing, with foreign powers, the future commercial relations of the country. Of the manner in which they performed their task, particularly with regard to France, there were then contradictory opinions, and the subject gave rise to as furious an opposition as any they had been called to sustain. By the terms agreed upon, a free trade was settled according to the tariff of 1664, with the exception of some commodities that had been subjected to new duties by the French king in 1699, and were so high as to amount to a prohibition. The productions of France were to be admitted into England upon the same footing as those of other countries; and a bill was brought into parliament to give effect to the arrangement. But the treaty of Commerce was no sooner published than it created a general clamour throughout the nation, and many treatises were published to show that it would be destructive of our home manufactures, and of our commerce with other nations. Numerous petitions were forwarded to parliament from London and other trading towns, indicating its injurious consequences; and so strong was the current of opposition upon the last reading of the bill, that it was lost in the Commons by a small majority. Much *finesse* was resorted to by the ministers in relation to the measure. The treaty is well known to have been the work of Bolingbroke, whose mortification was not displeasing to the treasurer. From political friends, they were now become rivals for power, and their alienation, which had been some time in progress, now amounted to an irreconcileable hatred. Oxford, therefore, was far from being chagrined at this expression of public opinion against the treaty; and he abandoned it to its fate before it was finally determined in parliament.

It being a subject with which De Foe was familiar, he now published his treatise, entitled, "An Essay on the Treaty of Commerce with France. With necessary Expositions. Prov. xviii. 12. London: printed for J. Baker, 1713." 8vo. pp. 44. In this work, which appeared whilst the matter was under discussion in parliament, he takes a review of the various treaties with France since the Restoration, in order to shew that the subject of commerce had been waved by both parties, and left to its natural course; every state having a right to make such regulations as appear most for the interest of its own subjects. Before the Revolution, the trade with France had been carried on under manifest disadvantages; but the heavy duties that were laid upon French goods during the war that followed, gave such encouragement to the English manufacturers, that they were continued after the peace, and the balance of trade was turned in our favour. Of this the French king became so sensible, that he gave his subjects an equivalent in a new tariff, promulgated in 1699, which restored the equilibrium, but had no influence in procuring an abatement of the duties in England. Upon the renewal of the war, fresh prohibitions were imposed by both nations, to their mutual detriment; for it destroyed the trade of both countries, the people being made to suffer for the quarrels of their rulers. A fresh adjustment, therefore, became a fit subject for consideration upon the conclusion of a peace. De Foe contends for the principle of a free trade, unencumbered by prohibitions, and with moderate duties, "as not only equal and just, but proceeding on the true interest of trade, and much more to the advantage of Britain than of France." By the sixth article of the treaty, the subjects of each party were to pay such duties as their respective governments should impose, which, says our author, is only agreeable to the nature of things; "for every country is a judge for itself what it is they ought to admit, and what to prohibit." As the English ministers were unable to guarantee the removal of the duties from French goods, without the consent of parliament, so on the other hand, it was not to be expected that the French would remove their duties from English goods without such a concession. The ninth article of the treaty, therefore, provided, "That when the parliament shall agree to take off the high duties in England, then the French shall take off their duties upon our goods in France."

Upon this De Foe observes, "I can see no objection that lies against this article, but what is founded upon those unreasonable people's notions, who expect the French to give up all conditions of trade to us, and that we at the same time should tie up our trade from them." Our author then enumerates the advantages gained to our trade by the treaty,—as the removal of tonnage from our shipping, the liberty of importing salted fish into France, the freedom of religious worship for our merchants and their families, and the admission of tobacco upon the same terms as from Spain, or any other nation. These concessions, he observes, have been made without any abatement upon our part, it being left to parliament to determine the remainder. But he justly remarks, that we are not to expect other nations to open their doors to our trade, whilst we shut our's against them. In meeting the question of the balance of trade, he observes, that if the reduction of the duties will take off a great quantity of our woollen manufactures, as may be expected from the extensive population of France, then it cannot be true, that they have got the manufacture in their own hands, as suggested by some writers; and it is an advantage that we cannot well purchase too dearly. He applies the remark to French wines, which he thinks should be equalized in duty to those of Portugal. De Foe also observes, that although particular interests might be affected by an alteration in the terms of trade, yet, by pursuing a wise and liberal policy, founded upon reciprocal feelings and interests, the general welfare would be promoted. The sentiment, however, was too refined for the apprehension of his countrymen; but its justice is now admitted by all enlightened economists.

Another work upon the same subject, of which De Foe had the credit at this time, was "A Letter from a Member of the House of Commons to his Friend in the Country, relating to the Bill of Commerce. With a true Copy of the Bill, and an exact List of all those who voted for and against engrossing it. London: printed and sold by J. Baker. 1713." pp. 46. 8vo. This work was written after the rejection of the bill, and is a sort of remonstrance to those members who had deserted the ministers upon this occasion; but there seems no valid reasons for ascribing it to De Foe. The authority for doing so is to be found in a reply to it published soon afterwards, and entitled, "Remarks on a Scandalous Libel, entitled, 'A Letter from a Member of Parliament, &c. relating to the Bill of Commerce.' In which the trade with France is considered, and the Falsities and Absurdities of the *Mercator* are exposed. To which is added, A Caution to the Freeholders of Great Britain in their approaching Elections. And an exact List of this House of Commons under several distinctions. London: A. Baldwin. 1713." 8vo. The writer of this tract, which savours strongly of the pen of Oldmixon, commences with many bitter reflections against De Foe, whom he supposes to be the author of "the pretended Letter from a Member of Parliament." His language is that of strong vituperation, founded upon a false estimate of De Foe's principles and conduct, and seasoned with all the scandal and abuse which then passed current amongst the Whigs. Whatever injury they might then inflict upon his reputation, the party purposes for which they were calculated have happily ceased to exist; and a sedate review of the whole matter enables us not only to detect their falsehood, but to concede to our author the praise of more enlightened principles than can be awarded to his political opponents.

Whilst the bill of commerce was agitated in Parliament, a new paper was started in support of the treaty, intitled, "MERCATOR, or Commerce retrieved. Being Considerations on the State of the British Trade; particularly as it respects Holland, France, and the Dutch Barrier; the Trade to and from France; the Trade to Portugal, Spain, and the West Indies, and the Fisheries of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. With other Matters and Advantages accruing to Great Britain by the Treaty of Peace and Commerce, lately concluded at Utrecht." The first number appeared upon the 26th of May, 1713, and it continued to be published three times a week, upon Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. "This paper," says Boyer, "upon its first appearance abroad, was generally fathered upon the chief manager of the Treaty of Commerce, Arthur Moore, supposed to be assisted by the genius of Dr. Davenant; but the latter solemnly disowned his having any share in it: and, indeed, it was soon after discovered to be the production of an ambidextrous mercenary scribbler, Daniel De Foe, employed by the Earl of Oxford, who for this dirty work allowed him a considerable weekly salary." The same writer adds, that "he laid out all his skill in puzzling the argument by his verbose sophistry;"* the whole of which contains as much falsehood as scurrility. His account, however, has been copied by Oldmixon with increased virulence. That writer observes, "Foe, as well as the Lord-Treasurer, had been a rank Presbyterian, and their genius was so near akin, that Harley could not but take him into his confidence as soon as he got acquainted with him. He was adored and caressed by that mighty statesman, who gave him, as that mercenary said himself, to the value of one thousand pounds in one year. Foe's business," continues Oldmixon, "was only to puzzle the cause by mercantile cant, and bold sophistry; which several eminent merchants and others being apprized thereof, they desired Mr. Henry Martin, bailiff of Southwark, an ingenious judicious man, to publish a paper called *The British Merchant*, which came out twice a week; wherein with plain reason, and incontested matters of fact, he exposed the fallacies, blunders, inconsistencies, and ignorance of the hireling *Mercator*, insomuch, that at length, the thoughts of true Englishmen about commerce, which at first was represented to be the effects of discontent and faction, as was hinted in the queen's speech, appeared to be the universal sense of all traders."* All this was nothing but the cant of party, which assisted to mislead the nation, but it can no longer operate to the prejudice of De Foe, whose opinions upon trade will now be considered to be much sounder than those which were then advocated by the Whigs. As to his connexion with Lord Oxford, the patronage of that minister was creditable to his discernment, and reflected no dishonour upon De Foe, who often averred that it left him to the unfettered exercise of his judgment, and was accompanied by no fee nor reward. Any support that he rendered to him, therefore, was perfectly gratuitous, and dictated by an honest feeling, that soared above the paltry motives attributed to him by Oldmixon.

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* Boyer's Queen Anne, p. 633.

Tindal following the writers above-mentioned, names De Foe at once as the author of *Mercator*, and participating in the prejudices of the Whigs, joins in the odium which they had cast upon the work. He says, "the treaty was to be supported at any rate; the persons concerned in making it either could not, or would not see their mistake; and the nation was to be convinced that, through their great skill in trade, they had made an excellent treaty of commerce. To these ends, Daniel De Foe was employed; though in a weekly paper, published some years before, called the *Review*, he had very often condemned the French trade as detrimental to this kingdom. He undertook, however, the cause now, and published a paper thrice a week, by the title of *Mercator*, &c. In this paper he undertook to prove that the trade to France, though contrary to all experience, had always been beneficial to this kingdom, and would be so again, upon the foot of the treaty. And, as he had the art of writing very plausibly, and those who employed him and furnished him with materials, had the command of all public papers, in the Custom-house, he had it in his power to do a great deal of mischief, especially among such as were unskilled in trade, and at the same time very fond of French wines, which it was then a crime to be against.* Although De Foe had but little to do with this work, it may be observed, that Tindal's animadversions upon the *Review* are wholly without foundation. In opposing the narrow views of his contemporaries, the judgment of De Foe will be most approved in the eye of reason and philosophy, as it has been confirmed by the most enlightened statesmen in the present day.

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* Oldmixon's England, iii. 519.

Of "The British Merchant," set on foot in opposition to "Mercator," Tindal has given the following account: "several ingenious merchants of long experience, and well skilled in trade, joined together to contradict the impositions of this writer. They knew he had many heads, besides the advantage of public papers to help him, and therefore thought the publication of a joint weekly paper the most feasible way to confute him, and set our trade in a clear light, because they were sensible, that it was impossible for any man to be master of so much experience as was required to furnish materials from so many different branches of our trade, as would be touched upon in this debate. The paper they published, was, in opposition to Daniel De Foe's title, called "The British Merchant; or Commerce preserved," and was published twice a week. The person to whom the public was chiefly obliged for this paper, and who had the greatest hand in it, was Henry Martin, who was afterwards made Inspector-General of the Exports and Imports. He was assisted by Sir Charles Cooke, merchant, afterwards made Commissioner of Trade; Sir Theodore Jansen, Bart., James Milner, Theodore Torriano, Joshua Gee, Christopher Haynes,

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* Tindal's England, iv. 315.

David Martin, merchants; and Charles King, who afterwards collected and re-printed those papers. Lord Halifax and General Stanhope had likewise a considerable share in the management of this paper, which had so great an effect, that the thoughts of the Whigs about commerce, which at first were represented as the result of discontent and spirit of party, appeared to be the universal sense of all traders." *

Mr. Chalmers, whose judgment will be most approved, gives the true history and character of these papers. "The first *Mercator*," says he, "was published on the 26th of May, 1713, the last on the 20th of July, 1714; and they were written by William Brown and his assistants, with great knowledge, great strength, and great sweetness, considering how much party then embittered every composition. The *British Merchant*, which opposed the *Mercator*, and which was compiled by Henry Martin and his associates, has fewer facts, less argument, and more factiousness. It began on the 1st of August, 1713, and ended the 27th of July, 1714. I have spoken of both from my own convictions, without regarding the declamations which have continued to pervert the public opinion from that epoch to the present times. De Foe was struck at in the third number of the *British Merchant*, and plainly mentioned in the fourth. "Mr. Daniel De Foe may change his name from *Review* to *Mercator*, from *Mercator* to any other title, yet still his singular genius shall be distinguished by his inimitable way of writing." This personal sarcasm was introduced to supply deficiency of facts, or weakness of reasoning. When Charles King re-published the *British Merchant* in volumes, among various changes he expunged, with other personalities, the name of De Foe."† He, however, persisted in attributing *Mercator* "to a hireling writer of a weekly paper called the *Review*;" and Anderson, copying

* Tindal's England, iv. 316. † Life of De Foe, p. 39.

from him, goes still further in his "Chronology of Commerce," and makes De Foe the "hireling writer" of *Mercator*, and other papers, in favour of the French treaty of trade. But, as Mr. Chalmers observes, "We can now judge with the impartiality of arbitrators. On the one hand, there are the living challenge and the death-bed declaration of De Foe; on the other, the mere surmise and unauthorised assertion of King, Anderson, and others, who detract from their own veracity, by their own factiousness or foolery. It is surely time to free ourselves from prejudices of every kind, and to disregard the sound of names as much as the falsehoods of party."*

As De Foe was the best judge of what concern he had in a work that subjected him to so much unfounded calumny, it will be fair to hear him for himself. "There is a mighty charge against me," says he, "for being the author and publisher of a paper called the *Mercator*. I'll state the fact first, and then speak to the subject. It is true, that being desired to give my opinion in the affair of the commerce with France, I did, as I often had done in print many years before, declare, that it was my opinion we ought to have an open trade with France, because I did believe we might have the advantage by such trade; and of this opinion I am still. What part I had in the *Mercator* is well known; and would men answer with argument, and not with personal abuses, I would, at any time, defend any part of the *Mercator* which was of my doing. But to say the *Mercator* was mine, is false; I neither was the author of it, nor had the property, printing, or profit of it. I had never any payment or reward for writing any part of it; nor had I the power of putting what I would into it; yet the whole clamour fell upon me, because they knew not who else to load with it. And when they came to answer, the method was, instead of argument, to threaten and reflect upon me, reproach me with private circumstances and misfortunes, and give language which no Christian ought to give, and which no gentleman ought to take. I thought any Englishman had the liberty to speak his opinion in such things; for this had nothing to do with the public. The press was open to me as well as to others; and how or when I lost my English liberty of speaking my mind, I know not; neither how my speaking my opinion without fee or reward, could authorise them to call me villain, rascal, traitor, and such opprobrious names.

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* Life of De Foe, pp. 48, 49.

See a very garbled and uncandid Statemt.
'Notes & Queries' of this Work Vol. 4 p. 33

"It was ever my opinion, that were our wool kept from France, and our manufactures spread there, upon reasonable duties, all the improvement which the French have made in the woollen manufacture would decay, and in the end be little worth; and consequently, the hurt they could do us by them would be of little moment. It was my opinion, that the ninth article of the treaty of commerce was calculated for the advantage of our trade, let who will make it, that is nothing to me. My reasons are, because it tied up the French to open the door to our manufactures at a certain duty of importation *there*, and left the parliament of Britain at liberty to shut theirs out by as high duties as they pleased *here;* there being no limitations upon us as to duties on French goods, but that other nations should pay the same. While the French were thus bound, and the British free, I always thought we must be in a condition to trade to advantage, or it must be our own fault. This is my opinion still, and I would venture to maintain it against any man upon a public stage, before a jury of fifty merchants, and venture my life upon the cause, if I were assured of fair play in the dispute. But, that it was my opinion, that we might carry on a trade with France to our great advantage, and that we ought for that reason to trade with them, appears in the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth volumes of the *Reviews,* above nine years before the *Mercator* was thought of. I was not thought criminal to say so then; how it comes to be villainous to say so now, God knows, I can give no account of it. I am still of the same opinion, and shall never be brought to say otherwise, unless I see the state of trade so altered, as to change my opinion; and if ever I do, I shall be able to give good reasons for it.

"The answer to these things, whether mine or no, was all pointed at me, and the arguments were generally in the terms villain, rascal, miscreant, liar, bankrupt, fellow, hireling, turncoat, &c. What the arguments were bettered by these methods, I leave others to judge of. Also, most of those things in the *Mercator,* for which I had such usage, were such as I was not the author of. I do grant, had all the books which have been called by my name been written by me, I must of necessity have exasperated every side, and perhaps have deserved it. But I have the greatest injustice imaginable in this treatment, as I have in the perverting the design of what I have really written." * (K)

In the course of the summer, De Foe commenced another work upon the subject of trade, of which Mr. Chalmers gives the following account: "When De Foe relinquished the *Review,* he began to write 'A General History of Trade,' which he proposed to publish in monthly numbers. The first number appeared on the first of August, 1713. His great design was to shew the reader *what the whole world is at this time employed in as to trade. But his more immediate end was, to rectify the mistakes we are fallen into as to commerce, and to inform those who are willing to inquire into the truth.*

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* Appeal to Honour and Justice, pp. 47—50.

(K) *Mercator* was made the subject of animadversion in most of the Whig pamphlets of the day. Addison brought it forward in "The late Tryal and Conviction of Count Tariff. Lond. 1713." It was also attacked in "A Letter to a West-Country Clothier and Freeholder, concerning the Parliament's rejecting the French Treaty of Commerce. By way of Advice in the ensuing Elections. With a List of those who voted for the Bill. 1713."

In the execution of this arduous undertaking, he avows his intention of speaking what reason dictates and fact justifies, however he may clash with the popular opinions of some people in trade. He could not, however, wholly abstract himself from the passing scene. When his second number appeared on the 15th of August, 1713, he gave a discourse on the harbour of Dunkirk; wherein he insists that the port ought to be destroyed, if it must remain with France; but if added to England, or made a free port, it would be for the good of mankind to have a safe harbour in such dangerous seas (L). This history of trade, which exhibits the ingenuity, the strength, and the piety of De Foe, extended only to two numbers. The agitations of the times carried him to other literary pursuits; and the factiousness of the times constrained him to attend to personal security."*

About this time, the conditions of peace were attacked in a bulky pamphlet, intitled, "*Les Soupirs de l' Europe*, &c. Or the Groans of Europe at the Prospect of the present Posture of Affairs. In a Letter from a Gentleman at the Hague, to a Member of Parliament. Made English from the Original French. Printed in the year 1713." 8vo. An answer to this work, ascribed to De Foe, was published soon afterwards, under the title of "*Les Soupirs de la Grande Bretagne:* Or the Groans of Great Britain; being the Second Part to the Groans of Europe. London. 1713. Price One Shilling." The author of the first pamphlet promised a second part; but whether it was ever published, or upon

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(L) The subject was now forced upon the public attention by a deputation from the magistrates of Dunkirk, who petitioned the queen to spare the harbour and ramparts. Steele also wrote upon it in his *Guardian*, as did Toland, in a pamphlet that obtained great applause, and was intitled, "Dunkirk or Dover." The voice of the people prevailed upon this occasion, and Dunkirk was ordered to be demolished.

* Life of De Foe, p. 44.

what grounds the reply to the first is ascribed to De Foe, the present writer is unable to say, having never seen the work.

Another work assigned to De Foe at this time, bears the following title: "Whigs turned Tories; and Hanoverian Tories, from their avowed Principles, proved Whigs; or each side in the other mistaken: Being a plain proof that each party deny that Charge which the others bring against them; and that neither side will disown those which the other profess. With an earnest Exhortation to all Whigs as well as Hanoverian Tories, to lay aside those uncharitable heats among such Protestants, and seriously to consider, and effectually to provide against those Jacobite, Popish, and conforming Tories, whose principal Ground of Hope to ruin all sincere Protestants, is from those unchristian and violent Feuds among ourselves. London: printed for J. Baker. 1713." 8vo. De Foe had long laboured to compose the differences between the moderate men of both parties, and in so doing received the thanks of neither. There was, indeed, too much exasperating matter afloat in the nation, to allow of that calmness of consideration that was necessary for the reconcilement of two parties that were bent upon each other's destruction. The estrangement had been aggravated by almost every measure of the government, and the fierce opposition to it tended but to increase the distance.

About this time, the wit that had been sported by both parties during the heats occasioned by Sacheverell's trial, was collected together and published in a volume under the following title: "Whig and Tory: or, Wit on both Sides. Being a Collection of State Poems upon all remarkable Occurrences, from the Change of the Ministry to this time. By the most eminent Hands of both Parties. Second Edition. London: Printed for E. Curll. 1713." 8vo. De Foe figures several times in this work. There is "A late Dialogue between Dr. Burgess and Daniel De Foe, in a Cyder Cellar, near Billingsgate, concerning the Times." Also "An Epigram on Dan. De Foe." There are likewise some remarks upon his *Review,* in a paper called, "We have got at last, when nobody thought it." Of these missiles, it may be remarked, that they contained much malice, mingled with but little wit.

In the early part of the year, there appeared a pamphlet with the following title: "Observations upon the State of the Nation, in January, 1712---13. London: Printed for John Morphew. 1713." 8vo. It was the work of a Tory and high-churchman, but one who was in opposition to the ministers upon their treaty of peace; and from a passage or two, it passed at the time for the work of the Earl of Nottingham. As such, it was attacked by several writers, particularly by Dr. Sewell, in "Remarks upon my Lord N——ham's Observations on the State of the Nation. 1713." De Foe also bestowed some animadversions upon it in his *Reviews,* in which he accuses him of "falling injuriously upon the Presbyterians of Scotland, insulting the English Dissenters as under the feet of the high-church, clearing the Tories from being Jacobites, and assisting to amuse the already distracted nation." He also reprobates the Whigs for laying the Dissenters at his feet, as an atonement for his political apostacy. Of these accusations, no notice was taken for upwards of a twelvemonth, when a pamphlet appeared, exonerating his lordship from being the author of the work. It is intitled, "A Vindication of the Earl of Nottingham from the vile Imputations and malicious Slanders which have been cast upon him in some late pamphlets. London: J. Roberts, 1714." In his preface, the author says, "The *Observations* had not been published long, when it was noised abroad that they were written by the Earl of Nottingham. That rumour was so universally believed, that the *Examiner* and De Foe set their pens at work in several papers to treat the reputed author in a very scurrilous manner for writing them. Other lesser pamphleteers made their court likewise to the ministry, by pretending to answer that pamphlet." He says, that upon inquiry, he found the Earl of Nottingham had no hand in the work, and he devotes several pages to a defence of that Lord's political conduct. Towards the close of his pamphlet, he intimates, that De Foe was actuated by feelings of resentment for the part taken by the Earl in the prosecution of "The Shortest Way." But this supposition was needless; for, although he could have no good liking for a man who had been the instrument of his ruin, yet being always opposed to his intolerant principles, of which he had given a recent specimen in the Occasional-bill, he had no occasion to travel beyond his political conduct to afford materials for animadversion.

Whatever were the designs of the ministers with regard to the succession, it is certain that their conduct was such as to cause great uneasiness in the nation. The vacancies that occurred both in church and state were supplied by men of high and arbitrary principles; whilst the clergy, both by their preaching and writings, were fast approximating to the Church of Rome. At Edinburgh, the birth-day of the Pretender, which fell upon the tenth of June, was celebrated by fireworks and other public rejoicings, of which an account appeared in the "Flying Post." In Ireland, the Lord Chancellor, Sir Constantine Phipps, openly patronized his adherents, whilst he allowed every insult to the memory of King William; and the bishop of Cork, in order to stifle the public feeling in favour of that monarch, published an absurd book against drinking to the memory of the dead. A Letter was addressed to the Queen, desiring her not to be discouraged at the many civilities paid to her brother, nor to take umbrage at the protection afforded him by the French King. Large accounts of the honours he received were published in the foreign journals, in which he was generally styled "King of England."* To pave the way for his succession, Leslie undertook the wild project of converting him to his notions of the Protestant faith. For this purpose, he went upon a pilgrimage to Bar-le-duc, where he was favourably received by the Pretender; of which, Dyer published a pompous account in his "News-Letter." Pamphlets were circulated to assist his pretensions, and Leslie transmitted a flattering description of his person and character. "His graceful mien, magnanimity of spirit, devotion free from bigotry, application to business, ready apprehension, sound judgment and affability," says he, "were such as to charm all who conversed with him." A chapel was fitted up for the use of persons of Leslie's religion, and the young *Chevalier* promised to make large concessions to the clergy in case of his succession.

In the mean time, Popery was making rapid strides in England, as much by the concessions of Church of England Protestants, as by the exertions of the Catholics. (M) Addresses were presented to the queen, reviving the obsolete notions of hereditary and indefeasible right, and broadly hinting at the claims of the Pretender. Many books were written to countenance his pretensions, in which there was much waste of legal learning; and for the diversion of those who were too dull for argument, wit was employed in songs and lampoons, which were not discountenanced at court. Although the queen had exhibited symptoms of a declining state, Tom D'Urfey, following the fashion of the times, presented her with a song, in which he flattered her with health and long life, and spoke in disrespectful terms of the Electress Dowager; yet, he was rewarded for his loyalty with a purse of fifty guineas. The insolence of the Jacobites had now arrived at so high a pitch, that they published, with impunity, whatever they pleased; which would scarcely have been the case, unless they had reckoned upon the patronage of persons in power. Indeed, so confident were they of success, that they began to prepare their psalms of thanksgiving against the expected event, and actually published for the use of their people, some select psalms in English, with the latin version of Buchanan. It was entitled "The Loyal Man's Psalter; or some select psalms in Latin and English verse, fit for the times of Persecution." It opened with the following stanza, accommodated to the occasion:

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* Wisdom of Looking Backwards, p. 297.

(M) The progress of proselytism at this time, is thus related in "An Alarm to Protestants. 1714." One Elizabeth Edmondson, a young woman of poor but honest parents, a zealous and constant church-woman, having heard the minister of her parish tell his congregation from the pulpit, *It were to be wished that the discipline of the Church of England would admit of confession*, was struck with doubts of her faith; and making them known to a Catholic lady, they became the instrument of her conversion. The same work relates, that Thomas Willis, a Catholic priest, made his boast, that he had gained over two young ladies by confuting the same divine.

"Blest is the *loyal* man whose steps,
No trayt'rous counsel leads aside;
Nor stands in *rebel's* ways, nor sits
Where God and Justice men deride."

The work concludes with the following stanzas from the xcviith psalm:

"Confounded be those *rebels* all
That to *usurpers* bow;
And make what Gods and kings they please,
And worship them below.

"Th' immortal seeds of light and bliss,
For *loyal* men are sown;
A joyful harvest will at length
Their work and sorrows crown."

To support the claims of their favourite prince, the Jacobites now issued a pondrous attack upon the Protestant settlement, in a work entitled "The Hereditary Right of the Crown of

England asserted, the History of the Succession since the Conquest cleared, and the true English Constitution vindicated from the Misrepresentations of Dr. Higden's View and Defence. Wherein some Mistakes also of our common Historians are rectified; and several Particulars relating to the Succession, and to the Title of the House of Suffolk, are now first published from ancient Records and original MSS.; together with an authentic copy of King Henry VIIIth's will. By a Gentleman. London. 1713." folio. The object of this performance is to establish from precedent, the absolute hereditary right to the crown, in opposition to acts of parliament, which cannot transfer it from the right line, nor dispose of the allegiance of subjects. Consequently, the Revolution, and all that followed in the disturbance of the succession, was nothing less than rebellion; King William and Queen Anne were usurpers; and the only reparation that could be made for the injury, was the immediate restitution of the crown to the right heir, or its transfer by will at the death of the present possessor.

This manifesto of the Jacobites was no sooner published, than great industry was used for its dispersion. "The publication of it," says, Kennet, "I remember was with some sort of pomp: the title pages, in full half sheets of good paper, appearing on a Sunday morning upon every conspicuous post and door, to draw away the eyes of all that were going to church, or to any religious worship, with an advertisement happening to be put into the next Gazette *." This last is supposed to have been done by the connivance of Bromley, one of the Secretaries of State. Many copies were given away to persons likely to become converts, and it is even said to have been dispersed amongst the officers of the army. Mr. Nelson, the non-juror, presented a copy splendidly bound to the Queen, at Windsor, where it was seen lying in her closet several days †. In other times, this would have been

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* Wisdom of Looking Backwards, p. 313.

† Ibid, 318.

considered a gross insult; but there is reason to suppose that the Queen herself was not indifferent to the claims of her brother.

It must be obvious to every reader, that the circulation of such a work, with so many marks of distinction, could be intended for no other purpose than to smooth the way for the succession of the Pretender. In the disposition of men's minds at the time, wrought upon as they were by the misguided influence of the clergy, the sophistry with which it abounded was calculated to produce a dangerous impression, and to give just alarm to all true Protestants. This jealousy was further increased by the quotations that appeared in it from some manuscripts in the library of the Lord-Treasurer; which gave rise to some sinister interpretations of his conduct. Although such a circumstance would pass without observation in the present day, yet, in the then inflamed state of political parties, it was greedily seized upon as good evidence to confirm the suspicions that already existed. It was a part of Lord Oxford's policy, however, to keep up a free communication with persons of all sects and parties, and to gain their confidence by tokens of his favour. As the patron of learning and learned men, he threw open his library to all indifferently; and was too wise to apprehend any danger to the cause of truth and liberty, by the most ample researches of their opponents. It would be unjust, therefore, to draw any inference to his prejudice from this circumstance; but without resorting to any far-fetched deductions, it is certain that the conduct of the government at this time, was not without many ugly appearances, which gave just alarm to the nation.

To relieve themselves from the odium of sanctioning the doctrines promulgated in the above work, as well as to quiet the clamours of the people, the ministers thought it necessary to make some shew of resentment. A prosecution was therefore determined upon; but the dilatory proceedings of the crown lawyers, shewed that they had but little stomach for the work. Considerable pains were taken by all parties to find out the author, but without effect. Smith, the publisher, being apprehended upon a warrant from Lord Bolingbroke, reported at his examination, that the copy had been delivered to the printer by Hilkiah Bedford, a non-juring clergyman; who being also taken up, frankly confessed the fact. Upon this, he was bound over to appear in the court of Queen's-Bench, himself in the sum of £500, and two sureties in £250 each. Upon the 15th of February 1714, he was brought to trial before the Lord Chief Justice Parker, and being found guilty of writing, printing and publishing the said book, he was sentenced to pay a fine of a thousand marks, to remain in custody for three years, and to find sufficient sureties in the sum of £5000, for his good behavior during life. He was also ordered to be brought into all the courts of Westminster upon the following Friday, with a paper affixed to his hat, denoting his offence; but this part of his sentence was remitted by an order from the Queen, through the intercession of Mr. Nelson, who was now frequently admitted into the royal closet. After all, Bedford merely conveyed the work to the press, and corrected the sheets. The real author was George Harbin, also a non-juring clergyman, who had been chaplain to Bishop Kenn, and lived to an advanced age. His book met with many replies, and derived a consequence which it would not have obtained at any other period.

It was to meet the threatening aspect of the times, that Steele now wrote his celebrated pamphlet, called *The Crisis.* It was published upon the 1st of December, 1713, and the whole title runs thus:—"The Crisis; or, a Discourse representing, from the most authentic Records, the just Causes of the late happy Revolution, and the several Settlements of the Crowns of England and Scotland on her Majesty; and on the Demise of her Majesty without issue, upon the most illustrious Princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants, by previous Acts of both Parliaments of the late Kingdoms of England and Scotland; and confirmed by the Parliament of Great Britain. With some Remarks on the Danger of a Popish Successor. By Richard Steele, Esq. London. 1714." 4to. This work was received with great applause by the Whigs, and produced so great an impression upon the public, as greatly to disconcert the ministers. The author made loud complaints of the treasonable books that had been lately dispersed abroad, for the purpose of disturbing the succession, which was the ark of Britain's security; "and like that of old," says he, "carries death to the profane hand that shall dare touch it." To counteract the effect of this pamphlet, Swift replied to it in "The Public Spirit of the Whigs; set forth in their generous Encouragement of the Author of 'The Crisis.' With some Observations on the Seasonableness, Candour, Erudition, and Style, of that Treatise. London. 1714." 4to. Although written with the author's usual keenness, it betrays a soreness of feeling that sometimes vents itself in passion; and he occasionally descended to a vulgarity of expression, which is one of the characteristic features of his writings. His reflections upon the Scottish peers exposed him to the indignation of parliament, which he only escaped by the contrivance of the ministers. Morphew, the publisher, and Barber, the printer, were committed to the custody of the black-rod, for refusing to divulge the name of the author; but before any further proceedings could take place, the Earl of Mar, one of the Secretaries of State, announced the intention of government to take charge of the prosecution, by which it fell to the ground. The printer and publisher were soon released; and the Treasurer, who behaved with his usual cunning, whilst he disclaimed any knowledge of the pamphlet, and joined in its condemnation, forwarded a hundred pounds to Swift for the service of the former, with a promise of further aid.* In consequence of an address from the Lords, the queen offered a reward of 300*l.* for the discovery of the author, but this was all grimace; for he was well enough known to the ministers, who entertained him daily, and approved of his performance.

The writer of the *Crisis*, however, did not escape so well. Steele had been returned to parliament for the borough of Stockbridge, and, as he was likely to become troublesome to the ministers, it was resolved to get rid of him by a petition against his return. But as this would have taken up some time, a more compendious method was resorted to, by a complaint to the House against three of his publications, as tending to sedition, and highly reflecting upon the administration and government. These were the *Crisis*, and two numbers of the *Englishman*. The subject was brought forward upon the 12th of March, and adjourned to the 18th, when Steele, having acknowledged the works, made an able defence, which occupied three hours. In the course of his speech, he read the paragraphs complained of, and owned that he did it "with the same cheerfulness and satisfaction with which he abjured the Pretender." He was strongly supported by Walpole and others; but the ministerial party prevailed, and he was sentenced to be expelled the House. Three days afterwards, he took ample revenge in the eleventh number of the *Lover*, in which he described the Harleys and Foleys, who had been the most active in the business, by the names of the *Crabtrees* and *Brickdusts* of Gotham, in Herefordshire.

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* Swift's Letter, i. 426.

CHAPTER XIV.

Last Parliament of Queen Anne.—Threatening Aspect of Public Affairs.—Prosperous situation of the Jacobites.—Measures concerted by the Whigs.—Hostile attitude of political Parties.—Plot between the Queen and the French King in favour of the Pretender.—Oxford's intrigues to defeat it.—Whether the Ministers were concerned in it.—Estimate of Lord Oxford's political character.—Character and conduct of Bolingbroke.—Strength of Political Parties.—The Tories disaffected to the Hanover Succession.—They are supported by the Clergy.—Who make rapid strides to Popery.—Letter to the Dissenters.—Ascribed to De Foe.—Remarks upon it by Oldmixon.—Another Reply.—Bill to prevent the Growth of Schism.—Its nature and character.—Hypocrisy of its promoters.—Lord Wharton's Reproof to Bolingbroke.—Arguments against the Bill.—Cautious conduct of the Lord-Treasurer.—It passes both Houses.—And receives the Royal Assent.—Remarks upon the Measure.—Publications against it.—De Foe publishes "The Remedy worse than the Disease."—Argument of his Pamphlet.—Parliament prorogued.—Discords in the Cabinet.—Intrigues of Bolingbroke and Oxford.—The Treasurer dismissed.—Anarchy in the Government.—The Duke of Shrewsbury made Treasurer.—Rage of Bolingbroke and Atterbury.—The Queen dies.—Her private character.—Aspect of her Reign.

1714.

The last parliament in this reign, which emulated the bigotry of the one lately expired, assembled after various prorogations occasioned by the Queen's illness, upon the 16th of February, 1714, when Sir Thomas Hanmer was chosen Speaker without opposition. The early part of the session was spent in stormy debates relative to the Pretender and the Protestant succession, which furnished topics for general discourse throughout the nation. Upon this absorbing subject, men of all parties gave free vent to their passions, according as they were directed by hope or fear; and the language that gave them utterance, was often marked with the greatest bitterness. Private friendships had been long giving way to the animosity of party, and such was the cloudy state of the political horizon, that every thing seemed to portend some dreadful convulsion. Upon the 30th of March, Steele writes thus: "According to the situation of affairs, nothing but divine providence can prevent a civil war within a few years; and against such disasters there can be no remedy but preparing our minds for the incidents we are to meet with, with cheerfulness." * Another writer tells us, that there never were greater apprehensions of a most terrible Revolution, than for some little time before the queen's death. †

The minds of men were strongly prepossessed with the notion, that a transfer of the crown was about to be made to the Pretender, and that the queen and her ministers were at the bottom of the project. This persuasion received countenance from the obstructions that were thrown in the way of every measure that had for its object the security of the Protestant succession; as also from the visible countenance given to the Jacobites, some of whom were received at court, and even closeted with the queen. The stream of promotions, both in the state and in the army, ran likewise in the same channel. Several officers of known fidelity were displaced, to make room for others who were strongly suspected of an attachment to the house of Stuart; and Bolingbroke had prepared a scheme for new-modelling the army. Boyer relates, that several officers were closeted for the purpose of ascertaining "Whether they would serve the queen without asking questions? and that for raising a

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* Steele's Letters, i. 325.

† Secret Hist. Engl. ii. 313.

demur, they were stripped of their employments.* In the face of these demonstrations, the verbal assurances of the ministers went but a little way in quieting the apprehensions of the people. It was, therefore, thought necessary, by the friends of the House of Hanover, to concert means, independently of the government, for counteracting the schemes of the Jacobites. An association was entered into by the leaders of opposition; some general officers took steps for securing the allegiance of the army; and a scheme was formed for seizing the Tower and securing the ringleaders, upon the first appearance of danger.† With the angry feelings that now predominated in political parties, had the Jacobites precipitated their measures, or the queen's life been prolonged, the aspect of things bore every appearance of a sanguinary struggle.

Whatever danger might have accrued to the Protestant succession by the prolongation of the war, it was not at all lessened by the late peace. During the negociation, strong attempts were made by the French agents to procure a private understanding in favour of the Pretender, and they proposed a secret article, to be signed by the Queen, exonerating the French King from any obligation concerning the succession, which, for the sake of appearance, it might be necessary to insert in the treaty. The intrigue seems to have been carried on through Lady Masham, the female favourite, who was in the Pretender's interest; and the Queen herself, was not disinclined to any expedient that could be adopted with safety, to favour his pretensions. Under her auspices, a direct communication was opened with the Court of St. Germains, and the Pretender was given to understand that his interests would not be overlooked in the proposed arrangements. She was desirous that the French King should be left in a condition to support him, in case of any favourable turn of affairs at home, which she was not without the hope of seeing effected; but the dread of consequences restrained her from committing herself by any specific measure, and compelled her to leave his destinies to the course of events. It is proper to observe, that in these clandestine negociations, the ministers did not participate; and when they came to the knowledge of the Earl of Oxford, he made it his business to amuse the intriguers, that he might become master of their secrets, whilst at the same time he took measures to defeat the plot.

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* History of Queen Anne, p. 679.

† Ibid, 681.

That the ambiguous conduct of the ministers should excite suspicion, and that it should be made a handle against them by the factious, is not surprising. But if we may believe one of them, "There was no design on foot, during the four last years of Queen Anne, to set aside the succession, nor any party formed for this purpose at the time of the death of that princess. That there were particular men who corresponded indirectly and directly too with the Pretender, and with others for his service; that these men professed themselves to be zealous in it, and made large promises, and raised some faint hopes," says Bolingbroke, "I cannot doubt. But if this was done by some who were in the queen's service, it was done too by some who were out of it, and I think with little sincerity by either."* In estimating the motives of men, it is not often that we can have any other rule to judge by than a reference to their actions. It is true, that such a test is sometimes fallacious; but when this is the case, they only exchange one evil for another, and suffer for their duplicity. In the Memoirs of the Marshal Duke of Berwick, there is a very curious account of the correspondence kept up at this time with the Courts of Versailles and St. Germains, in relation to the Pretender, unfolding much intrigue and insincerity on the one hand, and seriously implicating some noble personages, on the other. That some of the ministers were well affected to the Pretender, they furnished well-grounded suspicions by their subsequent conduct; although this, perhaps, may be partly ascribed to chagrin and resentment.

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* Patriot King, p. 231.

If Lord Oxford shared the odium of Jacobitism with his colleagues, it was the penalty imposed upon him by faction for his own factiousness; but for the charge itself there was no real foundation. His union with the Tories, was a matter of state-necessity; for the Whigs would not act with him, and resisted all his overtures, in the hope that by remaining firmly united, they should accomplish his overthrow. This necessarily threw him upon their adversaries; but he gave unequivocal testimonies that his heart was not with them; nor did they ever care to trust him. Chagrined at his lukewarmness, and disgusted at his evasions, they were desirous of superseding him by a minister, who should be more conformable to their wishes. Of this he was well aware, and therefore made it a part of his policy to amuse them with promises, the performance of which he delayed under various pretences, and never fulfilled without reluctance. Unable to restrain the violence of his colleagues, he was often committed to measures that were repugnant to his feelings, and at variance with his judgment. Having few or no friends in the Cabinet, he bent all his efforts to disengage the more moderate men from the respective parties, that by their weight and influence he might be able to repel the attacks of faction. That he did not succeed, was owing more to the violence of parties, than to his want of capacity for such a task. Hated by the Whigs for supplanting them, and distrusted by the Tories for his obstructions to their measures, his situation obliged him to be perpetually upon the reserve; and this gave a colour for representing him as a man dark, perplexed, and unintelligible. Nothing but his fertility in expedients, enabled him to maintain his station so long, which is more surprising than that he should sink at last before such opposing elements. That he was misunderstood by all parties seems probable, from the circumstance, that the severest scrutiny into his conduct, when in the power of his enemies, was unable to bring to light any criminating matter in the exercise of his office as Lord-Treasurer.* The encouragement he gave to the Jacobites, was more with a view to gain their support as a counterpoise to the opposition of the Whigs, than from any participation in their projects, which he made it is business to penetrate, in order to undermine. For this purpose, he kept up a correspondence with the Court of the Pretender, whilst he had an agent to represent him at Hanover; but at the latter place he was never trusted, and at the former, his insincerity was detected.† "His whole management," observes one of his colleagues, "was contrived to keep up a kind of general indetermination in the party about the succession; which made a man of great temper once say to him in a passion, that he believed no other minister at the head of a powerful party would not be better at Hanover, if he did not mean to be worse there."‡ To the solicitations of foreign Courts upon the subject, he always gave the most evasive answers; whilst he accommodated himself to the inclinations of the Queen, and of the party that supported him, by continuing to feed the hopes of the Jacobites. Surrounded by so much inflammable matter, he could only hope to maintain himself by artifice and dissimulation; but the mystery that veiled his conduct created a distrust in his measures, so that he was equally an object of suspicion with all parties in the State. Unfortunately for himself, he over-reached his own policy; for, practising his acts too deeply with those he meant to deceive, he afforded his enemies a plausible pretext to ruin his credit, where it was most for his interest that it should stand fair. Cunning may be an useful quality in a statesman, but honesty is far better.

Bolingbroke, the rival of Oxford, was a man of very opposite character. Possessed of splendid talents, cultivated by a liberal education, and a course of extensive reading; dignified in his person, of elegant manners, and powerful eloquence; endowed with a lively fancy, and no less easy than commanding in conversation, he seemed formed at once to fascinate as a companion, and to excel as a statesman. But with all these qualities to create respect, he was destitute of almost every political and private virtue; yet his dissolute habits were never suffered to interfere with his application to business. Instigated by ambition, he contracted a bias for French interests, which led him into dangerous intrigues, and exposed him to the reproach of treachery. Of his correspondence with the Pretender there remains no doubt, and as little that the object of it was to set aside the Hanover succession. Whether he was sincere in his professions to that prince, or only amused him, like Oxford, for the purpose of standing fair with the Jacobites, has been a matter of debate; but as he obtained his ascendancy over his rival upon the strength of his continuing the connexion after the latter had declined it, the probabilities are against him. It is certain that both ministers acted in conformity to the wishes of the queen, and with her connivance; and that the failure of Oxford gave advantage to his rival. From the character of Bolingbroke, who appears to have been devoid of principle, and was moved by a spirit of faction, which he had afterwards the manliness to avow,* it may be concluded that the succession was to him a matter of indifference, any further than as it afforded him a prospect of gratifying his ambition, of which he had the fairest hopes from the succession of a Stuart. Although nurtured in Whig principles, under the care of non-conforming parents and tutors, he commenced his public career by linking himself with the Tories and high-churchmen, whose politics he patronized for selfish purposes, whilst he sincerely despised them in his heart. After he became Secretary of State, he was incessant in his endeavours to purge the government of every individual attached to the revolution-settlement, and was at constant war with the Treasurer for moving so slowly in the work. The subterfuges of the latter, acted but as a spur to Bolingbroke, who aspired to place himself at the head of the Tories, and to give them full possession of the government. In 1712, he was raised to the peerage, but not to so high a rank as he expected; and his ambition met with other mortifications, which he attributed to the Treasurer, and served to increase their animosity. His intrigues at the court of the Pretender, are detailed at length in the Memoirs of Marshal Berwick, which contains many curious particulars relating to the English Jacobites, and their schemes to defeat the Hanover succession.

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* Memoirs of Lord Bolingbroke, pp. 274—277. † Memoirs of Duke Berwick. II. 186, &c. ‡ Bolingbroke's Patriot King, p. 243.

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* Patriot King, p. 238.

Whatever projects may have been entertained by the queen and her courtiers for disturbing the succession, their success, after all, depended less upon court-patronage, than upon the strength of political parties and the wishes of the nation. Viewed in this light, there was, perhaps, little to fear in the event of a struggle. The avowed Jacobites, although they had increased in consequence, and assumed a greater degree of boldness, were still a contemptible party, and derived all their power from the Tories. These were happily divided, some of them retaining their attachment to the Protestant succession, and determined to act with the Whigs in the moment of danger. Others were lukewarm or indifferent, and resolved to await the event, with the intention of siding with the strongest; but the great mass was disaffected, and gave a weight to the Jacobites which they had never before possessed. Although the Tories had voted for the present settlement in compliance with the policy of King William, it was with them a matter of expediency rather than of choice; and as they retained their prejudices in favor of hereditary succession, the countenance of the Queen was sufficient to decide those who still wavered in their opinions, or were ambitious to distinguish themselves by their loyalty. By this powerful spell, it is not to be doubted, that a greater proportion of the Jacobite leaven was now added to the Tory lump, and that it was further increased by the dubious conduct of the government. The close intimacy that was cultivated between the Whigs and the House of Hanover, operated to produce a further alienation of the Tories from that family, in the event of whose succession, they saw but little prospect of their continuance in power.

The chief obstacle that the Tories had to surmount, was the danger that would accrue to the Church of England from a change in the succession. Although they did not despair of the Pretender's conversion, yet an external compliance with the rites of the church would have been sufficient to satisfy them; and if this could have been obtained, it was their intention to move for a repeal of the Act of Settlement, and to vest in the queen the power of naming her successor. But without such a condition, they well knew it would be impossible to overcome the popular prejudice, which ran stronger against his religion, than against the most accumulated acts of tyranny. To lessen this aversion, was a difficulty assigned to the clergy, who laboured to smooth his way by proclaiming the divine right of hereditary succession, and by renewing their declamations against Whigs and Dissenters. Many of them boldly attacked the doctrines of the Reformation, and openly advocated some of the leading tenets of the Church of Rome. (N) But the trash

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(N) In complimenting the crown with a divine right, the clergy had an eye to their own interest, for they arrogated the same honour to themselves; and, by supporting the fiction in the one case, they naturally looked for a return of civility in the other. Many books were published to support the independency and privileges of the church; the sacred succession of the they vented from the pulpit had little influence with the people, whose vulgar arithmetic was not to be confounded by the absurd calculations of their crafty instructors. In their zeal to serve the Pretender, they were willing to compound with him for his religion, by a guarantee of their temporal immunities; for which purpose, he was to relinquish the nomination of bishops and the appointment to livings, and to choose his servants from the members of the established church. The gullibility of the men who entered into these projects, was equal to their assurance. Had the scheme succeeded, no one could have blamed the Pretender for annulling the conditions, and asserting his claim to sovereignty in the largest extent that could be exercised by a king who wore his crown by divine right.

In the early part of the year, a small pamphlet was issued from the ministerial quarters, under the title of "A Letter to the Dissenters. London: sold by John Morphew, near Stationer's Hall. 1714." Price 6*d.* 8vo. The object of it was to withdraw the persons addressed, from their political connection with the Whigs, who had so shamefully deserted them in the affair of the bill against Occasional Conformity; and the author insinuates, that by lending their assistance to that party, instead of throwing their weight in the ministerial scale, they appeared more zealous for the support of a faction, than for the preservation of their religious liberties. He disclaims, upon the part of the ministers, any intention

priesthood; the extent of sacerdotal powers; and the exclusive patent of the clergy to grant a title to salvation. Some of them attacked the royal supremacy; whilst others, thinking the reformation had gone too far, pleaded for a proper material sacrifice in the Eucharist, and were for reviving auricular confession, penance, and priestly absolution; also purgatory and prayers for the dead. The books published at this period afford a curious specimen of the progress of insanity in the minds of men, raised to an extraordinary pitch of excitement, and grasping at a power that was only to be supported by the influence of strong delusion.

to favour the Pretender; and tells the Dissenters, that they had not hitherto committed any act which furnished them with just ground for complaint. The pamphlet, artfully written, seems designed to prepare the Dissenters for further severities, which in a short time made their appearance. Common fame at the time ascribed this work, but perhaps without any just reason, to De Foe; and as his, it was replied to by Oldmixon, with his accustomed scurrility, in "Remarks on the 'Letter to the Dissenters.' By a Churchman. London. 1714." 8vo. "It is very easy to discover," says he, "that the author of the 'Letter to the Dissenters' is some inconsiderable wretch, that has sold both his principles and pen to a faction, enemies to the liberty of their country. I am ashamed to mark out the person on whom this libel is fathered; not so much on account of his being rendered infamous by law, as for the greater infamy he has loaded himself with of late years, in the service of France and her friends." He alludes to two of De Foe's publications in the former year, for which he was prosecuted and pardoned; and says, "He was hired, because 'twas thought he knew best the blind side of those to whom he wrote; but they have known him long enough, and if those that employ him imagine they get ground by it, they are as great fools as the tool they make use of." De Foe lost all his reputation with the Whigs, by committing himself with the present ministers, or rather with their leader; and by the partial support which he afforded to their policy. Although the motive that led to it was honourable to his feelings, it proved fatal to his interests, and produced a series of mortifications and disappointments that followed him through life. The "Letter to the Dissenters" came shortly to a second edition; and it received another reply in "A Letter to the People of England, occasioned by the 'Letter to the Dissenters.' London: printed for John Oldsworth. 1714." 8vo. The work it professes to answer, is only incidentally noticed.

The object of the writer is to review the whole policy of the ministers, and contrast it with that which was pursued before the Revolution, in order to show that it tended to the same end,—the introduction of Popery and arbitrary power,—which would be attended with all the horrors of a civil war.

Amidst the dissensions of the nation, which were ready to explode with a tremendous shock, a new apple of discord was thrown down by the Tories. With a view to mortify the Whigs, as much as to gratify the pride and bigotry of high-churchmen, the ministers now brought forward a measure that was calculated in the highest degree to exasperate the persons against whom it was directed. Upon the 12th of May, a bill was brought into the Commons by Sir William Wyndham, Chancellor of the Exchequer, "To prevent the Growth of Schism, and for the further security of the Church of England as by law established." Under this ridiculous pretence, which could hardly conceal from the most credulous the knavery of its projectors, it was intended to shut up all the schools of Dissenters throughout the kingdom, and to take out of their hands the education of their own children. Henceforward, no person was to follow the occupation of a schoolmaster without a license from the bishop, and a certificate of conformity from the minister of his parish; and no other catechism was to be taught than that in the Book of Common-Prayer. The authors of this worthy expedient to dragoon the nation into ignorance and irreligion, were Atterbury, Bolingbroke and Wyndham; men who were more conversant with politics than religion, which they cared for no further than as a state trick to cheat the people of their liberties. It was opposed with great eloquence in the Commons by some of the most distinguished members, who represented "That it looked more like a decree of Julian the Apostate, than a law enacted by a Protestant Parliament, since it tended to raise as great a persecution as either the primitive Christians ever suffered from the heathen emperors, or the Protestants from Popery and the Inquisition." It was, indeed, no less a reproach to humanity, than a scandal to a church that professed to be modelled upon Christianity. By way of rendering it more palatable, Mr. Bromley, one of the Secretaries of State, revived the stale cant of the danger from Dissenters; but he blabbed the juggle, when he offered to compound for the danger and give up the bill, if the Dissenters would forego the privilege of sitting in parliament and voting at elections. This was an earnest of what was in store for them had the queen lived. Having deprived them of their freeholds, the next step would have been to invade their personals; and as nature is apt to rebel against principle, according to their own doctrine, so if the oppressed people had stood up for their rights, they would have been treated as rebels, and finished by a *coup de grace,* as De Foe had long ago foretold in his "Shortest Way."

It is in vain to oppose argument to injustice, when it is to be borne down by power. The bill passed the Commons upon the first of June, by a large majority, and the next day was carried to the Lords. Here, it was pompously introduced by Bolingbroke, as "a bill of the last importance, since it concerned the security of the Church of England, the best and firmest support of the monarchy;" which, had it been true, would have conveyed an awkward reflection upon both. Bolingbroke met with a proper rebuke from Earl Wharton, who said, in his ironical way, "He was agreeably surprized to see, that some men of pleasure were, on a sudden, become so religious, as to set up for patrons of the Church. But he could not but wonder, that persons, who had been educated in Dissenting academies, whom he could point at, and whose tutors he could name, should appear the most forward in suppressing them. That this was but an indifferent return for the benefit the public had received from those schools, which had bred those great men; so that he could see no reason there was for suppressing those academies, unless it was an apprehension that they might produce still greater geniuses, who should drown their merits." Several of the Lords argued strenuously against the bill, and pointed out its pernicious consequences. That instead of preventing schism, and enlarging the pale of the church, it tended to promote ignorance and its inseparable attendants, superstition and irreligion; that in many places, reading, writing, and grammar-schools, were chiefly supported by the Dissenters, so that the suppressing them would in many places extinguish the reading of the Scriptures; that whilst our enemies were prosecuting their designs for extirpating the Protestant religion, and imposing upon us a popish Pretender, it seemed strange that a measure should be brought forward which manifestly tended to divide Protestants, weaken their interest, and hasten their ruin; that it was preposterous to call that schism in England, which is the established religion in Scotland; that it was directly against the rule in the gospel, which commanded us *to do unto others as we would be done unto;* and that it was a direct breach of the toleration which the queen had solemnly promised to maintain inviolate. Even the Earl of Nottingham opposed the measure as a barbarous invasion of the natural rights of parents, and a step to the introduction of popery. But common sense was of little avail with men who were aiming to establish a power that was to crush all opposition. It is, therefore, not surprising that they rejected the petition of the Dissenters, who prayed to be heard in a matter that so nearly concerned them. The Lord-Treasurer, who must have been averse to the measure, and lent his assistance to modify it, displayed his usual *finesse* by absenting himself from the House upon the final decision. He was then negociating with the Whigs, and was fearful of appearing against it, lest he should lose his interest with the queen, with whose prejudices it entirely accorded. After a sharp contest, this important measure passed by a majority of only five voices, upon the 15th of June, and ten days afterwards received the royal assent. The penalty annexed to a breach of the Act, was three months imprisonment; and its provisions were extended to Ireland. But it never took effect; for the very day that it was to commence operation the queen died, and the bill was soon afterwards repealed *.

Although the proceeding just recorded is now viewed only as a matter of history, yet it is impossible to contemplate it without the strongest feelings of indignation and abhorrence. This offering to the Moloch of high-church, was the discharge of a debt which the ministers had long contracted to the party that supported them, but had been prevented from cancelling earlier by more pressing engagements. The magnitude of the measure was, indeed, a sufficient compensation for its tardiness; but the short-sighted politicians who yielded this boon to bigotry, forgot that they were aggrandizing a set of men who might one day become formidable to the civil government, and ingulph it in their own vortex. According to the logic of the period, the church was now in a fair way of trampling upon her enemies; but as much as she may have gained in the way of temporal prosperity, she lost more in character. This, indeed, was an inferior consideration: for the clergy were no better than a band of politicians, who played off their craft upon the people, at the expense of their understandings. To maintain their hold, this barbarizing measure was an admirable contrivance; for in what way they were to provide education for two millions of Dissenters, when the great mass of their own people was uneducated, was a question that did not concern them. In their grasp at power, they laid claim to the whole British nation as their rightful patrimony; and emulating the policy, as well as the religion of Rome, they thought of nothing but an ecclesiastical sovereignty, that was to give them an uncontrolled

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* Tindal, iv. 359, &c.

dominion over the consciences of the people. This once obtained, they would have had no scruple to serve them like Powel, the puppet-showman, in the Tatler: who, being master of all sorts of wood and wire, thought he had an unquestionable right to frame, fashion, and put them together as he pleased; that having made them puppets, they became his property, and therefore his slaves: so that he had an absolute power, whenever he pleased, to light a pipe with one of punch's legs, or warm his fingers with his whole carcase.*

If viewed as a political measure, it was pregnant with evils, which could not be contemplated without the most dismal forebodings. Its immediate tendency was to drive the unfortunate victims to despair; and in a moment of irritation to assert their rights against the violence of their oppressors. If, in calculating the chances of such a contest, they foresaw that the odds would be against them, their only resource would be to abandon their ungrateful country, and transfer their wealth and labour to some other that would be more worthy of them. For, no people of any spirit, whatever may be their religion, will submit to the degradation of having their children torn from them by hypocritical contrivances, and their minds polluted by a faith which they abhor. To train them in ignorance is equally revolting, and more injurious to the morals and industry of a state than the wildest speculations. The effect of persecution has been to debase and impoverish every country where it has prevailed. It has withered the arm of industry, degraded the people by an unmanly superstition, and subjected them to the slavery of barbarous despots. Yet, such was the closing policy of a reign, abounding in illustrious men, and famous for learning and the arts.

Whilst the obnoxious measure was pending, the press was not backward in producing sufficient reasons against it; and they would have prevailed, had the cause been submitted to a hearing of common sense. Steele published, upon this occasion, "A Letter to a Member of Parliament, concerning the Bill for preventing the Growth of Schism." Mr. Shute, afterwards Lord Barrington, bestowed some strictures upon it, in "A Letter from a Layman in Communion with the Church of England, though Dissenting from her in some Points, to the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of ——. With a Postscript, showing how far the Bill to prevent the Growth of Schism is inconsistent with the Act of Toleration, and the other Laws of this Realm." Dr. Calamy published some "Queries concerning the Schism Bill." Much was also written by both parties upon the nature of schism, which for a long period operated as a scare-crow to frighten the simple; but its charm has been happily broken. "If the spiritual guides and fathers of the church," says Hales of Eton, "would be a little sparing of incumbering churches with superfluities, and not over rigid in reviving obsolete customs, or imposing new, there would be far less danger of schisms or superstition." *

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* Tatler. No. 50.

Upon a subject that so nearly concerned the party that had his warmest affections, De Foe could not but feel interested. He therefore once more raised his voice against persecution, in a pamphlet, entitled, "The Remedy worse than the Disease: Or Reasons against passing the Bill for preventing the Growth of Schism. To which is added, A brief Discourse of Toleration and Persecution, shewing their unavoidable Effects, good or bad; and proving that neither Diversity of Religion, nor Diversity in the same Religion, are dangerous, much less inconsistent with good Government. In a Letter to a Noble Earl. *Hæc sunt enim Fundamenta firmissima nostræ Libertatis, sui quemque juris et retinendi*

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* Hales' Tracts, p. 184.

et dimittendi esse dominum. Cic. in Orat. per Balbo. London: printed for J. Baker, 1714." 8vo. pp. 48.

In this work, our author pleads the cause of religious liberty, with great force and eloquence, and in lively colours exposes the hateful character of intolerance. The natural tendency of persecution is to alienate the people from a church and government that resort to it; as was exemplified in the reigns before the Revolution. "But no sooner is the toleration established," says he, "than people of all sides are disposed to be quiet and neighbourly. They think not a jot the worse of one another for not walking one way to church on Sunday, since they may go together every day of the week to market. They judge of each other's honesty or ability from their dealings, and not from their notions. Trade is vigorously carried on, without any distinction of sects. Public charities are encouraged by a common purse, as well as public stocks. All measures in favour of the Protestant interest, or for a further reformation of manners, are mutually concerted. The Dissenters less scrupulously frequent the national churches, and the soundest members of those churches are cured of several prejudices they had unwarily imbibed against their Dissenting brethren." This being the happy state of things under the Toleration, those who go about to weaken or destroy it, he observes, are no friends to the queen and kingdom; "for they will unavoidably lead people to make invidious comparisons, and regret the tranquillity they enjoyed in King William's reign; and are answerable to God and man for all the mischiefs that may follow upon so flagitious an undertaking." The apprehension that further severities were intended, was not the least of the objections to this bill: for, considering what had already past, together with the natural temper of certain persons, he asks, "Pray what security can be given that the churches of the Dissenters are not designed to be shut up, as well as their schools? that a restraint may not be laid upon reading books, no less than upon teaching to read them? as is openly practised in the church of Rome, without excepting the very Bible." The certain consequence of confining education to one set of men, would be to restrict all the advantages flowing from it to a party. "Ignorance and barbarity will by this means pour in upon us like a flood, since nothing, though ever so true in itself, or beneficial to mankind, will be suffered to be taught, if it interfere in the least with the interest of such a prevailing party; whereby numberless discoveries will be wholly suppress, and several branches of literature grow absolutely useless in a country where the increase of knowledge is thus bounded by a law." To avoid the pretence of schism, we should be over-run with the grossest enthusiasm and fanaticism, the never-failing effects of ignorance. The increase of knowledge is not only proportioned to the number of schools, but is still farther augmented by their variety: for nothing contributes more to the success of literature, than the emulation which must necessarily reign between such nurseries of education. On the contrary, you see nothing but gross ignorance where this variety is not allowed.

The rigour pursued towards the Dissenters, our author argues, tends directly to Popery: "which can never be settled here, but either by force or ignorance. But if the last obtains, there will be the less need of the first; the work is then more than half done. That these are not vain suggestions," he says, "be pleased to observe who they are that at this juncture are the most clamorous against the Dissenters, and are eagerly soliciting for a further security to the church? Are they not that part of the clergy who have already made manifest advances towards the synagogue of Rome? They who preach the independency of the church on the state; who urge the necessity of particular confession, sacerdotal absolution, extreme unction, and prayers for the dead? Who expressly teach the real presence in the Lord's

Supper, which they will have to be a proper sacrifice; and contend for the practice of re-baptizing, wherein they overshoot the Papists themselves? They who are loudly clamouring for those church-lands, which, to the unspeakable detriment of the public, were, in the days of ignorance, given to impudent begging friars, who haunted the death-beds of weak deluded souls, and teased them by their importunity. They, in a word, who are known to be the deepest engaged in the interest of the Pretender; and who long at least to have a Pope of their own at Canterbury?"

Amongst the dismal consequences of this measure, he says, "Many thousands are turned into the wide world, who neither have, nor understand any other way of subsistence, besides teaching of youth; and this in many country places, where no others are capable, or have leisure to do so.

A great number of charity schools will be totally dissolved; others considerably diminished, and vast sums carried out of the kingdom for foreign education. But above all, most deplorable will be the case of such as may have the misfortune to transgress the Acts, especially if they should ever be caught peeping into a meeting-house. Thousands are yet living who remember what inhuman usage the Dissenters met formerly at the hands of country justices, and in the spiritual courts, from neither of whom, in this new project, is there any appeal. For who knows not, that the removing any conviction to the quarter-sessions, or the court of delegates, is leaping out of the frying-pan into the fire? Those wicked hell-hounds, the informers, will be let loose upon sober industrious people, left without the benefit of jury or judges; and whose greatest crime will be doing good, and having a tender conscience. The politician and the priest, who play into each other's hands, will not fail of pretexts to palliate their cruelty. The statesman will say, it is because they don't conform to the church; and the clergyman will say, it is because they wont comply with the state. The most corrupt and superstitious part of the clergy will be continually soliciting for more such laws for the better security of the church, and quoting them, as they used to do in King Charles's time, oftener than the Gospel, for conformity.

The business of parliament, after the disposal of the schism bill, was confined chiefly to the security of the Protestant succession, for which the Lords showed a commendable zeal; but entering upon some inquiries respecting the foreign policy of the ministers, the parliament was hastily prorogued upon the 9th of July, and did not assemble again in this reign. By this measure, the queen consulted her own ease, no less than the protection of Bolingbroke; as it gave her a respite from the discussion of subjects that were painful to her feelings, whilst it saved her minister from an investigation that he did not covet, and to which the Treasurer lent his secret assistance.

The discords which had long reigned in the cabinet, and had been hitherto smothered by a sense of mutual danger, now broke out into an open rupture. Although such an occurrence portended nothing less than the dissolution of the ministry, yet such was the animosity of the rival ministers, that nothing could restrain the fury of their resentment. Oxford, who had so long enjoyed the favour of the queen, presumed upon its continuance; but it had been undermined by the intrigues of Bolingbroke, who accomplished his fall by the same instrument that he had himself used in supplanting the Whigs. He had given offence to Lady Masham, the royal favourite, by thwarting her in some schemes of private gain, which she was to have shared with Bolingbroke and others. She therefore supported the cause of his rival, and recommended him to the queen as more entirely devoted to her political views, which he sanctioned by obsequiousness and flattery. In their contest for power, they dealt out the bitterest reproaches and recriminations, which they carried into the royal presence; so that the repose of the queen, no less than public business, urged an immediate decision of the quarrel. The intrigues of Oxford with the Electoral family, and his cabals with the Whigs, which were not unknown to the queen, conspired, with the representations of her favourite, and the address of Bolingbroke, to alienate her from a minister whose mysterious conduct had filled her with suspicion. She therefore decided upon his removal, and took the staff from his hands at Windsor upon the evening of the 27th of July, before a successor was determined upon. After this, the cabinet became a scene of anarchy and confusion.

The queen was now upon the borders of the grave. Her disorder, which had been some time undermining her constitution, was greatly aggravated by the broils of her ministers, who were grasping at a power, which her situation pointed out to be of a slender tenure. Bolingbroke, who now aspired to the chief direction of affairs, was desirous of retaining his situation as foreign minister, and therefore proposed to put the Treasury in commission; but the remaining ministers could not agree upon the persons to be named in it. This occasioned fresh dissensions, which were carried into the queen's chamber, and prolonged with noise and fierceness until past midnight. As a consequence of this unseasonable disturbance, she was thrown into dreadful agitation, followed by alarming symptoms, which continued to increase, and indicated a speedy dissolution. In the meantime, the privy council met, and thinking it highly improper that the appointment of a Treasurer should be delayed, agreed to recommend the Duke of Shrewsbury for the office; which being intimated to the queen during a lucid interval, she readily placed the staff in his hands. The lofty Bolingbroke was now filled with rage and despair. Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, who looked forward to the privy-seal under his government, was equally outrageous, and is said to have declared himself immediately for the

Pretender.(o) But their schemes of ambition were doomed to receive a still more deadly blow; for the queen relapsed soon afterwards into a state of insensibility, and upon the following day, being the first of August, she expired, at Kensington, in the fiftieth year of her age, and the thirteenth of her reign.*

Queen Anne was in person well made, of a middle stature, and latterly inclined to corpulency. With features strongly marked, she possessed a countenance rather dignified than agreeable. Her mental endowments, never above the ordinary level, received a contracted bias in her education, which unfitted her for a station and a period that demanded expansion of intellect. The sermons of the clergy, indeed, have extolled her for talents which were to be found only in the great men she employed, and imparted to her a borrowed lustre, of which she would have been wholly destitute in any other station. But little attention is to be paid to the panegyrics that have flowed from this quarter; as they usually indicate a servile compliance with the ecclesiastical orders at the expense of the other classes of the community. In this perversion of character, which is not confined to the monkish writers, a blind zeal for the interests of a party has been celebrated as the perfection of piety, and the brutal passions of hatred and revenge have been in higher esteem than those qualities which exalt and dignify our nature. In her domestic relations, the queen was mild, indulgent, and affectionate. With a disposition naturally good, she was kind and generous; warm in her friendships; but easily imposed upon by the artful and designing. A natural indolence, united with great timidity, unfitted her for the arduous duties she was called upon to exercise; whilst her passion for favorites, which rendered her little better than a slave in her own house, and subjected her to constant affronts and mortifications, removed her at a distance from her people, and exposed her to all the turbulence of faction. In her private habits, she was regular and exemplary; correct in her manners; and strict in the observance of the religious forms in which she had been educated. In a lower station, her virtues would have intitled her to respect; but they were inadequate to procure her the distinction of a wise and enlightened princess. With a capacity unequal to the weight of government, particularly the government of a people torn by parties, and inflamed by religious fanaticism, she yielded too readily to the arts of the ambitious, who encircled her in their toils, and rendered her subservient to the purposes of faction and intolerance.

(o) The recommendation of the Duke of Shrewsbury is said to have been influenced by the fallen Treasurer, which occasioned Bolingbroke to give vent to his passion, in the following terms: "The blast of hell, and the rage of a million of devils be on this cursed staff," said he, flinging the purse, &c. on the ground: "It is he that has deceived us and broken all our measures."——"Give away the staff!" said the bishop. "By Lucifer, I could not have believed she durst have done it! What can we do without it? We have but one way left, France and the lawful heir; it must, and shall be done, by God."—*Secret Hist. of the White Staff*, p. 71.

* Tindal, Somerville, Macpherson, &c.

It was the misfortune of this princess to be tutored in principles flattering to her vanity, and fostered by the prevailing clergy, to whom she was accustomed to pay a superstitious deference. (P) From the Tories and High-churchmen, she imbibed the most injurious errors upon religion and government; being taught to identify the former with the interests of the hierarchy, and to associate the latter with those notions of the prerogative that proved fatal both to her father and her grandfather. Under the influence of these prejudices, she looked upon Whigs and Dissenters as enemies to church and state; and when necessity called the former to her councils, she gave her confidence to their opponents. Her real principles, which

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(P) When the Queen was receiving the Sacrament at Windsor, she reproved the Clergyman administering, for giving it to her before the Clergy who were present.—*Coke's Detection,* iii. 481.

began to be developed at the opening of her reign, but were kept in abeyance by the wise and prudent conduct of Godolphin, had full play during the latter and most inglorious portion of it, which will be remembered as one of the most ignoble periods of English history. Mistaking the real objects of government, she administered it for the exclusive benefit of a powerful and intolerant party, whose leader she was proud to declare herself, and was not ashamed to avow the monstrous anomaly to her parliament. Flattered by an early declaration in their favour, the high clergy took every advantage of it, in order to accomplish the ruin of other sects. As she was *their* queen, they were willing to be thought the only people entitled to government, and were for subjecting the remainder to the condition of *Helots,* fit only for servile offices under their ecclesiastical regimen. Imitating the policy of the Spartans, who excluded those unfortunate persons from the recitations of their poets, lest they should catch from their odes the precious spark of liberty; so these modern tyrants were for separating from the community of citizens, all who were not initiated in *their* sacred mysteries. The necessities of the war rendering the assistance of the proscribed people of some consequence, their doom was deferred; although not without strong remonstrances from those who were unable to grasp its policy, the motive for which was coolly avowed by some of their own writers. The day they sighed for at length arrived, when all Protestants, save those of the episcopal persuasion, were to be branded with infamy, shut out from the state, and deprived of their natural rights as parents and members of civil society. Under this hopeful regimen, the grossest absurdities were passed off to the people for religion; Christianity was made subservient to superstition and slavery; the most despotic doctrines were inculcated in favour of rulers; and the clergy were clothed with the power of tormenting their neighbours under the pretext of heresy. It may seem extraordinary to those who are unread in ecclesiastical matters, that so quiet a thing as religion should be made the instrument for conspiring against the liberties of mankind. But it must be recollected, that those who have been the most noisy in their zeal, have had political motives to gratify; and that it has been less for religion than for the temporalities annexed to it, that they have turned the world upside down. Without these incentives to ambition, men would have had fewer inducements to persecute each other; and having an interest in common, would have been satisfied to contend for what is really valuable in religion, without the sacrifice of those kindly feelings which are the most unequivocal proof of its reality.

No period of time was more distinguished for illustrious men in all professions, than that we have been reviewing. In military reputation, it rivalled the age of the Edwards and the Henrys, and was equally conspicuous for the arts as for arms. Yet, in no reign was the human character more debased by a spirit of party, engendered by sordid ambition, and scattering the seeds of discord and enmity between man and man. In contemplating the causes that led to this result, a comparison between this and the former reign, places in the strongest light, the importance of enlightened principles in those who are called to preside over the destinies of nations. When princes are tutored in sectarian feelings, or with a bias to political parties, it narrows the mind, and damps the ardour of those generous feelings which are essential to the distribution of justice. Prejudices acquired in early life are not easily surmounted afterwards, particularly by persons in high stations, who are usually surrounded by an atmosphere inimical to improvement, and whose occupations and engagements indispose them to deliberate inquiry. With this queen, ended the line of the Stuarts, who, for more than a century, had plagued the nation with their tyranny and their bigotry; entailing upon posterity but little respect for their government, and an odiousremembrance of their vices.

CHAPTER XV.

Accession of George I.—Inactivity of the Pretender.—Subversion of the Tories.—Coronation, and Riots.—Exasperated feelings of Political Parties.—De Foe's Treatment by the Whigs.—His Claims to Favour.—Disregarded by the new Government.—Complains of his hard Measure.—Secret History of the White Staff.—Pamphlets produced by it.—Dissolution of Parliament.—Contest of Political Parties.—Atterbury's "English Advice."—De Foe's Reply.—"Hymn to the Mob."—De Foe's Political Life draws to a Close.—Reflections upon his Services.—He publishes "An Appeal to Honour and Justice."—Extracts from the Work, in Defence of his Political Conduct.—He is struck with Apoplexy.

1714—1715.

The accession of George the First took place in a more peaceable manner than was generally expected. Although the measures pursued during the latter years of the queen, and her known sentiments in favour of the Pretender, had given strength to the Jacobite interest, yet, as no decisive step had been taken to change the succession, it was suffered to take its legal course. Upon the first notice of the queen's death, the privy-council assembled, and issued orders for the proclamation of the king, which was performed with the usual solemnities. The suddenness of the event shed a deep gloom over the Jacobites, who had realized triumphs in their imagination, which were now dashed to the ground. Their hopes from the French king were cut off by his acknowledgment of the Elector, and a formal declaration of his intention to keep the peace. The Pretender, instead of appearing immediately in England, where he would have found a sufficient number of partizans to embarrass the new government, remained inactive in Lorraine. The impolicy of his conduct was the more glaring, as the new king did not arrive in England until the 18th of September, seven weeks after the death of the queen. But a prince, who had not sufficient courage and enterprize to venture himself for such a stake, under such favourable circumstances, showed a meanness of soul unworthy of a crown, and held out a rebuke to his followers. Although, without the assistance of France, his final success was problematical, yet the prejudice in his favour amongst the Tories, and the assistance he would have derived from the clergy, were sufficient to invite a contest, whatever might have been its result.

One of the most important consequences resulting from a change of dynasty, was the subversion of those political theories which had been hitherto the support of the Tories, but of which they at length grew ashamed; and losing their credit with the people, found refuge only in a few of the clergy. In effecting this change, the character of the new government had a decided influence. Before the arrival of the king, Bolingbroke was dismissed with marks of disgrace; and the other ministers were replaced by persons better affected to the Protestant interest, and more agreeable to the wishes of the nation. The government being now restored to a healthy state, after a long season of turbulence and faction, the coronation was performed with great magnificence upon the 20th of October, and celebrated with demonstrations of joy in most parts of the kingdom. In some few places, indeed, attempts were made to raise mobs and tumults for the church; but they were quickly suppressed by the civil power, which was lampooned in libels and seditious ballads, according to the cant of the former reign. These, however, were but the overflowings of gall from a disappointed party, greedy of the prey that had escaped from its fangs.

So sudden and complete a revolution could not but affect the fortunes of many individuals, who might be expected to raise a clamorous opposition, which required promptness and energy to counteract. In the exasperated state of political parties, nothing but the severest retaliations were now expected. From the moment of the queen's death, the Whigs considered the day their own, and began to triumph in the fall of their opponents: all their misdeeds were immediately dragged to view; and those who had been the most deeply concerned, were threatened with exemplary punishment. The most unmanly insults were now heaped upon those who were considered in any way accessary to their measures; nor did any escape who had not run the full career of opposition with the Whigs.

From these censures De Foe had no reason to expect an exemption. His connexion with Lord Oxford was alone sufficient to preclude him from the favour of the Whigs, who regarded him, although unjustly, as a political adversary. The moderation he had observed in his writings led them to view him as an object of suspicion; but they were exasperated beyond measure at his opposition to them upon some points to which they bent all their strength against the late ministers; whilst his zeal for liberty, and for the Hanover succession, rendered him equally obnoxious to the Tories and Jacobites. It is not surprising, therefore, that much undeserved abuse was heaped upon him in the publications of the times, by both parties. As he owed every thing to the favour of Lord Oxford, the fall of that minister was the signal of his ruin; for the changes that so quickly succeeded, opened the way to a party that was hostile to his person, and made him responsible for offences which were his greatest abhorrence. The Hanoverian succession had been a just cause of triumph to the Whigs, who were the first to reap its benefits; and it would have been well if they had dropped their political resentments. No writer in the late reign had pleaded the cause of that succession with greater zeal than De Foe. In a series of pamphlets, argumentative and satirical, he had laid open the designs of the Jacobites, and exposed their sophistry; he had warned his countrymen of the evils they were to expect from a Popish Pretender, and had conjured them to hold fast to the Protestant settlement. Yet, instead of being rewarded for his past services and sufferings, he was discountenanced by the government, and maligned by a party that reaped the benefit of his services. There can be no doubt that he now lost the appointment for which he had been indebted to the fallen minister. Thus, whilst upon public grounds he had reason to congratulate his countrymen upon their recent triumph, such was the untowardness of his own fate, that it was to him productive only of loss and affliction.

Of the hard measure that was now dealt out to him, he thus complains. "No sooner was the queen dead, and the king, as right required, proclaimed, but the rage of men increased upon me to that degree, that the threats and insults I received were such as I am not able to express. If I offered to say a word in favour of the present settlement, it was called fawning and turning round again. On the other hand, though I have meddled neither one way or other, nor written one book since the queen's death, yet a great many things are called by my name, and I bear every day the reproaches which all the answerers of those books cast as well upon the subject as the authors. I have not seen nor spoken to my Lord of Oxford but once since the king's landing, nor received the least message, order, or writing, from his lordship, or any other way corresponded with him; yet he bears the reproach of my writing in his defence, and I the rage of men for doing it. I cannot say it is no affliction to me to be thus used, though my being entirely clear of the fact, is a true support to me."*

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* Appeal to Honour and Justice, pp. 55, 56.

The above passage was written some months after the king's arrival, and forms part of an elaborate defence of himself, published in the following year. From his own acknowledgment, it seems that he had sent nothing to the press since the death of the queen; yet a work of some celebrity that now made its appearance, has been commonly ascribed to him, and upon that account, some notice of it may be expected in this place. Boyer, in his "Political State," for October, 1714, says, "by this time, the treasonable design to bring in the Pretender, was manifested to the world by the agent of one of the late managers, De Foe, in his *History of the White-Staff*. 'The *Detection* of the Secret History of the White Staff,' which was soon published, confidently tells us, that it was written by De Foe, as is to be seen by his abundance of words, his false thoughts, and his false English." The work thus alluded to by Boyer, is intitled, "The Secret History of the White Staff: being an Account of Affairs under the Conduct of some late Ministers, and of what might probably have happened if her majesty had not died. London: J. Baker, 1714." 8vo. pp. 71. It was followed by a *second part*, with a similar title, in the same year, and in the following, a *third part* was added, completing the work; but the author intimates, that many other matters of a public nature still remained undisclosed, although necessary to a complete elucidation of the subject.

Oldmixon, who probably copied Boyer, also ascribes this work to De Foe. "One cannot doubt," says he, "but the *Secret History of the White Staff*, a pamphlet Foe wrote soon after King George's accession to the throne, was by the Earl of Oxford's direction, and that the most natural hints for it came from him, because the whole treatise is calculated for his vindication; and Foe depended upon him too much to dare to publish any such thing without his participation and consent *." Dr. Hawkesworth and other writers have also assigned the work to De Foe; but they probably drew their information from the same traditional source, by which means the notion has descended from one writer to another. Mr. Chalmers says, that the tradition amongst the buyers and sellers of old books is, that it was written by the Duke of Argyle; a circumstance by no means probable. It is certain that De Foe had the credit of it at the time, and the most prevailing tradition has continued to appropriate it to him ever since (Q).

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* Oldmixon's England, iii. 537.

The object of this *Secret History*, which unfolds a variety of circumstances that intitle it to be so called, was to explain the policy pursued by Lord Oxford, from the time of his supplanting the Whig ministry, and to elucidate the conduct of his colleagues until they succeeded in wresting the staff from his hands. It was considered at the time to have been written under his direction, if not by himself, and was certainly the work of a person who had been admitted to his confidence. The facts it details throw much light upon the intrigues of his cabinet, which being composed of persons directly opposed to the views of its chief, produced a long series of conflicts, and a system of counteraction that operated as a check to his policy, and at length undermined his power. As a vindication of Lord Oxford, it was calculated to produce a strong impression in his favour; and as the work passed through several editions, it probably succeeded to a certain extent, especially as some of its leading facts were borne out by other concurring testimonies. But still there remained behind many heavy charges, which had been either overlooked, or only partially glanced at by his historian (R).

(Q) It is ascribed to De Foe, in "Remarks on a late libel called English Advice, 1715;" in "The History of the Mitre and the Purse, 1715;" in "The History of Impeachments, 1716," p. 336; and in other publications of the time. The author of the first of these works, asks "Who is this staff? Is it not the prime of all the late ministers, or his mercenary, the *Review?* Has not the latter owned himself to be the author of it, and has his faction once disowned him in it?

(R) Arbuthnot, writing to Swift, October 19, 1714, says, "You have read

This effort to clear the character of Lord Oxford at the expence of his colleagues, was the signal of a storm that gathered with increasing violence; and whilst it was injurious to all the parties concerned, afforded sport to their common enemies. The historian was soon replied to in "A Detection of the Sophistry and Falsities of the Pamphlet intitled 'The Secret History of the White Staff,' containing an Enquiry into the Staff's conduct in the late management, particularly with respect to the Protestant succession. 7th ed. London, J. Roberts, 1714." In the following passage, the author points to De Foe as his antagonist; but the blunders he falls into shew how ill qualified he was to write upon such matters. "Five or six days ago," says he, "out comes the 'Secret History of the White Staff,' written by De Foe, as is to be seen by his abundance of words, his false thoughts, and false English. The man who set him to work, paid him a pension during all the time of his management, though he had helped to set him in the pillory seven or eight years before. He gave him for this work, so necessary to his own preservation, as many parcels and hints of memoirs as he thought convenient, which the honest author of 'The Shortest Way with the Dissenters,' of 'Jure Divino,' of the *Review*, of 'What if the Pretender should come?' of the 'Mercator,' and an hundred other such scriptions, was hired to put into his sweet way of writing, to amuse people, if he could not convince them." The author followed his "Detection" by a "Second Part," which was published in the same year. Many other pamphlets

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ere this time, *The History of the White Staff*, which is either contrived by an enemy, or by himself, to bring down vengeance; and I have told some of his nearest friends so. All the *Dragon* (Lord Oxford) can say, will not give him one single friend amongst the whole party; and therefore, I even wonder at him, which you will say is a strange thing. The very great person of all can hardly speak of him with patience."—Again. "The *Dragon* denies it; but as I told the *Governor*, it is necessary for him to do that in a very solemn and strong manner; else, there will be a ripping answer, as you say."—*Swift's Letters*, II. 16, 18.

were elicited upon this occasion; but the recriminations that flowed with so much bitterness as well as rapidity, could not but disserve all the parties, whilst they exposed the vulnerable points of their conduct to the gaze of the multitude. These party publications, however, are not without their use, and may be perused with advantage, making a due allowance for the partialities of the writers, by those who would gain an accurate knowledge of the state of affairs during the last ministry of Queen Anne. (s)

(s) The other pamphlet to which the "White Staff" gave birth, were, 1. "Considerations upon the Secret History of the White Staff. Humbly addressed to the E—— of O——, 5th ed. Lond. A Moore." no date. 2. "The Secret History of the White Staff, &c. with a detection of the Sophistry and Falsities of the said Pamphlet. Lond. R. Matthews, 1714." 3. "The History of the Mitre and Purse, in which the First and Second Parts of the Secret History of the White Staff are fully considered, and the Hypocrisy and Villanies of the Staff himself are laid open and detected. Lond. J. Morphew. 1714." 4. "The History of the Mitre and Purse. Part II. Wherein the Villanies of the Staff are further detected, and the conduct of the late ministers that would not join with him in betraying their Queen and Country, is more amply set forth in the Discovery of several private transactions, not yet made public. Lond. J. Morphew. 1714." 5. "Considerations on the History of the Mitre and Purse, Shewing that the Design of the late Managers of Staff, Mitre, and Purse, in setting their Historians to work, was only to raise a little Dust, that they might escape in the cloud. To which are added, some Particular Passages of Secret History relating to the Purse and the Mitre. Lond. J. Roberts, 1714." 6. "The Conduct of the Purse of Ireland. In a Letter to a Member of the late Oxford Convocation, occasioned by their having conferred the degree of Doctor, upon Sir C—— P——. Lond. J. Roberts, 1714." 7. "A Dialogue between the Staff, the Mitre, and the Purse. With a Conclusion by Lord John Bull. By One who knows them all. Lond. J. Roberts. 1715." 8. "The Secret History of the White Staff, Purse, and Mitre. Written by a Person of Honour. Lond. S. Keimer. 1715." 9. "The Secret History of State Intrigues, in the Management of the Sceptre in the late Reign. Lond. S. Keimer. 1715." 10. "A Supplement to the Secret History of the White Staff. Containing, I. Dr. Friend's Character of the Staff. II. Dr. Atterbury's Character of the Purse. III. Dr. Smalridge's Character of the Mitre. Lond. J. Roberts. 1715."

The parliament which had been prorogued by the Lords Justices before the king's arrival, was dissolved by proclamation, upon the 5th of January, 1715. Great exertions were made by the two great political parties, to secure the return of their friends, to which each was urged by the strongest motives of personal safety. The late ministers having every reason to expect that they would be called to account for their proceedings, their only hope of averting the storm was by influencing the elections. In order to this, many pamphlets were written to justify their conduct, and to raise discontents in the people, by representing the church in danger from the present government. This artifice had succeeded so well upon a former occasion, that great stress was laid upon it in this emergency: and Atterbury employed his pen to enforce it, in a pamphlet intitled, "English Advice to the Freeholders of England." Nothing can exceed the bold and haughty tone of this work. In powerful and unmeasured language, unrestrained by decency, and fired by disappointment, the angry prelate poured forth torrents of libellous matter upon the king, the ministers, and the whole body of Whigs. In his view, these were all enemies to the church, and therefore unfit to hold the reins of government, which, according to his taste, could be safely administered only by Tories and high-churchmen. The misrepresentations and falsehoods of this writer, presented through the most insinuating medium, were well calculated to impose upon the credulity of persons trained to such doctrines as were taught in the universities, and vented in the pulpit of religion. Great pains were taken to circulate his pamphlet, particularly in those places where the people were most likely to be infected by the poison. But so gross an outrage upon public decency was not allowed to escape the vigilance of the government. A proclamation was issued, offering a thousand pounds for the apprehension of the author, and five hundred pounds for the printer. Isaac Dalton, the latter, was apprehended, tried, and convicted; but the author escaped with impunity.

Many answers were published to Atterbury's pamphlet, and amongst them one that bears strong marks of our author's pen. It is intitled "A Reply to a traitorous Libel, intitled 'English Advice to the Freeholders of Great Britain.' London: printed for J. Baker. 1715." 8vo. pp. 40. The writer thinks that more importance had been attached to the libel than it justly deserved. "There are no less than fifteen or sixteen paragraphs in the book," says he, "against which nothing more need be written than this: *The Freeholders of England know this to be false.* There are as many more against which it might be writ, *Not a word of this can be made out.* Many more places have nothing to enforce their raillery, but the names of *plunderer, witch, infamous,* and such like; against which, writing this marginal note would be more than sufficient: *Billingsgate proves nothing.* The whole composure is a mixture of party fury, with notorious slander and forgery. The writer appears vain of affronting the royal family, and yet strives to represent the high-churchmen as having deserved well of the king, and being fast friends to the Hanover succession!" The assurance that could dictate such an assertion, corresponded with the effrontery of other passages, in which the religion of the king is represented as little better than popery, and the Whigs are stigmatized as entirely destitute either of religion or morality. "It were to be wished," says our author, "the men of honour of this age, be they of which party soever, were more blessed with religious principles, and showed more of them in their practice. But this author is the first I ever met with, who offered to recommend the high-flying churchmen for men of more virtue and piety than the Whigs: God mend them on every side is a prayer of charity. But to say that high-church has more religion than low-church, is just as true as that Lutheranism is as bad as Popery."

The rioting that took place in various parts of England, to demonstrate the loyalty of the high-church party, gave rise to a publication at this time, which has been commonly ascribed to our author. It is intitled "A Hymn to the Mob. London: printed and sold by S. Popping, in Paternoster-Row, &c. 1715." 8vo. pp. 40. It is a poem in Pindaric verse, very much in the style of De Foe, and is introduced by a preface of six pages, in which the author records his opinion against the expression of public feeling by mobs and rioting. Subjects may be uneasy under a government, and there is a legal way for representing their grievances; but rabbles and tumults he considers to be indications of a bad cause, and involving those who engage in them, as friends to the Pretender. "In such a time as this, he cannot be a good member of the commonwealth, as well as a good subject of the king, who does not, as far as in him lies, separate himself from, and declare himself against this abominable temper of rabble and rebellion. This is the reason of the present performance, in which the author, to the utmost of his power, declares against mobs, and endeavours to expose the people to themselves, that every man may see reason to avoid and abhor the insults offered to the present government, as he himself does."

De Foe's political life was now drawing to a close. During a period of more than thirty years, he had taken an active part in public affairs, either as a warm partizan of liberal politics, or in opposing the factions of the times. In the course of the contest, he had been involved in personal quarrels, and had met with some severe rebukes; but the fortitude of his mind at all times rose superior to his difficulties, and enabled him to triumph in the rectitude of his principles. He had now arrived at a period of life when the mind seeks repose from the turbulence of faction; and the course of political events having thrown him in the back ground, he was destined to beat out a new path to fame, which will render his name respected, when temporary politics are forgotten.

But, if De Foe is known to posterity chiefly by those works of genius which he composed after this period, yet, it should not be forgotten that the active portion of his life, which he passed in politics, obtained him distinction with his contemporaries, and entitle him to more notice than he has hitherto received. If the character of men, and of nations, is deeply affected by the possession or loss of liberty, as we are taught by the examples of ancient and modern times, then we cannot estimate too highly the labours of those individuals who have illustrated and contended for its benefits. De Foe lived at a period when the liberties of his country were endangered, first of all by the measures of an arbitrary court; and afterwards, under the guidance of unprincipled leaders, by a base and servile population. In both cases he stood in the gap, inspired by the genius of patriotism, and undaunted by persecution. His numerous productions in defence of civil and religious liberty, were of essential service in awakening attention to the subject, and abating the confidence of its opponents. By a skilful use of his talents, he destroyed the strong holds of tyranny and priestcraft, and pointed out to his countrymen the truest sources of national prosperity. If it is in the nature of political writings to be little valued when the period of their usefulness has subsided; still, we must not forget to cherish the memory of those by whom the benefit has been conferred. It has been justly remarked by one of our author's biographers, that "Political writings, like those of De Foe, which are calculated to promote the interests of general liberty, and not the private views of any particular party, are highly beneficial to human society, and may contribute more to advance the common happiness of great communities, than any mere works of imagination. *

In withdrawing from the tumult of parties, De Foe considered that he had an account to settle with the world, for the part he had taken in politics. The ill usage he had so long experienced both from friends and enemies, but more particularly the former, whose ingratitude touched him most sensibly, was greatly aggravated by the misconstruction that had been put upon his writings. This now led him to take a review of his political life, and produced a narrative distinguished for its simplicity and manliness, whilst it furnishes a satisfactory defence of his conduct. It is intitled, "An Appeal to Honour and Justice, though it be of his worst enemies. By Daniel De Foe. Being a true Account of his Conduct in Public Affairs. Jer. xvii. 18. London: printed for J. Baker, 1715." 8vo. pp. 58.

This touching appeal opens in the following manner.—"I hope the time is come at last, when the voice of moderate principles may be heard. Hitherto the noise has been so great, and the prejudices and passions of men so strong, that it had been but in vain to offer any argument, or for any man to talk of giving a reason for his actions: and this alone has been the cause why, when other men, who, I think, have less to say in their own defence, are appealing to the public, and struggling to defend themselves, I alone have been silent under the infinite clamours and reproaches, causeless curses, unusual threatenings, and the most unjust and injurious treatment, in the world.

"I hear much of people calling out to punish the guilty; but very few are concerned to clear the innocent. I hope some will be inclined to judge impartially, and have yet reserved so much of the Christian, as to believe, and at least

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* Biog. Brit.—Art. De Foe.

to hope, that a rational creature cannot abandon himself so as to act without some reason, and are willing not only to have me defend myself, but to be able to answer for me, when they hear me causelessly insulted by others, and, therefore, are willing to have such just arguments put into their mouths, as the cause will bear.

"As for those who are prepossessed, and according to the modern justice of parties are resolved to be so, let them go; I am not arguing with them, but against them; they act so contrary to justice, to reason, to religion, so contrary to the rules of Christians and of good manners, that they are not to be argued with, but to be exposed, or entirely neglected. I have a receipt against all the uneasiness which it may be supposed to give me, and that is, to contemn slander, and think it not worth the least concern; neither should I think it worth while to give any answer to it, if it were not on some other accounts of which I shall speak as I go on."

The motives that led to the publication, are thus affectingly enumerated. "1. I think I have long enough been made *Fabula Vulgi*, and borne the weight of general slander; and I should be wanting to truth, to my family, and to myself, if I did not give a fair and true state of my conduct, for impartial men to judge of, when I am no more in being to answer for myself. 2. By the hint of mortality, and by the infirmities of a life of sorrow and fatigue, I have reason to think I am not a great way off from, if not very near to the great ocean of eternity, and the time may not be long ere I embark on the last voyage. Wherefore, I think I should even accounts with this world before I go, that no actions (slanders) may lie against my heirs, executors, administrators and assigns, to disturb them in the peaceable possession of their father's (character) inheritance. 3. I fear, God grant I have not a second sight in it, that this lucid interval of temper and moderation, which shines, though dimly too upon us at this time, will be but of short continuance, and that some men, who know not how to use the advantage God has put into their hands with moderation, will push, in spite of the best prince in the world, at such extravagant things, and act with such an intemperate forwardness, as will revive the heats and animosities which wise and good men were in hopes should be allayed by the happy accession of the king to the throne."

De Foe takes a concise view of his conduct in the two former reigns; in the course of which he recounts his introduction to King William, his obligations to Harley, and his employment by the queen; the particulars of which have been already noticed. He then proceeds to give an account of his conduct under the late administration, and the motives by which he was influenced. He records his gratitude to the queen and her chief minister; and foreseeing what would be alleged against him upon that account, he manfully declares, "That no obligation to the queen, or to any benefactor, can justify any man's acting against the interest of his country, against his principles, his conscience, and his former professions." Having given his adversaries every advantage they could desire in this respect, he says,

"It is none of my work to enter into the conduct of the queen or of the ministry in this case, the question is not what they have done, but what I have done? and though I am very far from thinking of them as some other people think, yet for the sake of the present argument, I am to give them all up, and suppose, though not granting, that all which is suggested of them by the worst temper, the most censorious writer, the most scandalous pamphlet or lampoon should be true; and I'll go through some of the particulars, as I meet with them in public; that they made a scandalous peace; unjustly broke the alliance; betrayed the confederates; and sold us all to the French. God forbid it should be all truth, in the manner that we see it in print; but that I say is none of my business. *For what hand had I in all this?* I never wrote one word for the peace before it was made, or to justify it after it was made; let them produce it if they can. Nay, in a *Review* upon that subject, while it was making, I printed it in plainer words than other men durst speak it at that time, that I did not like the peace, nor did I like any peace that was making since that of the Partition, and that the Protestant interest was not taken care of either in that or the treaty of Gertrudenburgh before it.

"It is true, I did say, that since the peace was made, and we could not help it, that it was our business to make the utmost advantage of it by commerce, navigation, and all kind of improvement that we could, and this I say still; and I must think it is more our duty to do so, than the exclamations against the thing itself, which it is not in our power to retrieve. This is all that the worst enemy I have can charge me with. After the peace was made, and the Dutch and the Emperor stood out, I gave my opinion of what I foresaw would necessarily be the consequence of that difference, viz.—that it would inevitably involve these nations in a war with one or other of them: any one who was master of common sense in the publick affairs might see that the standing out of the Dutch could have no other event. For if the confederates had conquered the French, they would certainly have fallen upon us by way of resentment, and there was no doubt but the same councils that led us to make a peace would oblige us to maintain it, by preventing too great impressions upon the French. On the other hand, I alleged, that should the French prevail against the Dutch, unless he stopped at such limitations of conquest as the treaty obliged him to do, we must have been under the same necessity to renew the war against France; and for this reason, seeing we had made a peace, we were obliged to bring the rest of the confederates into it, and to bring the French to give them all such terms as they ought to be satisfied with.

"This way of arguing was either so little understood, or so much maligned, that I suffered innumerable reproaches in print, for having written for a war with the Dutch, which was neither in the expression, nor ever in my imagination; but I pass by these injuries as small and trifling, compared to others I suffer under. However, one thing I must say of the peace, let it be be good or ill in itself, I cannot but think we have all reason to rejoice in behalf of his present majesty, that at his accession to the crown, he found the nation in peace, and had the hands of the king of France tied up so as not to be able, without the most infamous breach of articles, to offer the least disturbance to his taking a quiet and leisurely possession, or so much as to countenance those that would. Not but that I believe, if the war had been at the height, we should have been able to have preserved the crown for his present majesty, its only rightful lord; but I will not say it should have been so easy, so bloodless, so undisputed as now; and all the difference must be acknowledged to the peace, and this is all the good I ever yet said of it."

In his further vindication upon a point in which he had been so grossly misrepresented, he says, "I come next to the general clamour of the ministry being for the Pretender. I must speak my sentiments solemnly and plainly, as I always did in that matter, viz. that if it was so, I did not see it, nor did I ever see reason to believe it; this I am sure of, that, if it was so, I never took one step in that kind of service, nor did I ever hear one word spoken by any one of the ministry, that I had the honour to know or converse with, that favoured the Pretender; but have had the honour to hear them all protest, that there was no design to oppose the succession of Hanover in the least. It may be objected to me, that they might be in the interest of the Pretender for all that: it is true they might; but that is nothing to me. I am not vindicating their conduct, but my own; as I never was employed in any thing that way, so I do still protest, I do not believe it was ever in their design, and I have many reasons to confirm my thoughts, which are not material to the present case. But be that as it will, it is enough to me that I acted nothing in any such interest, neither did I ever sin against the Protestant succession of Hanover in thought, word, or deed; and if the ministry did, I did not see it, or so much as suspect them of it. It was a disaster to the ministry, to be driven to the necessity of taking that set of men by the hand, who, nobody can deny, were in that interest: but as the former ministry answered, when they were charged with a design to overthrow the church, because they were favoured, joined with, and were united to the Dissenters; I say they answered, that they made use of the Dissenters, but granted them nothing (which by the way was too true:) so these gentlemen answer, that it is true they made use of Jacobites, but did nothing for them. But this by the by. Necessity is pleaded by both parties for doing things which neither side can justify. I wish both sides would for ever avoid the necessity of doing evil; for certainly it is the worst plea in the world, and generally made use of for the worst things.

"I have often lamented the disaster which employing Jacobites was to the late ministry, and certainly it gave the greatest handle to their enemies. But there was no medium. The Whigs refused to shew them a safe retreat, or to give them the least opportunity to take any other measures, but at the risk of their own destruction; and they ventured upon that course, in hopes of being able to stand alone at last without help of either the one or the other; in which, no doubt, they were mistaken. However, in this part, as I was always assured, and have good reason still to believe, that her majesty was steady in the interest of the house of

Hanover, so, as nothing was ever offered to me, or required of me, to the prejudice of that interest, on what ground can I be reproached with the secret reserved designs of any, if they had such designs, as I still verily believe they had not?

"I see there are some men who would fain persuade the world, that every man that was in the interest, or employed by the late government, or that served the late queen, was for the Pretender. God forbid this should be true; and I think there needs very little to be said in answer to it. I can answer for myself, that it is notoriously false; and I think the easy and uninterrupted accession of his majesty to the crown, contradicts it. I see no end which such a suggestion aims at, but to leave an odium upon all that had any duty or regard to her late majesty. A subject is not always master of his sovereign's measures, nor always to examine what persons or parties the prince he serves employs, so be it that they break not in upon the constitution; that they govern according to law, and that he is employed in no illegal act. If this be not right, then a servant of the king's is in a worse case than a servant to any private person. In all these things I have not erred; neither have I acted or done any thing in the whole course of my life, either in the service of her majesty, or of her ministry, that any one can say has the least deviation from the strictest regard to the Protestant succession, and to the laws and liberties of my country. I never saw an arbitrary action offered at, a law dispensed with, justice denied, or oppression set up either by queen or ministry, in any branch of the administration wherein I had the least concern."

The cause of the clamour raised against him by the Whigs, and the motives that influenced him, he states thus. "If I have sinned against the Whigs, it has been all negatively, viz. that I have not joined in the loud exclamations against the queen and ministry, and against their measures; and if this be my crime, my plea is two-fold. 1. I did not really see cause for carrying their complaints to that violent degree. 2. Where I did see what, as before, I lamented and was sorry for, and could not join with, or approve; as joining with Jacobites, the peace, &c., my obligation is my plea for my silence."

His testimony to the character of a fallen minister, then in the Tower upon a charge of high-treason, reflects honour upon his courage and fidelity. In vindicating Lord Oxford, he repels a slander that had been often levelled at himself, and hints at his own services, which were well known to some of the greatest men in the nation.

"I have all the good thoughts of the person, and good wishes for the prosperity of my benefactor, that charity and gratitude can inspire me with. I ever believed him to have the true interest of the Protestant religion, and of his country in his view; if it should be otherwise, I should be very sorry. And I must repeat it again, that he always left me so entirely to my own judgment, in every thing I did, that he never prescribed to me what I should write, or should not write in my life; neither did he ever concern himself to dictate to, or restrain me in any kind; nor did he see any one tract that I ever wrote before it was printed: so that all the notion of my writing by his direction, is as much a slander upon him as it is possible any thing of that kind can be; and if I have written any thing which is offensive, unjust, or untrue, I must do that justice as to declare he has no hand in it; the crime is my own. As the reproach of his directing me to write, is a slander upon the person I am speaking of, so that of my receiving pensions and payments from him for writing, is a slander upon me; and I speak it with the greatest sincerity, seriousness, and solemnity that it is possible for a Christian man to speak, that except the appointment I mentioned before, which her majesty was pleased to make me formerly, and which I received during the time of my Lord Godolphin's ministry, I have not received of the late Lord-Treasurer or of any one else by his order, knowledge, or direction, one farthing, or the value of a farthing, during the whole of his administration; nor has all the interest I have been supposed to have in his Lordship, been able to procure me the arrears due to me in the time of the other ministry. So help me God."

"I am under no necessity of making this declaration. The services I did, and for which her majesty was pleased to make me a small allowance, are known to the greatest men in the present administration; and some of them were then of the opinion, and I hope are so still, that I was not unworthy of her majesty's favour. The effect of those services, however small, are enjoyed by those great persons, and by the whole nation to this day; and I had the honour once to be told, '*that they should never be forgotten.*' It is a misfortune, that no man can avoid, to forfeit for his deference to the person and services of his Queen, to whom he was inexpressibly obliged; and if I am fallen under the displeasure of the present government for anything I ever did in obedience to her majesty in the past, I may say it is my disaster; but I can never say it is my fault."

He then notices another grievance he had to complain of. "This brings me again to that other oppression which as I said I suffer under, and which, I think, is of a kind, that no man ever suffered under so much as myself; and this is to have every libel, every pamphlet, be it ever so foolish, so malicious, so unmannerly, or so dangerous, be laid at my door, and be called publicly by my name. It has been in vain for me to struggle with this injury. It has been in vain for me to protest, to declare solemnly, nay, if I would have sworn that I had no hand in such a book or paper, never saw it, never read it, and the like, it was the same thing. My name has been hackneyed about the street by the hawkers, and about the coffee-houses by the politicians, at such a rate as no patience could bear. One man will swear to the style; another to this or that expression; another to the way of printing; and all so positive that it is to no purpose to oppose it. I published once, to stop this way of using me, that I would print nothing but what I set my name to, and I held it for a year or two; but it was all one; I had the same treatment. I now have resolved for some time, to write nothing at all: and yet I find it the same thing. Two books lately published being called mine, for no other reason that I know of, than that, at the request of the printer, I revised two sheets of them at the press, and that they seemed to be written in favour of a certain person; which person also, as I have been assured, had no hand in them or any knowledge of them, till they were published in print. This is a flail which I have no fence against, but to complain of the injustice of it, and that is but the shortest way to be treated with the more injustice. I do grant, had all the books which have been called by my name been written by me, I must of necessity have exasperated every side, and perhaps have deserved it; but I have the greatest injustice imaginable in this treatment, as I have in the perverting the design of what really I have written.

In summing up his complaints, he manfully declares his patriotism and his integrity. "I was, from my first entering into the knowledge of public matters, and have ever been to this day, a sincere lover of the constitution of my country; zealous for liberty and the Protestant interest; but a constant follower of moderate principles; a vigorous opposer of hot measures in all parties. I never once changed my opinion, my principles, or my party; and let what will be said of changing sides, this I maintain, that I never once deviated from the revolution principles, nor from the doctrine of liberty and property, on which it was founded. I own I could never be convinced of the great danger of the Pretender, in the time of the late ministry: nor can I be now convinced of the great danger of the church, under this ministry. I believe the cries of one was politically made use of then to serve other designs; and I plainly see the like use made of the other now. I spoke my mind freely then, and I have done the like now, in a small tract to that purpose not made publick; and which if I live to publish I will publicly own, as I purpose to do, every thing I write, that my friends may know when I am abused and they imposed on."

A man who is no slave to party, but follows freely the bias of his judgment, will find occasion to differ sometimes from those whom he most esteems. De Foe was put to this trial of his integrity, and gives the following account of his differences with the Whigs. "It has been the disaster of all parties in this nation to be very hot in their turn; and as often as they have been so, I have differed with them, and ever must and shall do so. I'll repeat some of the occasions on the Whigs' side, because from that quarter the accusation of my turning about comes." The *first* time he differed from his friends was about the Turks; and the *second*, when King James took upon him to dispense with the Tests; the particulars of which have been already cited. He continues, "The *next* difference I had with good men, was about the scandalous practice of Occasional Conformity, in which I had the misfortune to make many honest men angry, rather because I had the better of the argument, than because they disliked what I said. And now I have lived to see the Dissenters themselves very quiet, if not very well pleased with an act of Parliament to prevent it. Their friends indeed laid it on; they would be friends indeed if they would talk of taking it off again. Again, I had a breach with honest men for their maltreating King William; of which I say nothing, because I think they are now opening their eyes, and making what amends they can to his memory. The *fifth* difference I had with them, was about the Treaty of Partition, in which many honest men are mistaken, and in which I told them plainly then, that they would at last end the war upon worse terms; and so it is my opinion they would have done, though the treaty of Gertrudenburgh had taken place. The *sixth* time I differed with them was when the old Whigs fell upon the modern Whigs, and when the Duke of Marlborough and my Lord Godolphin were used by the *Observator* in a manner worse, I must confess for the time it lasted, than ever they were used since; nay, though it were by *Abel* and the *Examiner*: but the success failed. In this dispute my Lord Godolphin did me the honour to tell me, I had served him and his Grace also both faithfully and successfully. But his Lordship is dead, and I have now no testimony of it but what is to be found in the *Observator*, where I am plentifully abused for being an enemy to my country, by acting in the interest of my Lord Godolphin and the Duke of Marlborough. What weather-cock can turn with such tempers as these! I am now on the *seventh* breach with them, and my crime now is, that I will not believe and say the same things of the Queen and the late Treasurer, which I could not believe before of my Lord Godolphin and the Duke of Marlborough, and which in truth I cannot believe; and therefore could not say it of either of them; and which, if I had believed, yet I ought not to have been the man that should have said it, for the reasons aforesaid."

His reflections upon the treatment he had received, are alike honourable to his integrity and his piety. "In such turns of tempers and times, a man must be tenfold a vicar of Bray, or it is impossible but he must one time or other be out with every body. This is my present condition, and for this I am reviled with having abandoned my principles, turned Jacobite, and what not. God judge between me and these men. Would they come to any particulars with me, what real guilt I may have, I would freely acknowledge; and if they would produce any evidence of the bribes, the pensions, and the rewards I have taken, I would declare honestly, whether they were true or no. If they would give a list of the books which they charge me with, and the reasons why they lay them at my door, I would acknowledge my mistake, own what I have done, and let them know what I have not done. But these men neither shew mercy, nor leave place for repentance; in which they act not only unlike their Maker, but contrary to his express commands. It is true, good men have been used thus in former times; and all the comfort I have is, that these men have not the last judgment in their hands: if they had, dreadful would be the case of those who oppose them. But that day will shew many men and things in a different state from what they may now appear in. Some that now appear clear and fair, will then be seen to be black and foul; and some that are now thought black and foul, will then be approved and accepted; and thither I cheerfully appeal, concluding this part in the words of the prophet—*I heard the defaming of many; fear on every side; report, say they, and we will report it*; *all my familiars watched for my halting, saying, peradventure he will be enticed, and we shall prevail against him, and we shall take our revenge on him.—Jeremiah,* xx. 10."

In a strain of great manliness, he appeals to the candour of the wise and good, and notices a particular instance of injustice which he was then suffering from his enemies. "I am unconcerned at the rage and clamour of party men; but I cannot be unconcerned to hear men and good Christians prepossessed and mistaken about me. However, I cannot doubt but sometime or other it will please God to open such men's eyes. A constant, steady adhering to personal virtue and to public peace, which, I thank God, I can appeal to him has always been my practice, will at last restore me to the opinion of sober and impartial men, and that is all I desire. What it will do with those who are resolutely partial and unjust, I cannot say, neither is that much my concern. But I cannot forbear giving one example of the hard treatment I receive, which has happened even while I am writing this tract. I have six children; I have educated them as well as my circumstances will permit, and so as I hope shall recommend them to better usage than their father meets with in the world. I am not indebted one shilling for any part of their education, or for any thing else belonging to bringing them up; yet the author of the Flying-post published lately, that I never paid for the education of any of my children. If any man in Britain has a shilling to demand of me for any part of their education, or any thing belonging to them, let them come for it. But these men care not what injurious things they write, nor what they say, whether truth or not, if it may but raise a reproach on me, though it were to be my ruin. I may well appeal to the honour and justice of my worst enemies in such cases as this."

"*Conscia mens recti fama mendacia ridet.*"

In the following passage, dictated no less by good sense than by a manly independence, he appeals to the moderation of the King against the hostile threats of the Whigs, who had denounced vengeance upon their political opponents. "It is, and ever was my opinion that moderation is the only true virtue by which the peace and tranquillity of this nation can be preserved. Even the King himself, I believe his majesty will allow me that freedom, can only be happy in the enjoyment of the crown by a moderate administration. If his majesty should be obliged, contrary to his known disposition, to join with intemperate councils, if it does not lessen his security, I am persuaded it will lessen his satisfaction. It cannot be pleasant, and I think it cannot be safe, to any just prince to rule over a divided people, split into incensed and exasperated parties. Though a skilful mariner may have courage to master a tempest, and go fearlessly through a storm, yet he can never be said to delight in the danger. A fresh fair gale, and a quiet sea, is the pleasure of his voyage; and we have a saying worth notice to them that are otherwise minded, *Qui amat periculum periibat in illo.*

"To attain at the happy calm, which, as I say, is the safety of Britain, is the question which should now move us all; and he would merit to be called the nation's physician that could prescribe the specific for it. I think I may be allowed to say, a conquest of parties will never do it; a balance of parties may. Some are for the former; they talk high of punishments, letting blood, revenging the treatment they have met with, and the like. If they, not knowing what spirit they are of, think this the course to be taken, let them try their hands; I shall give them up for lost, and look for their downfal from that time; for the ruin of all such tempers slumbereth not. It is many years that I have professed myself an enemy to all precipitations in public administrations; and often I have attempted to show, that hot councils have ever been destructive to those who have made use of them. Indeed, they have not always been a disadvantage to the nation, as, in King James II.'s reign, when, as I have often said in print, his precipitation was the safety of us all. If he had proceeded temperately and politicly, we had been undone. *Felix quem faciunt.* These are some of the reasons why I think this is the proper juncture for me to give some account of myself, and of my past conduct, to the world."

Whilst engaged upon this narrative, and before he had fully completed it, De Foe was struck with apoplexy. The ill-treatment he had experienced preyed so much upon his spirits, as to undermine his health, and, in the opinion of his friends, was the accelerating cause of this calamity. After languishing six months, with an uncertain prospect of recovery, his friends determined to delay the publication no longer. It therefore appeared without his finishing hand; but Baker, the publisher, added a paragraph by way of *Conclusion,* in which he noticed the author's illness as the occasion of the delay. De Foe eventually recovered from his attack, which left him for a long time in a very weak state; but he at length regained sufficient health and vigour of mind to delight the world by many valuable writings.

CHAPTER XVI.

De Foe publishes his "Family Instructor."—Dr. Wright's Recommendation.—Object and Character of the Work.—His Account of its Success.—Various Editions.—And Anecdotes respecting it.—Friendly Epistle to Thomas Bradbury.—Sharp Rebuke to Henry Sacheverell.—Seasonable Expostulation with the Duke of Ormond.—Declaration of Truth to Benjamin Hoadly.—Thoughts on Trade and a Public Spirit.—Account of Two Nights' Court at Greenwich.—Triennial Bill impartially stated.—Controversy with Toland upon Ennobling Foreigners.—"What if the Swedes should Come?"—"History of the Press-Yard," and Answer.—Project of a Paper, called, "The Hanover Spy."—Mesnager's Negociations.—Memoirs of the Church of Scotland.—Pamphlets upon the Division in the Ministry.—Second Volume of the "Family Instructor."—Memoirs of Dr. Daniel Williams.—De Foe's Letter to the Dissenters upon the Trinitarian Controversy.—Curious Oration of Father Andrews.—De Foe's Assignment of Property.

1715—1719.

THE little patriotism that was to be found in public men, who sought the gratification of their passions, in preference to those virtues that conduce most to the welfare of nations, had already convinced De Foe of the vanity of parties; and the persecutions he had suffered for his political writings, indisposed him to any fresh encounter with the malice of his enemies. He, therefore, now turned his attention to a subject with which all parties might be pleased, and from which they might derive wholesome lessons to soften their asperities, and cultivate the best affections of the heart. Having himself reaped the consolations of religion, he was desirous of imparting their savour to his countrymen.

In the early part of 1715, he committed to the press one of the most valuable of his treatises, and perhaps one of the most useful of its kind in the English language. It bears the title of "The Family Instructor. In Three Parts. With a recommendatory Letter by the Rev. S. Wright (T).

(T) Dr. Samuel Wright was an eminent divine and popular preacher amongst the Presbyterians in London, during the former part of the last century, and published many sermons and religious treatises. The "Family Instructor," with his "Letter to the Publisher," was entered at Stationers'-Hall, March 31, 1715. His recommendation appears only to the first edition, which being now difficult to be procured, a copy of it shall be preserved, as the testimony of a competent judge to the value of De Foe's work. It is as follows:—

"My very good friend. Having, at your request, read over the book, called the *Family Instructor*, I do, upon several accounts, very much approve of the design of it; and wish I could say any thing to recommend it to the perusal of others. The decay of family religion is very visible, and frequently matter of complaint; and, therefore, I doubt not such an attempt as this will be well received by all serious and thoughtful persons among us. The printer has been faulty to a degree that I am afraid will render the reader very uneasy, and I wish the author had thought fit to communicate his papers to you before they had fallen into such hands; but the substance of the book, however, will command regard; and if I may judge for others by myself, will afford some pleasure and entertainment. The first part is an amazing encouragement to parents that have been negligent in the education of their children, to set up family religion, and is very proper, both to convince the governor of a family of his duty, and to direct him in it. It will let us see how much sometimes may be learnt from children that are very young; and also what way is proper to be taken with those that are grown up, and have not been used to any thing of regularity. The second part is exceedingly well contrived to instruct masters of families in their care of apprentices and servants, and possibly it may be the more useful to some families, because of the different sentiments of the husband and wife in matters of religion; the one being a worshipper of God with the Dissenters, the other with the Church of England. The third part is designed to instruct persons in the disposing of their children in marriage, and to direct those that are new-married in their duty to one another. The notes upon each dialogue may be very useful, as they are designed to gather up the most important things in every dialogue, and present them to the reader in one uninterrupted view.

London: sold by Eman. Matthews, at the Bible, in Paternoster Row; and Jo. Button, in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. 1715." 12mo. pp. 444. The three portions of the work are addressed, 1. To Father and Children. 2. To Masters and Servants. 3. To Husband and Wives.

The main object of this performance is, to impress upon the heads of families the great duty of instructing their children and dependants in the principles of religion and virtue; and to inculcate upon the latter, the obligations they are under to listen to such instruction. Being thrown into the form of familiar dialogues, and enlivened by apt stories, that present all the colouring of real life, it is calculated to gain an easier access to the capacities of most readers, than a grave didactic treatise. Upon this account, it has been found to yield as much amusement to the young, as instruction to persons in riper years. Of the piety and good understanding of the writer, no one who reads his

"I think the whole of it very much fitted to do good, especially if the reader be first assured that the substance of each narrative is real; and there are some whole dialogues to which, with very little alteration, I myself could put names and families. There are some passages very moving to those who have any sense of religion, and I think it not ill-contrived to take hold of the hearts of those who are loose and ignorant. The dialogues are sometimes longer (in my opinion) than was needful to the design; and there are, now and then, some expressions that may seem a little out of character; that is not perfectly suitable to the circumstances and capacity of the person supposed to be speaking, or of the other that is spoken to. But I think there can be no disgust which will not quickly be taken away, if a dialogue be read over at one time. Let but the several main strokes be carefully observed, and the lesser incidencies may be hastened over. I wish that all who peruse this book may find the same entertainment which, in some parts of it, I have done; and I wish that in every house, one of 'em might lye in common, for the use of all such as may be willing to look into it. There are passages suited to all sorts of families, and to every member in them, and who knows but something may occur to the eyes of those that do but glance into it, that may engage their further regards and attention. I have nothing more to add, but only to tell you, that you have liberty to make what use you please of this letter. From your real friend and servant. "S. Wright."

work can for a moment doubt. Nor are we less pleased with his ingenuity; which leads us, by easy steps, to the right knowledge of our duty to God, and to the management of ourselves. As a system of morals, founded upon natural and revealed religion, it has found its way to the hearts of thousands, and will continue to instruct mankind so long as practical religion shall be deemed of importance to society. One of the chief excellences of the work is, that it is adapted to persons of all religious persuasions. There is nothing to shock the prejudices either of churchmen or of Dissenters; but much from which both may derive lessons of sound wisdom. If here and there we meet with passages that savour of mysticism, or that enforce a greater strictness than is agreeable to the latitude of modern times, we must recollect that the writer was an old-fashioned Non-conformist, zealous for the sanctity of former days, and an advocate for those spiritual views of religion which are sanctioned by numerous passages in the apostolical writings.

The absence of the author from the press, occasioned a considerable number of errors, which were rectified soon afterwards in a second edition, to which he prefixed a preface, explaining the design of the work, and the success it had met with. "The usefulness of the subject, and the honesty of the design," says he, "have prevailed to give it a good reception in the world: and notwithstanding the casual imperfections of the first part, some good men have been pleased to accept the performance, to usher it into the world much to its advantage, and to recommend it as well from the pulpit as from the press." Aware of the opprobrium that party malice had affixed to his name, he was studiously careful to conceal it from the public, lest it should obstruct the usefulness of his work. Not, as he observes, that he had any reason to be ashamed of it, being fully satisfied of its utility; "but he desired that his praise might not be of men but of God." He tells us, that he took such measures for remaining in obscurity, as proved effectual for some time after the publication; but the secret was at length disclosed, and no doubt advanced his credit amongst the serious and reflecting part of mankind. "The success of the work," says he, "and the many testimonies given to the good effect it has had in families, notwithstanding their knowledge of the author, has fully delivered him from the discouragement he was under on that occasion; and this alone prevailed with him for a second edition, which he had for some time resolved against. It was not without reason that he had great apprehensions lest some men, suffering their prejudices to prevail even over their zeal for the public good, might be tempted to lay the imperfections of the author as a stumbling-block in the way of those who might otherwise receive benefit by it, and so the good effect of his labour might be in part obstructed." His piety led him to ascribe the merit of the work to the guidance of God, and with the same tone of feeling, he renders him the praise of its success.

It was his first design, he tells us, to have written a dramatic poem; "but the subject was too solemn, and the text too copious to suffer the restraint on the one hand, or the excursions on the other, which the decoration of a poem would have made necessary." It was happy that he departed from this design. His purpose being to divert and instruct at the same time, he says, "he has endeavoured to adapt it as much as possible to both those uses, from whence some have called it a religious play." Upon this he observes with his usual archness, "as to its being called a play, be it so called if they please. It must be confessed, some parts of it are too much acted in many families among us. The author wishes that either all our plays were as useful for the improvement and entertainment of the world, or that they were less encouraged."

Although our author does not appear to have received any favour or encouragement from the court of George I., yet the acknowledged merit of his work occasioned it to find its way into his family; and the copy by which they were instructed is still preserved in the British Museum. It has been supposed that the little attention which it excited upon its first appearance, occasioned the bookseller to procure the sanction of Dr. Wright, as a passport to public favour. The absorbing subject of politics may have occasioned this momentary neglect, but it was amply compensated by a rapid sale as soon its merits became known. An eighth edition was called for in 1722, and an eleventh in 1734: that printed in 1772 is called the seventeenth; and since then the editions, both in London and elsewhere, have been very numerous. Large numbers have been disposed of for prize books in schools, for which it is well adapted; nor can a more useful work be found for general distribution. De Foe added a second volume three years afterwards, as will be seen in its proper place.

In 1715, and some following years, there appeared a series of pamphlets, couched in the Quaker style, and written by way of admonition to the persons addressed; the authorship of which was at the time assigned to De Foe. In a severe work, written against him by Gildon, and called his "Life and Adventures," he is made to say, "I have written against my old teachers in the shape and form of a quaker, as in a pamphlet to T. B., a dealer in many words; and in the same form I have attacked the B. of B., one who is equally hated by them." Owing to the peculiar phraseology of these pieces, it may be difficult by any internal evidence to identify them with De Foe; that addressed to Sacheverell contains some passages that are certainly like him. They appear to have been written by a Whig and a Dissenter, personating a Quaker; one who heartily concurred in the government of King George, but had a friendly feeling for the late queen, and was averse to any vindictive proceedings against the late ministers. In all these features, they fully concur with the other writings of our author. The pamphlets are four in number, and their titles may be esteemed literary curiosities.

1. "A Friendly Epistle by way of reproof, from one of the People called Quakers, to Thomas Bradbury, a dealer in many Words. London: printed and sold by S. Keimer, at the Printing Press in Paternoster-Row. 1715." 8vo. pp. 39. The object of this address was to divert the preacher from the pursuit of politics in the pulpit, particularly in calling for the blood of the late ministers; and to exhort him to direct his zeal against the vices of the times, as exhibited in play-houses and other haunts of profaneness. The motive for singling him out from others, was the boldness he had discovered both now, and in the late times, and his public reproofs of the queen's ministers; which also gave rise to another pamphlet levelled at him, and intitled "Burnet and Bradbury: or the Confederacy of the Press and the Pulpit for the Blood of the last Ministry. 1715." They were also coupled together in another work, called "Burnet and Bradbury compared."

2. "A Sharp Rebuke from one of the People called Quakers, to Henry Sacheverell, the High-Priest of Andrews, Holborn. By the same Friend that wrote to Thomas Bradbury. London: S. Keimer. 1715." 8vo. pp. 35. This is a reproof to Sacheverell, for the absurd stir he had made for the church in the late reign, and also for his continued proceedings, which had no other object than to breed riots, and to alienate the affections of the people from the new government. The wickedness of his past life, is glanced at for the purpose of awakening his conscience, and instructing his followers; his public misdeeds in reference to King William, the Pretender, and the reigning sovereign, are also brought to light; and he is exhorted to

repent and abandon the projects of the Tories, whose cause was now become hopeless. (U)

3. "A Seasonable Expostulation with, and Friendly Reproof unto, James Butler, who, by the Men of this World, is styled Duke of O———d, relating to the Tumults of the People. By the same Friend that wrote to Thomas Bradbury, the Dealer in many Words, and Henry Sacheverell, the High-Priest of Andrews, Holborn. London: S. Keimer. 1715." 8vo. pp. 31. The Duke of Ormond, who had entered deeply into the projects of the Jacobites, was then the idol of the high-church mob, and was suspected of courting popularity by acts of indiscretion, at a time when he was under the frowns of the government. The evident propriety of his abstaining from such courses, gave rise to the expostulations of the writer, who counsels him to take heed lest he should suffer by the acts of evil men who made use of his name for factious purposes.

4. "A Declaration of Truth to Benjamin Hoadly, one of the High Priests of the Land, and of the Degree whom Men call Bishops. By a Ministering Friend, who

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(U) At the end of this pamphlet is the following advertisement relative to the former:—"Whereas, there was public notice given in a paper, commonly called the *London Gazette*, the 5th day, and in another paper called the *Daily Courant*, the 7th day of the present month (by several ministering friends and others who have become backsliders and time-servers) that a book, intitled, "A Friendly Epistle, by way of Reproof, from one of the People called Quakers," was written by an adversary, and with an evil intent against the king, princes, and rulers of the land; and that the said book contains several irreverent expressions against the king: This is to inform the people, that the said notice is entirely false and malicious, and that the said book was written by a friend in unity with the people called Quakers; and that he is moved to reprove them also in public for their backslidings. N. B.—This day is published, the *fifth* edition of the said book. Printed for the author, and sold by the publisher of this paper. P. S.—The reason why the author does not put his name to the aforesaid book is, because Friends would ruin him for his plain-dealing."

writ to Thomas Bradbury, a Dealer in many words. London: printed for E. More, near St. Paul's, and sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. 1717. Price Sixpence." 8vo. pp. 31. In this work, Hoadly is commended for his manly avowal of the truth, in his celebrated sermon before the king, concerning the nature and objects of Christ's kingdom; which he declared to be a spiritual constitution, not cognizable by temporal pains and penalties annexed by ecclesiastics to the churches of this world. Our author exhorts the court-preacher to follow out his liberal and enlightened views, which would land him at last in the community of Friends. "Verily *Benjamin,* thou hast done well in that thou hast openly declared the iniquity of those who have armed themselves with unlawful power, and have exercised tyranny over their brethren, saying, ye must join with us, otherwise ye shall go to prison; or otherwise you shall have no honour, or part or lot among us: Whereas King Jesus never left any such commandment. But it remaineth as a difficulty, or doubt unto us who are Friends, how thou canst lay a confederacy with these men! Verily, *Benjamin,* if thou come not out from among them, thou wilt give occasion to wicked men to say of thee, that thou hast said that in thy teaching office which thou wilt not put in practice in thy person. Wherefore, friend *Benjamin,* as I know that the truth hath been spoken by thee, I warn thee for thy good, that thou come out speedily from among them; lay down thy painted vestments and profane trinkets, the ensigns of that usurpation upon thy Lord and Master's kingdom, which thou hast so faithfully borne thy testimony against.—Blessed art thou, O *Benjamin,* in that thou hast borne thy testimony against these things. Wherefore I know, that leaving behind thee all these wicked and erroneous opinions, and bearing witness to the truth, thou will at length join thyself unto us, and I rejoice over thee in this, that thou art enlightened to know the truth. Friend *Timothy* greeteth thee in like manner; as also *James* the aged, a lover of those who forsake the errors of the wicked. In a word, all Friends greet thee, and speak well of thee. Fare thee well."

In 1716, there appeared a work of a miscellaneous nature, embracing a variety of topics relating to the public interest, and interspersed with many judicious remarks, intitled, "Thoughts on Trade and a Public Spirit. Considered under the following heads, viz.—1. Companies in Trade. 2. Stock Jobbers. 3. Projectors. 4. Corruptions in the Law and Public Offices. 5. Of a Public Spirit. Humbly dedicated to all Lovers of their Country. London: printed for the Author. 1716." 8vo. pp. 212. This work is thought to have been the production of De Foe; but it should seem from the Preface that it was the author's first appearance before the world in that character; and there is a passage or two in the body of the work, concerning the late ministers, which De Foe would probably not have written. It is, however, an excellent work, abounding in just sentiment, and enlivened by many striking examples illustrating the various topics of which it treats. It also contains much useful information concerning the execution of the laws, the conduct of official persons, and the abuses in public trusts. The author writes like a sensible and judicious man, anxious to remedy the evils he complains of, which are only to be cured by the exercise of a public spirit. He has also many excellent remarks of a moral nature, designed to enforce a public spirit, the value of which he illustrates by some striking examples.

Although De Foe had withdrawn himself from politics, his name continued to be associated with some of the numerous publications to which the events of the new reign had given birth; yet it is doubtful whether he drew his pen upon political subjects after the publication of his "Appeal," which may be considered as his final legacy to the political world.

A passing notice, however, may be expected of those works to which his name has been commonly attached.

The first of them intitled to notice, is "Some Account of the Two Nights Court at Greenwich: wherein may be seen the Reason, Rise and Progress of the late unnatural Rebellion against his Sacred Majesty King George and his Government. London: printed for J. Baker, 1716. 8vo. pp.72. The object of the work is to detail the Conversation that took place in some private cabals at Greenwich, both before and after the king's landing; the result of which was the disappointment of the late ministers at the sudden turn of affairs, and the resolution of several Lords and gentlemen to raise a rebellion in favor of the Pretender. They were to begin by dividing the people at home, through the assistance of the clergy, who were to beat the drum ecclesiastic; and this being accomplished, they made themselves sure of a co-operation from abroad. Some of the agents in the business are distinctly alluded to, as also the manner in which their designs were to be carried into effect. It was probably the work of some zealous Whig.

For the further security of the new government, as well as to consolidate the power of the Whigs, a measure was brought forward in 1716, to lengthen the duration of parliament. It was at first proposed in accommodation to the exigences of the time, to be only temporary; but this scheme was abandoned in favour of a permanent measure, which received the sanction of both Houses, and is commonly known by the name of "The Septennial Bill." Whilst it was under discussion, De Foe is reputed to have written "The Triennial Bill impartially stated. Lond. 1716;" but Mr. Chalmers thinks the pamphlet was not his. Boyer insults him for it in his "Political State," for April, and says, that all the arguments against the bill were fully confuted "by the ingenious and judicious Joseph Addison, Esq." Upon this important subject, many persons equally judicious have thought differently; and it is happy for the age, that political topics can now be discussed with more temper and good manners than was the lot of that in which Boyer wrote.

In the early part of the following year, De Foe was again brought upon the public stage, but with the same misconception of fact and malignancy of spirit as in the former instance. Toland had published in the month of January, 1717, "The State Anatomy of Great Britain. Containing a particular account of its several interests and parties, their bent and genius: and what each of them, with all the rest of Europe, may hope or fear from the right and family of King George. Being a Memorial sent by an intimate Friend to a Foreign Minister, lately nominated to come for the Court of England. London: printed for John Philips." 8vo. pp. 104. This work, which quickly passed through nine editions, and treats of a variety of subjects connected with civil and religious liberty, gave most offence by its recommending the naturalization of foreigners, and the introduction of two Hanoverian noblemen into the House of Peers, contrary to an existing statute, which the author proposed to be dispensed with in their favour. This suggestion drew forth an angry answer, intitled "An argument proving that the Design of employing and Ennobling Foreigners, is a treasonable conspiracy against the Constitution, dangerous to the Kingdom, an Affront to the Nobility of Scotland in particular, and dishonourable to the Peerage of Great Britain in general. With an appendix; wherein an insolent pamphlet, entitled *The Anatomy of Great Britain,* is Anatomized; and its Design and Author detected and exposed. London: 1717, 8vo. pp. 102. Boyer, in his "Political State," ascribes this work to De Foe, and as such it was replied to by Toland, who published in April, "The Second Part of the State Anatomy, &c., containing a Short Vindication of the Former Part, against the Misrepresentations of the ignorant or the malicious, especially relating to our Ministers of State and to

Foreigners; with some Reflections on the designed Clamour against the Army, and on the Swedish Conspiracy. Also, Letters to his Grace, the late Archbishop of Canterbury, and to the Dissenting Ministers of all Denominations, in the year 1705-6, about a general Toleration, with some of their Answers to the Author: who now offers to public Consideration what was then transacted for Private Satisfaction; together with a Letter from their High Mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces, on the same subject. London: 1717. 8vo. pp. 80. Toland frequently points to De Foe by name in this performance, and handles him with great severity as his supposed antagonist; but in this he was mistaken, as is fully apparent from the rejoinder of his former adversary, who published "A Farther Argument against Ennobling Foreigners, in Answer to the 'Two Parts of the State Anatomy: with a Short Account of the Anatomizer: printed for E. Moore, near St. Paul's, 1717. 8vo. pp. 43. The writer acquaints Toland, that in seeking for an author to fight with, he had dressed up a man of straw; and "finding it greatly to his purpose, that De Foe, author of the 'True-Born Englishman,' should pass for the author of the 'Argument against ennobling Foreigners,' he has singled him out, and fallen upon him in a most merciless manner. He has recommended him to the revenge of his foreigners, and to the resentment of the government. He has exposed, ridiculed, bantered, and in a word, as far as in him lies, murthered the man; and yet all this while, this man, as I find, was no more author of this book, than the man in the moon. Nay, as I hear, for I have no knowledge of the man, he has been sick in his bed all the while. In carrying on this tragi-comedy, he takes care to summon for evidence all that this D. F. has said upon the same subject in his pamphlets and poems formerly written, and to confront this with what I have said now." He accuses Toland with "having taken a wrong aim, and charging a man falsely with writing a book, who really has no concern in it, or about it." In another place, he says, "If Mr. Baker, the publisher, were not just at the point of death, while this is at the press, a particular account of that part would be given; but it is none of my business to vindicate De Foe, however injuriously he may be treated." Toland had charged De Foe with being a writer in *Mercurius Politicus*, but without any real foundation. Dr. Fiddes was another of Toland's antagonists in this controversy, and is severely handled by him in his Second Part.

The threatened invasion of England by the Swedish monarch in 1717, gave rise to a pamphlet, exposing the little danger that was to be apprehended from any such attempt, and intitled, "What if the Swedes should come? With some Thoughts about keeping the Army on Foot, whether they come or not. London. J. Roberts, 1717." 8vo. This work, perhaps more from the likeness of the title to that of one of his former pieces than from any weightier consideration, has been sometimes ascribed to De Foe.

Another work, with which his name has been usually associated in the booksellers' catalogues, is intitled, "The History of the Press-Yard: or a brief Account of the Customs and Ceremonies that are put in Practice, and to be met with in that ancient Repository of living Bodies, called his Majesty's Gaol of Newgate, in London. Lond. 1717." 8vo. This account of the behaviour of the rebel-prisoners during their confinement, appears to have been written by one of their own class, who was chamber-fellow with young Bottair in Newgate; so that De Foe can have no pretensions to the authorship. Another work appeared shortly afterwards upon the same subject, in the shape of a diary of the proceedings of the prisoners, and may be regarded as a sort of counter-statement. It is intitled "The

Secret History of the Rebels in Newgate. Giving an Account of their daily Behaviour, from their Commitment to their Gaol-delivery. Taken from a Diary kept by a Gentleman in the same Prison. London: printed and sold by A. Dodd, &c. Price Sixpence." 8vo. No date. The first pamphlet is written by a friend to the prisoners; and both of them are interesting documents.

We have seen, in an early part of this work, that some connexion had formerly subsisted between our author and Dunton, the projector. The jealousy of the latter had led to some occasional sparring, which, however, does not appear to have detracted from his respect for De Foe, to whose character he pays homage in various parts of his works; yet his name nowhere occurs in any of De Foe's writings. Their intercourse appears to have been renewed at this time; for we find amongst the Rawlinson manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, the rough draught of "Articles of agreement between Daniel De Foe and John Dunton, for writing a weekly paper, to be intitled, 'The Hanover Spy.' Dated October 28, 1717." This project, it is probable, was never executed.

Another work, generally attributed to De Foe, that made its appearance in this year, was "Minutes of the Negociations of Mons. Mesnager, at the Court of England, towards the close of the last Reign. Wherein some of the most secret Transactions at that time, relating to the Interest of the Pretender, and a clandestine separate Peace, are detected and laid open. Written by Himself. Done out of French. London: printed for J. Baker, at the Black Boy and Anchor, in Paternoster-Row. 1717." 8vo. pp. 326. A second edition of this work, printed for J. Roberts, was published in 1736. There is nothing but traditional authority for ascribing this work to De Foe, and its internal character affords just reason for suspecting that it has no solid foundation. (x) Although pretending to be a translation from the French, it was composed in England, but not by the French agent named in the title. It contains a curious narrative of the secret intrigues that brought about the peace of Utrecht, bearing upon the face of it every mark of authenticity; and as such it has been appealed to by most of our historians. Savage, in his satire "On False Historians," speaks of it as "a book calculated to vilify the administration in the four last years of Queen Anne's reign;" and pronounces it a forgery:

> "Some usurp names—an English garreteer
> From minutes forged, is Monsieur Mesnager."

There is, perhaps, juster reason for ascribing to our author the following work: "Memoirs of the Church of Scotland. In Four Periods. I. The Church in her Infant State, from the Reformation to the Queen Mary's Abdication. II. The Church in its Growing State, from the Abdication to the Restoration. III. The Church in its Persecuted State, from the Restoration to the Revolution. IV. The Church in its Present State, from the Revolution to the Union. With an Appendix of some Transactions since the Union. London: printed for Eman. Matthews, at the Bible, and T. Warner, at the Black-Boy, both in Paternoster Row. 1717." 8vo. pp. 438. The materials for this valuable work, were probably gleaned by De Foe, during his frequent visits to Scotland. He tells us that he applied himself to living witnesses for information, gathered up something from oral tradition, and made the best use of written authorities. Amongst these, Knox, Buchanan, Calderwood, and Spottiswood, are most frequently referred to. In the use of his authorities, he has discovered no less judgment than research, whilst he writes with a feeling and pathos that show how deeply he was interested in the events as they passed before him. He is much concerned that a fuller narrative had not been presented to the public, to "do justice, not to the church of Scotland only, but to the memory and families of the particular sufferers, and confessors, who have sacrificed themselves in defence of religion, in that part of Great Britain." This consideration, he says, "has made an officious stranger concern himself in the work. He could not bear to think, that the memory of the most glorious scene of action, and the most dismal scene of suffering, which the Church of Scotland has passed through, should lie buried in their own ashes, and not a man be found who could effectually employ himself, and set seriously about the work of ransoming things of such consequence from the grave of forgetfulness." The defect here complained of, was supplied a few years afterwards, in a very ample and satisfactory manner, in the work of Mr. Woodrow. As a compendious narrative of an important period in the Scottish History, De Foe's work will always retain its interest, both for the value of its facts, and the felicitous manner in which they are related. A recent biographer of De Foe remarks, with equal taste and judgment, "His narrative of the earlier part of the eventful history of the Presbyterian Church, may be perused with pleasure, even by those who have lived to see the same period treated of by the greatest historical writer of the present day, Dr. M'Crie; while his representations of the more recent troubles in the times of the Covenanters, his descriptions of the battles of Claverhouse, and the cruelties of the persecution under James II., need scarcely shrink from a comparison with some of the most picturesque passages in the first 'Tales of my Landlord.'"* There are, perhaps, few English writers to whom the Church of Scotland owes so many obligations as to De Foe, who watched her interests with fidelity and affection, at a time when she was threatened by powerful enemies, and defended her with a zeal and ability which could only be expected from a warm friend and admirer. His "Memoirs of the Church of Scotland," has never been reprinted, and is now amongst the scarcest of his works.

(x) Oldmixon, in his reply to Bishop Atterbury, page 7, expressly says that Mesnager's Negociation was written by De Foe, and that he composed it "by direction or encouragement of the quondam Treasurer, Harley, who could not but be well acquainted with the subject described." This writer, however, is so often mistaken in his representations of things, that no great reliance is to be placed upon his testimony.

The division that took place in the ministry in 1717, gave rise to much political discussion. Lord Townshend's party that went out, was attacked by Dr. Tindall, in a pamphlet intitled, "The Defection considered, and the Designs of those who divided the Friends of the Government, set in a true Light. Lond. 1717." 8vo. To this, several answers were immediately published. One of them, written by George Sewell, M.D. is intitled, "The Resigners Vindicated: or the Defection re-considered. In which the Designs of all Parties are set in a true Light. By a Gentleman. Lond. 1718." 8vo. Another writer replied in "The Defection Detected; or Faults laid on the Right Side. In Answer to a late Anonymous Pamphlet, called the 'Defection considered,' &c. Lond. 1718." 8vo. A third answer to Tindall is intitled, "Some Persons Vindicated against the Author of 'The Defection,' &c. And that Writer convicted of Malice and Falsehood. R——W——Esq. London: 1718." 8vo. The author of Tindall's life ascribes the last pamphlet to De Foe; but certainly without any good reason. The author was probably either Walpole himself, or some person in his confidence, to whom he disclosed some facts that could be known only through him. Tindall complains heavily of this disclosure, in a pamphlet written by him in the same year, intitled, "An Account of a Manuscript, intitled, 'Destruction the certain consequence of Division: or the Necessity of a Strict Union between all who love the present Government and Protestant Religion.' Written at the desire of R——W——Esq.; and left with him at his Request, but since exposed, contrary to his Promise, with Aspersions on the Author of the Defection, &c. Lond. 1718." 8vo. Before the publication of this piece, Tindall vindicated his first pamphlet, in 'The Defection further Considered.' London: 1718."

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* Pref. to Cadell's ed. of Robinson Crusoe.

In 1718, De Foe followed up his method of familiarizing religion to the young and the uninformed, by publishing a second volume of his moral dialogues. It is intitled, "The Family Instructor. In Two Parts. 1. Relating to Family Breaches, and their obstructing religious Duties. 2. To the great Mistake of mixing the Passions in the managing and correcting of Children. With a great variety of Cases relating to setting ill-examples to Children and Servants. Vol. II. London: printed for Eman. Matthews, at the Bible in Paternoster-Row. 1718." 12mo. pp. 404. His former volume had then reached a fourth edition. This success encouraged him to pursue the subject, although he considered it "a bold adventure to write a second volume of any thing, the success of a first part being no rule to expect success to a second; the modern readers of books having a general opinion that second parts never come up to the spirit of the first." He however flattered himself that his present effort would be an exception to that rule. He refers to Milton, as differing from the world in its judgment upon his two great performances, and cites his reason for the common opinion; "that the people had a general sense of the loss of Paradise, but not an equal gust for the regaining of it." In point of value, De Foe's second volume is not inferior to the first.

The dialogue is equally pleasing, and the moral no less important and instructive. It is rather a companion than a sequel to the former volume, the story being unconnected. "If novelty, the modern vice of the reading palate," says he, "is to judge of our performances, the whole scene now presented, is so entirely differing from all that went before, and so eminently directed to another species of readers, that it seems to be as perfectly new, as if no other part had been published before it." A reflection upon the different scenes of human life, suggested new matter for his pen, and he seized the occasion from passing follies, to convey wholesome instruction to his readers. The silence of our best writers upon the relative duties, induced him to take up the subject as one of great importance, and to press it earnestly upon those who had the government of families. "Doubtless there are duties in all our relative stations one to another; duties from parents to children, and from masters to servants, as well as from children to parents, and from servants to masters; and it must be owned by all who look narrowly into these things, that, as on the one hand there are great mistakes committed in the government of themselves and their families by parents and masters, so there is perhaps less said upon those necessary heads in public, than upon any other." He hints largely upon the correction of children, and points out the impropriety of suffering the passions to gain the ascendancy. The excellent maxims that run through the volume, commend it to the judgment of every judicious reader; whilst it breathes a strain of piety calculated to arouse the attention, and kindle the best affections of the heart. The third edition of this volume was printed in 1727, and since then has been often re-printed as a companion to the first volume. They are both admirably adapted to awaken the attention of the careless, to instruct the ignorant, and to please the virtuous. Whilst the young are attracted by the incidents that compose the narratives, their accurate delineation of human nature must extort praise from the learned, and will remain a standing monument of the skill and ingenuity of the writer. There are perhaps few books better adapted for family reading, for parochial libraries, or for circulation amongst the poor; and if the author had written nothing else, these volumes alone possess a sufficient merit to give him a high place amongst English moralists.

It has occurred to the present writer, whether De Foe was not the author of the Life of Dr. Daniel Williams, published by Curll, in this year. There is not only a strong resemblance in the style, but there are other internal marks, which may be detected by a comparison with some of his writings (Y). The work here alluded to is intitled, "Memoirs of the Life and Eminent Conduct of that learned and reverend divine, DANIEL WILLIAMS, D.D. With some Account of his Scheme for the vigorous Propagation of Religion, as well in England as in Scotland, and several other parts of the World. Addressed to Mr. Peirce. London: printed for E. Curll, at the Dial and Bible, against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet Street. 1718. Price 2*s.* 6*d.* bound." 8vo. pp. 86. To this is annexed, "A true Copy of the last Will and Testament of Dr. Williams." pp. 45. Dr. Williams was an eminent Presbyterian divine, first in Dublin, and afterwards in London. He was a liberal benefactor to the Dissenters; and dying in 1716, left the bulk of his property, which was considerable, to charitable uses. He was the founder of an extensive library for the use of the Dissenters, bearing his name, and situated in Red-Cross Street, London.

In the controversy concerning the doctrine of the Trinity, during the early part of the last century, the Dissenters, it is

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(Y) See particularly "The Parallel: or, Persecution of Protestants the Shortest Way to prevent the Growth of Popery in Ireland. 1704."

well known, took a large share. During the contention, much angry feeling was discovered by both sides, and the cause of charity was sacrificed to a zeal for orthodoxy. Salters'-Hall, the arena of the disputes, exhibited scenes of tumult and discord, but little befitting an assembly of grave divines, met together for the avowed purpose of composing their differences. The conduct manifested by the more violent, drew down much obloquy upon the Dissenters, and exposed them to the talk and derision of their enemies. Pamphlets flew about in all directions, abounding in censures and recriminations, but having no tendency to settle the points at issue. In the midst of this paper war, De Foe stepped in, not as a partizan, nor as interfering in any way in the quarrel; but in the pacific character of a mediator between the two parties. He conjures them to lay aside their quarrels, and to consult the safety and reputation of their cause, as Dissenters, by studying the things that make for peace. The title of his tract is, "A Letter to the Dissenters. London: printed for J. Roberts, in Warwick-Lane. 1719. Price Sixpence." pp. 27. 8vo. Our author had so often appeared in the character of a peace-maker, and with so little success, that he was diffident of his labours upon this occasion. "The passions of men are none of their best friends; and though when the passions are most violent, they stand at that time in most need of advice, it seems of all times the most unseasonable to offer it." De Foe gives much judicious advice to the Dissenters, founded upon urgent motives, for allaying their animosities; but the disease was seated too deeply to yield to correctives, and diffused a poison that corrupted the whole mass.

In the same year, De Foe appeared again before the world as the translator of a French work, relative to the disputes between the Jesuits and the Jansenists. It is intitled, "A Curious Oration delivered by Father Andrews, concerning the present Great Quarrels that divide the Clergy of France. Translated from the French. By D. De F—e. London: 1719." 8vo.

In this year, De Foe assigned over some property that he had in the hands of the South-Sea Company, to the person named in the following deed; but for what purpose does not appear. The original is in the possession of Mr. Upcott, to whom the public is indebted for this copy.

"Know all Men by these P̃sents That I Daniel De Foe, of Stoke Newington in the County of Midx. Gent. have made, ordained, deputed, authorised, and appointed, and by these P̃sents do make, ordain, depute, authorize, and appoint Mordecai Jenkins of London, Gent., my true and lawful attorney, for me, and in my name, to assign and transfer to any person or persons whomsoever, the sum of One hundred Twenty seven pounds ten shillings, being all the stock which I have in the Books of the Governor and Company of Merchants of Great Britain, trading to the South Seas, and other parts of America, and for encouraging the Fishery, with full power to make and give proper and sufficient acquittance for the considerãen money to be had and received for the same, and generally to make and do all such other necessary acts and things proper to be done, as fully and effectually as I myself might or should do being personally present, hereby ratifying and confirming whatsoever my said Attorney shall lawfully do or cause to be done, in and about the premises. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this Two and Twentieth day of March, Anno Dom° 1719. Anno R R^{s} Georgii D. G. Mag. Brita cr. 6°"

DANIEL DE FOE."

"Sealed and delivered
in the presence of us,
JOSEPH BOONE,
JA. RUCK."

CHAPTER XVII.

De Foe's merits as a writer of Fiction.—Estimate of them by Charles Lamb. "Robinson Crusoe."—History of its Publication.—Its great success.—De Foe publishes a second volume.—Piracy of this Work.—Controversy concerning it.—Libel upon De Foe.—Blair's character of "Robinson Crusoe."—Johnson's Eulogy.—De Foe publishes his "Serious Reflections."—Design of the Work.—The Author's allusions to Himself.—Subjects discussed.—Popularity and character of "Robinson Crusoe."—Rousseau's commendation.—Judgment of Dr. Beattie.—Origin of the Work.—"Timothy Crusoe."—"Account of Alexander Selkirk."—Works relating to him.—Steele's Paper in the "Englishman."—How far De Foe was indebted to his story.—Idle tale of his Plagiarism discussed.—Writers for and against it.—The Work ascribed to Arbuthnot and Harley.—Various opinions upon the place of its birth.—Notice of its various editions.—French and Spanish translations.—A great favourite with the Arabs.—Imitations of the Work.—"Philip Quarll."—Professor Campe's French Work.—Spanish and Latin translations.—Edition of Mad. Montmorency Lavale.

1719.

WHATEVER fame De Foe had created for himself amongst his contemporaries by his previous writings, it has been eclipsed in the judgment of posterity, by the series of imaginative works which now fell from his pen with astonishing rapidity, and will entail honour upon his name so long as true genius, consecrated by moral worth, shall continue to be an object of estimation. There can be no doubt that long habit, urged on by necessity, contributed greatly to lessen the toils of composition; and that the readiness he had acquired, received an additional stimulus from the excitements of genius. Yet no man, without the resources of De Foe, could have combined, with the same rapidity, so much varied and useful information. To extensive reading upon almost every branch of literature, he united an intimate knowledge of the world; and his resources were so much at his command, that he appears to have drawn upon them with little apparent labour. Accustomed to view mankind in all its gradations of station and character; conversing sometimes with the great, at other times with the low, he had stored his mind with an abundance of materials, which a lively fancy enabled him to turn to a good account. His commerce with the world had brought him acquainted with its habits and occupations, its business and amusements, and with all the forms in which society has developed the human passions. Engaged from his earliest years in active pursuits, and thrown by the accidents of life into almost every variety of situation, he had an opportunity of reading instructive lessons upon human nature, and furnished many scenes of real life from the storehouse of his own experience. A character formed in so extensive a school, acutely alive to passing events, and disciplined by correct habits of thinking, was at no loss for incidents to awaken the attention of mankind; whilst his habitual seriousness led him to improve every occasion for converting them into channels of instruction. Intimately acquainted with the whole circle of common life, he possessed the talent above most men, of seizing upon ordinary occurrences, and throwing over them a charm which they owe entirely to the force of his own fancy. But his genius was happily chastened by a correct and solid judgment. His mind was no less vigorous than acute, and being tempered by a high tone of moral feeling, he insinuates instruction insensibly upon his readers, whilst he administers to their amusement. If some of his fictions partake of less refinement than can be desired, he does not, like many of his contemporaries, disgust us with their sallies of vulgarity; he no where sacrifices decency to wit; nor does he offend by the extravagancy of his descriptions. De Foe uniformly pays homage to virtue; and when he dives into the depravity of the human character, it is for the purpose of raising it to the standard of excellence. Whilst he wrote with an ease and fluency that communicated life and grace to his subject; it is more than probable that the enchantments of his pen yielded as much pleasure to him that wielded it, as they communicated to the mass of his admirers.

The following remarks upon De Foe's works of genuis, are from the pen of the Author's highly esteemed friend, Charles Lamb, and are original. "In the appearances of truth, in all the incidents and conversations that occur in them, they exceed any works of fiction that I am acquainted with. It is perfect illusion. The author never appears in these self-narratives (for so they ought to be called, or rather auto-biographies) but the narrator chains us down to an implicit belief in every thing he says. There is all the minute detail of a log-book in it. Dates are painfully pressed upon the memory. Facts are repeated over and over in varying phrases, till you cannot chuse but believe them. It is like reading evidence in a court of Justice. So anxious the story-teller seems that the truth should be clearly comprehended, that when he has told us a matter of fact, or a motive, in a line or two farther down he repeats it, with his favourite figure of speech, *I say*, so and so, though he had made it abundantly plain before. This is in imitation of the common people's way of speaking, or rather of the way in which they are addressed by a master or mistress, who wishes to impress something upon their memories, and has a wonderful effect upon matter-of-fact readers. Indeed, it is to such principally that he writes. His style is every where beautiful, but plain and homely. *Robinson Crusoe* is delightful to all ranks and classes; but it is easy to see, that it is written in a phraseology peculiarly adapted to the lower conditions of readers. Hence, it is an especial favourite with sea-faring men, poor boys, servant-maids, &c. His novels are capital kitchen-reading, while they are worthy, from their interest, to find a shelf in the libraries of the wealthiest and the most learned. His passion for matter-of-fact narrative, sometimes betrayed him into a long relation of common incidents, which might happen to any man, and have no interest beyond the intense appearance of truth in them, to recommend them. The whole latter half, or two thirds, of 'Colonel Jack' is of this description. The beginning of *Colonel Jack* is the most affecting natural picture of a young thief, that was ever drawn. His losing the stolen money in the hollow tree, and finding it again when in despair; and then being in equal distress at not knowing how to dispose of it, and several similar touches in the early history of the Colonel, evince a deep knowledge of human nature; and putting out of question the superior romantic interest of the latter, in my mind very much exceeds Crusoe. *Roxana* (first edition) is the next in interest, though he left out the best part of it in subsequent editions, from a foolish hyper-criticism of his friend Southerne. But *Moll Flanders,* the account of the *Plague,* &c. &c. are all of one family, and have the same stamp of character."

The first, and by far the most celebrated, of those works of imagination, which have conferred immortality upon the name of De Foe, appeared in 1719, under the title of "The Life and Strange Surprizing adventures of ROBINSON CRUSOE, of York, Mariner: who lived eight and twenty years all alone in an uninhabited Island on the Coast of America, near the Mouth of the Great River Oroonoque; having been cast on shore by Shipwreck, wherein all the men perished but himself. With an Account how he was at last strangely delivered by Pirates. Written by Himself. London: printed for W. Taylor, at the Ship, in Paternoster-Row, 1719." 8vo. pp. 364 (z).

In a preface remarkable for its brevity and simplicity, De

(z) It was entered at Stationers' Hall, for William Taylor, the 23rd of April, 1719.

Foe thus introduces this enchanting narrative to his readers. "If ever the story of any private man's adventures in the world were worth making public, and were acceptable when published, the Editor of this account thinks this will be so. The wonders of this man's life exceed all that he thinks are to be found extant; the life of one man being scarce capable of greater variety. The story is told with modesty, with seriousness, and with a religious application of events to the uses to which wise men always apply them, viz. to the instructions of others by example, and to justify and honour the wisdom of Providence in all the variety of their circumstances, let them happen how they will. The Editor believes the thing to be a just history of fact; neither is there any appearance of fiction in it. However this may be, for all such things are disputed, he is of opinion that the improvement of it, as well to the diversion, as to the instruction of the reader, will be the same; and as such, he thinks, without farther compliment to the world, he does them a great service in the publication."

Singular as it may have appeared in after times, the manuscript of "Robinson Crusoe" passed through the whole circle of the trade before it could find a purchaser. A circumstance so discreditable to the judgment of the booksellers, can only be referred to that class of unaccountables, which, for want of a better solution, we resolve into caprice. The great mind that conceived the matchless poem of "Paradise Lost," had presented many years before a striking instance of this waywardness of taste: but De Foe's bookseller had greater reason to congratulate himself upon the success of his speculation. This was so immediate, and so rapid, that less no than four editions were published in as many months; and several printers were set to work upon them, in order to satisfy the eager demands of the public (A). William Taylor, the

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(A) Mr. Dibdin, in his "Library Companion," states "That 'Robinson Crusoe' first greeted the public eye in the sorrily printed pages of 'The Original London Post, or Heathcote's Intelligence,' from No. 125 to No. 289, fortunate purchaser, is said to have cleared a thousand pounds by the work. The extent of De Foe's remuneration is not known; but it was probably far from being large. That which had passed through so many hands with a cool indifference, was not likely to meet with a warm reception at last. Had De Foe retained the copy-right in his own hands, it would have been a fortune to himself and family. The sudden success of the work fully justified the expectation of the author, and was an argument in favour of the good taste of the public. "If it be inquired," says Mr. Chalmers, "by what charm it is that these *Surprizing Adventures* should have instantly pleased, and always pleased, it will be found, that few books have ever so naturally mingled amusement with instruction. The attention is fixed, either by the simplicity of the narration, or by the variety of the incidents; the heart is amended by *a vindication of the ways of God to man*; and the understanding is informed by various examples, how much utility ought to be preferred to ornament: the young are instructed, while the old are amused."*.

The favorable reception of this volume, notwithstanding some insidious attempts to prejudice the public against it, encouraged the author to pursue the subject. A second part, the composition of which was the labour of little more than three months, was published in the following August. It was sold to the publisher of the former part, and appeared with the following title. "The Farther Adventures of ROBINSON CRUSOE: being the Second and Last Part of his Life, and the Strange Surprizing Accounts of his Travels round three Parts of the Globe. Written by Himself. To which is added,

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inclusively; the latter dated 7th October, 1719." But this statement must be incorrect; as the first edition appeared in an octavo volume as early as the month of April. The popularity of the work, no doubt, occasioned it to be pirated in this manner, to promote the circulation of Heathcote's paper. The only copy of it in this form, known to be in existence, is in the valuable library of the Right Honourable Thomas Grenville.

* Life of De Foe, p. 52.

a Map of the World, in which is delineated the Voyages of Robinson Crusoe. London: printed for W. Taylor. 1719." 8vo. pp. 373. (B) As so many editions of the former volume had given a sufficient attestation of the public opinion in its favour, De Foe, in announcing the continuation, triumphs over the malice of invidious criticism, and rests his defence upon the utility of the performance. The whole of the preface is worth transcribing, as forming a part of the history of the work. It is as follows:—

"The success the former part of this work has met with in the world, has yet been no other than is acknowledged to be due to the surprizing variety of the subject, and to the agreeable manner of the performance. All the endeavours of envious people to reproach it with being a romance, to search it for errors in geography, inconsistency in the relation, and contradictions in the fact, have proved abortive, and as impotent as malicious. The just application of every incident, the religious and useful inferences drawn from every part, are so many testimonies to the good design of making it publick, and must legitimate all the part that may be called invention, or parable, in the story. The second part, if the Editor's opinion may pass, is (contrary to the usage of second parts,) every way as entertaining as the first, contains as strange and surprizing incidents, and as great a variety of them. Nor is the application less serious or suitable; and doubtless will, to the sober as well as ingenious reader, be every way as profitable and diverting. And this makes the abridging this work as scandalous as it is knavish and ridiculous; seeing, while to shorten the book, that they may seem to reduce the value, they strip it of all those reflections, as well religious as moral, which are not only the greatest beauties of the work, but are calculated for the infinite advantage of the reader.

(B) This volume is entered at Stationer's-Hall, for William Taylor, the 17th of August, 1719.

By this, they leave the work naked of its brightest ornaments; and if they would, at the same time, pretend that the author has supplied the story out of his own invention, they take from it the improvement which alone recommends that invention to wise and good men. The injury these men do the proprietor of this work, is a practice all honest men abhor; and he believes he may challenge them to show the difference between that and robbing on the highway, or breaking open a house. If they can't shew any difference in the crime, they will find it hard to shew why there should be any difference in the punishment: and he will answer for it, that nothing shall be wanting on his part to do them justice."

To warn the public against the injury here complained of, the following advertisement was inserted in the "St. James's Post" for August 7, 1719. "The pretended abridgment of this book, clandestinely printed for T. Cox, at the Amsterdam Coffee-House, consists only of some scattered passages, incoherently tacked together, wherein the author's sense throughout is wholly mistaken, the matters of fact misrepresented, and the moral reflections misapplied. It's hoped the publick will not give encouragement to so base a practice, the proprietor intending to prosecute the venders according to law." This notice produced some angry discussions between the parties. Taylor commenced a suit in Chancery for the protection of his copy-right, and Cox vindicated himself from any concern in the piracy, by the following advertisement inserted in the "Flying Post," Oct. 29, 1719:—

"Whereas, Mr. William Taylor, in Paternoster-Row, has in many of the public newspapers falsely charged T. Cox, at the Amsterdam Coffee-House, with printing an abridgment of a book, pretended to be 'The Life and Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe,' &c., which action the author, in his preface to the second volume, has rendered as heinous as robbing on the highway, or breaking open a house, and challenges any to show him the difference; and promises, as highway-men and robbers, that nothing shall be wanting on his part to do them justice. This, therefore, is to inform the world, that, when the said book was published, I was on my journey to Scotland. Neither had I, directly or indirectly, any concern in the said book, nor knew any thing more of it than this: that a certain person, a few days before I left London, came to me with a part of a sheet, as a specimen of the paper and print, and desired me to buy some of them; and at the same time told me there had been a wrangling between Mr. Taylor and the author about copy-money for the second volume: upon which, I immediately concluded that the author had done it himself in revenge to Mr. Taylor, because he could not bring him to his own terms; and, if I have been mistaken in this one point, I presume those gentlemen who are better acquainted with the author, will very readily forgive me. As soon as I came to London, I went to Mr. Taylor, and gave him all the satisfaction I possibly could, that I had not so much as seen or sold one of the said books; and promised him, at the same time, if he would approve himself so much a man of honour and honesty, as to do me justice in some other advertisement, that I would acquaint him who was the person that brought me the specimen; but being denied, with only a promise that he would stop the prosecution of a bill in Chancery he had taken out against me, I thought I was obliged to offer this much to justify myself. Had that good maxim, which one of them was pleased to remind me of, in a letter to Edinburgh (that honesty is the best policy), but a due influence on their conduct, I am persuaded it would increase the number of fair traders, and convert one of the most prostituted pens in the whole world, more steadily to the service of religion and the best of governments. N.B. If Mr. Taylor, or the author of Crusoe's Don Quixotism, should make any farther steps to insinuate that I was the proprietor of that Abridgement, I assure the public, that, in justice to myself, I shall publish some secrets as yet unknown to the world; and prove that there is as little sincerity and honesty in exposing me, both in bookseller and author, as there is truth in Robinson Crusoe." "T. Cox." (c)

De Foe had been so long accustomed to the ill-usage of the world, that he must have been prepared for its assaults whenever they should overtake him. Whether he appeared abroad as a politician or a moralist, provoking resentment by his satire, or furnishing matter for calming the passions, scandal was still at his heels. Such was the malice of party, that his name was a signal for reproach; his writings were calumniated without a hearing, and condemned by those who were disqualified to pronounce a judgment. "Robinson Crusoe" had scarcely drawn his canoe ashore, as Mr. Chalmers observes, when he was attacked by his old enemies, the savages. The first assault was by a writer who made an attempt at wit, in a dull dialogue, in which he ungenerously raked into the former life and misfortunes of our author. It had nothing to recommend it but the title, which is as follows: "The Life and Surprising Adventures of Mr. D— De F—, of London, Hosier, who has lived above fifty years by himself, in the Kingdom of North and South Britain: the various Shapes he has appeared in, and the Discoveries he has made for the Benefit of his Country. In a Dialogue between Him, Robinsoe Crusoe, and his Man Friday. With Remarks, Serious and Comical, upon the Life of Crusoe. London: printed for J. Roberts. 1719." 8vo. pp. 48.

(c) It appears, from the publisher's introduction to the "Serious Reflections," that this attempt to invade his property failed of success, and the principal person concerned died soon afterwards. The injurious treatment received from the booksellers, was the result only of envy and chagrin. "I must do the author the justice to say," observes the publisher, "that not a dog has wagged his tongue at the work itself, nor has a word been said to lessen the value of it, but which has been the visible effect of envy at the good fortune of the bookseller."

In this low performance, which is said to have been the work of Gildon, the writer has extracted the essence of all that had been previously written to blast the reputation of our author, and had been as often refuted. In his crucible it loses none of its virulence; but, as Mr. Chalmers properly remarks, "he who had been struck by apoplexy, and who was now discountenanced by power, was no fit object of an Englishman's satire." When De Foe was himself a writer of satiric poetry, he declares, "that he never reproached any man for his private infirmities, for having his house burnt, his ships cast away, or his family ruined; nor had he ever lampooned any one, because he could not pay his debts, or differed in judgment from him." However creditable this forbearance, it was no protection to his character; for such was the rancour of party, that it sought nothing less than the destruction of its victim. Envious of his popularity, the dialogue-writer makes Crusoe famous "from Tuttle-street to Limehouse-hole. There is not an old woman," says he, "that can go to the price of it, but buys the 'Life and Adventures,' and leaves it as a legacy with the 'Pilgrims' Progress,' the 'Practice of Piety,' and 'God's Revenge against Murther,' to her posterity." In "An Epistle to De F—," annexed to the Dialogue, the writer shows as little judgment when he sets up for a critic, as he does charity in the rest of his performance. "I have perused your pleasant story of Robinson Crusoe," says he, "and if the faults of it had extended no farther than the frequent solecisms, looseness and incorrectness of style, improbabilities, and sometimes impossibilities, I had not given you the trouble of this epistle." A work that has outlived the feelings of envy, and received the applause of the enlightened in all nations, is now beyond the reach of criticism; but even in the time of this angry writer, the judgment of wise men pronounced a verdict in favour of Crusoe, that left all his adversaries in the back ground. When De Foe published his second volume, the same writer renewed his attack in a "Postscript;" but, as Mr. Chalmers observes, "he has all the dullness without the acumen of Dennis; and all his malignity, without his purpose of reformation." Amongst other absurdities, he had ridiculed Crusoe for his Quixotism, which De Foe received as a compliment. (D) The animadversions of angry men, whatever temporary importance they may receive from party, speedily sink into their merited oblivion; whilst the works they seek to oppress, break through the clouds that obscure them, and shine by the lustre of their own merit. Who amongst the readers of De Foe, ever thinks for a moment of his opponents? Indeed, how few are there who know that he had any? Crusoe makes his way to the heart by a fascination that never wearies, and leaves behind him a sympathy that forms the best criterion of his merits. Dr. Blair observes, "No fiction in any language was ever better supported than the 'Adventures of Robinson Crusoe.' While it is carried on with that appearance of truth and simplicity which takes a strong hold of the imagination of all readers, it suggests at the same time, very useful instruction: by showing how much the native powers of man may be exerted for surmounting the difficulties of any external situation." * Dr. Johnson's eulogium upon the work, is the sentiment felt by every

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(D) In the preface to "Serious Reflections," De Foe observes, "The famous history of 'Don Quixote,' a work which thousands read with pleasure, to one that knows the meaning of it, was an emblematic history of, and a just satire upon, the Duke *De Medina Sidonia*, a person very remarkable at that time in Spain. To those who knew the original, the figures were lively, and easily discovered themselves, as they are also here, and the images were just; and therefore when a malicious, but foolish writer, in the abundance of his gall, spoke of the Quixotism of R. Crusoe, as he called it, he shewed evidently that he knew nothing of what he said, and perhaps will be a little startled when I shall tell him, that what he meant for a satire, was the greatest of panegyricks."

* Lectures on Rhetoric, iii. 82.

reader. In a conversation with Mrs. Thrale, he said, " Was there ever anything written by mere man, that was wished longer by its readers, excepting 'Don Quixote,' 'Robinson Crusoe,' and the 'Pilgrims' Progress?'"

Although the story of 'Robinson Crusoe' was completed in the two volumes already mentioned, and various opportunities had offered for giving it a moral direction, yet such was the anxiety of the author to render it a vehicle for instruction, that he could not be satisfied without adding a supplemental volume, which should embody the musings of Crusoe upon the most important subjects connected with morals and religion. Studious as he was to please, he was still more desirous of being found useful; and in his opinion, the knowledge that led to make us better men, and fitter candidates for eternity, was the highest object of improvement. With such motives, he produced the sequel to his celebrated work, under the title of "SERIOUS REFLECTIONS during the Life and Surprizing Adventures of ROBINSON CRUSOE. With his Vision of the Angelick World. Written by Himself. London: printed for W. Taylor, 1722." 8vo. pp. 354. The success of the former volumes raised sanguine expectations in the publisher as to the present; and he says in his advertisement, " while the parable has been so diverting, the moral must certainly be equally agreeable." But in this, he took a false estimate of mankind. " That this third volume has more morality than fable," says Mr. Chalmers, " is the cause, I fear, that it has never been read with the same avidity as the former two, or spoken of with the same approbation; and he who would inculcate useful truths, must study to amuse, or he will offer his lessons to an auditory, neither numerous nor attentive."

De Foe tells us in his Preface, "that the present work is not merely the product of the two first volumes, but the two first volumes may rather be called the product of this: the fable is always made for the moral, not the moral for the fable." The objection that had been urged against his work, as wholly fictitious, he obviates by observing, "that the story, though allegorical, is also historical; and that it is the beautiful representation of a life of unexampled misfortunes, and of a variety not to be met with in the world, sincerely adapted to, and intended for the common good of mankind; and designed at first, as it is now farther applied, to the most serious uses possible. Farther, that there is a man alive, and well known too, the actions of whose life are the subject of these volumes, and to whom all or most part of the story most directly alludes." After recounting a number of particulars that had a real foundation in history, but were converted by his own inimitable genius to the purposes of his story, he says, "the adventures of Robinson Crusoe are one whole scene of real life of eight and twenty years, spent in the most wandering, desolate and afflicting circumstances that ever a man went through, and in which I have lived so long a life of wonders, in continual storms; fought with the worst kind of savages and man-eaters, by unaccountable surprising incidents; fed by miracles greater than that of ravens; suffered all manner of violences and oppressions, injurious reproaches, contempt of men, attacks of devils, corrections from heaven, and oppositions on earth; have had innumerable ups and downs in matters of fortune; been in worse slavery than Turkish; escaped by an exquisite management, as that in the story of Xury and the boat at Sallee; been taken up at sea in distress; raised again and depressed again, and that oftener perhaps in one man's life than ever was known before; shipwrecked often, though more by land than by sea; in a word, there's not a circumstance in the imaginary story, but has its just allusion to a real story, and chimes part for part, and step for step, with the inimitable life of Robinson Crusoe."

There can be no doubt, that many of the reflections in the present volume were suggested by his former experience, and have a reference to events in his own life. Such is the visit to St. Paul's, when the queen went there in procession to offer thanksgivings for a victory; and which led to some strictures upon the total absence of devotion at such public exhibitions. In the "Vision," towards the end of the volume, he says, "When I was in my island kingdom, I had abundance of strange notions of my seeing apparitions," &c., which he explains by observing, "All these reflections are just history of a state of forced confinement, which in my real history is represented by a confined retreat in an island; and 'tis as reasonable to represent one kind of imprisonment by another, as it is to represent any thing that really exists, by that which exists not. The story of my fright, with something on my bed, was word for word a history of what happened; and indeed all those things received very little alteration, except what necessarily attends removing the scene from one place to another." His meaning in the following passage cannot be mistaken: "had the common way of writing a man's private history been taken, and I had given you the conduct or life of a man you knew, and whose misfortunes and infirmities perhaps you had sometimes unjustly triumphed over, all I could have said would have yielded no diversion, and perhaps scarce have obtained a reading, or at best no attention; the teacher, *like a greater*, having no honour in his own country."

The subjects discussed by our author in this work, are judiciously chosen with reference to the events of his former volumes, and equally applicable as moral discourses, addressed to mankind at large. To arrest the attention, he sometimes enlivens them by examples and dialogues; whilst at others, he talks with the earnestness of a man upon his last voyage, with the port of eternity in prospect. It is impossible to read his admonitions, without giving him full credit for sincerity, and having at the same time a strong persuasion of the piety and good understanding of the writer.

He has some passages relating to spirits, and the doctrine of Providence, which may appear fanciful; but they were the fancies of his day, and detract not from the general utility of his discourses. The honesty of his design is manifested by the spirit of seriousness that runs through the work; which abounds in just sentiments of human life, and offers much useful instruction to those who will listen to it. (E)

"Robinson Crusoe," in spite of all the efforts of envy and malevolence, has taken an honourable station in our literature. It has obtained a ready passport to the mansions of the rich, and the cottages of the poor, and communicated equal delight to all ranks and classes of the community. As a work of amusement, it is one of the first books put into the hands of youth; and there can be none more proper to insinuate instruction, whilst it administers delight. "Robinson Crusoe," says Marmontel, "is the first book I ever read with exquisite pleasure,—and I believe every boy in Europe might say the same thing." Whilst youth and ignorance have found ample scope for entertainment in the succession of incidents, told with all the simplicity and veri-similitude of

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(E) The subjects discussed in this volume are as follows:—

Chap. I. Of Solitude: How incapable to make us happy; and how unqualified to a Christian life.

II. An Essay upon Honesty, under the following Heads. 1. Of Honesty in general. 2. Of the Tryal of Honesty. 3. Of Honesty in Promises. 4. Of Relative Honesty.

III. Of the Immorality of Conversation, and the Vulgar Errors of Behaviour. 1. Of unfitting ourselves for Conversation. 2. Of the Immorality of Conversation in general. 3. Of reforming the Errors of Conversation. 4. Of Atheistical and Profane Discourse. 5. Of Lewd and Immodest Discourse. 6. Of Talking falsely.

IV. An Essay on the Present State of Religion in the World. 2. Of Differences in Religion. 3. Of the wonderful Excellency of negative Religion, and negative Virtue.

V. Of listening to the Voice of Providence.

VI. Of the Proportion between the Christian and Pagan World.

VII. A Vision of the Angelic World.

real life, it has commended itself to the more enlightened, as one of those rare efforts of genius, that places its author in the first rank amongst the writers of invention. As a narrative replete with incidents, it stands unrivalled for its natural and easy transitions from one part of the story to another, unincumbered by irrelative matter, or display of useless ornament. The whole machinery is strictly subservient to the main object of the story, and its various parts are so nicely adjusted, that there is nothing wanting to complete the chain, nor to heighten the interest. Crusoe is strictly a child of Nature, assisted only by the circumstances that arose out of his peculiar situation and sphere of life. There is an air of plausibility, or rather reality, in all the particulars of the story, even to the minutest, that the reader reluctantly admits any part of it to be a fiction. When his mind is upon the stretch, it is absorbed in the fascinating description of scenes from real life; he is never astounded by improbabilities, nor disgusted by mawkish sensibility. His attention is fixed by one artless chain of natural incidents, such as may happen to any individual in a similar situation; but told in a concise manner, without decoration, and deriving their interest solely from the peculiar mode of telling the story.

The fine sentiments that abound in Crusoe, its delicate touches, and pure morality, are not the least parts of its beauties, and give it a decided superiority over every other work of the same description. Whilst it instructs us in the development of the human powers, under the guidance of natural reason, it points to the Almighty as the source from whence man derives his capacities, and to whom his homage should be directed. The reader of Crusoe is taught to be a religious, whilst he is an animal being. But his lessons of this kind are no where out of place; they are closely interwoven with the story, and are so just and pertinent in themselves, that they cannot be passed over, but the attention is irresistibly rivetted to them as an essential part of the narrative. So true are his pictures of human nature, so just his delineation of the passions, so skilful his transition from common matters to those of importance, and so artless his disposition of occurrences, that nothing can exceed its effect as a representation of life and manners, that comes home to the bosom of every reader. The intense interest excited by the work, may be owing partly to the minuteness with which the author details every incident that belongs to his narrative; to the charming simplicity in which he clothes his descriptions; and to the persuasion that hangs upon us whilst dwelling upon the story, that we are conversing with events and scenes which actually existed. Every reader of Crusoe is insensibly transported to his habitation; he is mixed up with all his affairs; enters into his labours and amusements; and participates in all the sympathies of his situation. Perhaps, few works have been more generally read, or more justly admired; few that have yielded such incessant amusement, and at the same time have developed so many lessons of practical instruction. It has been justly observed, that "society is for ever indebted to the memory of De Foe, for his production of a work in which the ways of Providence are simply and pleasingly vindicated, and a lasting and useful moral is conveyed through the channel of an interesting and delightful story."*

The marks of excellence that distinguished "Robinson Crusoe" beyond all other works in the same class, are so prominent, and present themselves in such a variety of shapes, that it has furnished ample scope for the diversified praise of ingenious men, according to the bent of their tastes and opinions. Some have eulogized it for its ingenuity; others, for its close adherence to nature, in the development of her resources amidst unexampled difficulties; and many for its moral and religious tendency. Rousseau's commendation of the work is well known; and the uses he draws from it for the instruction of his *Emilius*, exemplifies the sentiment, that De Foe possessed sufficient capacity and resources within himself, to qualify him for the founder of a colony. (F) The philosopher of Geneva remarks, "Since we must have books, this is one, which, in my opinion, is a most excellent treatise on natural education. This is the first my Emilius shall read; his whole library shall long consist of this work only, which shall preserve an eminent rank to the very last. It shall be the text to which all our conversations on natural science are to serve only as a comment. It shall be a guide during our progress to maturity of judgment; and so long as our taste is not adulterated, the perusal of this book will afford us pleasure. And what surprising book is this? Is it Aristotle, is it Pliny, is it Buffon? No; it is 'Robinson Crusoe.'" * The value and importance of the various arts, observes Rousseau, are ordinarily estimated, not according to their real utility, but by the gratification which they administer to the fantastic desires of mankind. "But Emilius shall be taught to view them in a different light: 'Robinson Crusoe' shall teach him to value the stock of an ironmonger above that of the most magnificent toy-shop in Europe." To the judgment of this eccentric genius, shall be added that of the more

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* Ballantyne's Pref. to "Robinson Crusoe."

(F) A writer in the "Gentleman's Magazine" observes, "De Foe's life must itself have been singular. Whence came so able a geographer? Not only a geographer, but so well acquainted with the manners of savages, and with the productions, animal and vegetable, of America! Whence came he not only so knowing in trade, but so able a mechanic, and versed in so many trades? Admirably as Dr. Swift has contrived to conceive proportional ideas of giants and pigmies, and to form his calculations accordingly, he is superficial when compared with the details in 'Robinson Crusoe.' The Doctor was an able satyrist: De Foe might have founded a colony."—*Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. lv. p. 882.

* Rousseau's Emilius, i. 267. Ed. 1763.

sedate philosopher, Dr. Beattie: "'Robinson Crusoe,'" says he, "must be allowed, by the most rigid moralist, to be one of those novels which one may read, not only with pleasure, but also with profit. It breathes throughout a spirit of piety and benevolence; it sets in a very striking light the importance of the mechanic arts, which they, who know not what it is to be without them, are so apt to undervalue; it fixes in the mind a lively idea of the horrors of solitude, and, consequently, of the sweets of social life, and of the blessings we derive from conversation and mutual aid; and it shows how, by labouring with one's own hands, one may secure independence, and open for one's-self many sources of health and amusement. I agree, therefore, with Rousseau, that this is one of the best books that can be put into the hands of children."

It will be proper now to trace the origin of a work that has obtained so much, and such deserved celebrity. (G) There can be no doubt that the idea was first suggested to our author by the story of ALEXANDER SELKIRK, which had been given to the public, in various shapes, seven years before, and for a time excited considerable attention. His real name was Seleraig, which he changed to that of Selkirk,

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(G) The name of Crusoe is not fictitious. It had a real owner in Timothy Crusoe, of whom there is an engraved portrait by White. He was a popular preacher amongst the Presbyterians in London, and dying in 1697, was buried in Stepney Church-Yard, where his monument, with a Latin inscription, still remains. He published a considerable number of sermons, mostly upon public occasions, and his name could not have been unknown to De Foe. Dunton speaks highly of his qualifications, and alludes to a slip in his morals, which he atoned for by a public declaration of his penitence. "He was called the *Golden Preacher*, and was so great a textuary, that he could pray two hours together in Scripture-language. It is true, he was not arrived at *perfection*, as appeared by his sloth in tying the conjugal knot; but his repentance was sincere and public, (being declared in the pulpit with his own mouth) and I do not fear but Tim. Crusoe is now a glorified saint in heaven." Whether he furnished De Foe with a name for his romance, can now be only a matter of conjecture.

when he went to sea. He was born at Largo, in the county of Fife, in 1676, and after a common school education, was put to his father's business, which was that of a shoe-maker. Being a spoiled child, he soon discovered a waywardness of temper that gave much uneasiness to his parents; whilst an early propensity to the sea, rendered his employment irksome. At length, an incident occurred that put him upon indulging his humour; for, being brought under church-censure, for irregular conduct, when he was eighteen years of age, rather than submit, he suddenly left home, and was never heard of for six years. It is supposed that he was with the buccaneers in the South Seas. In 1701, we find him again at Largo, but the same untractable person as ever, being engaged in constant broils with his family. As the sea was his favorite element, he did not continue long in Scotland; but going to London, engaged with Captain Dampier upon a cruising expedition to the South Seas. This was the voyage that rendered his subsequent history so interesting to the lovers of romance. Being appointed sailing-master of the Cinque Ports galley, a companion to the St. George, commanded by Dampier, he left England in the spring of 1703, and after various adventures, both vessels reached the island of Juan Fernandez in the following February. After staying some time to refit, they sailed again in quest of booty; but a violent quarrel arising between Selkirk and his commander, Stradling, which settled into a rooted animosity, the former resolved to take the first opportunity of leaving the vessel. This occurred at the beginning of September, 1704, when her crazy state obliged Stradling to return to Juan Fernandez for fresh repairs; which being completed, Selkirk bid a final adieu to his comrades at the end of the same month. Upon this island he lived by himself during four years and four months, until he was released by Captain Woodes Rogers, in the month of February, 1709. He was then engaged as a mate on board of Rogers's ship, the Duke, and accompanied him during the remainder of his expedition, conducting himself much to the satisfaction of his employer. At length, after a long and fatiguing cruise, Selkirk arrived in England, in the month of October, 1711, with a booty of 800*l.*, after an absence of rather more than eight years. (H)

(H) Selkirk's story was first communicated to the world by Rogers, who created an appetite that was speedily fed by other writers. The original accounts of him are four in number.

1. "A Cruising Voyage Round the World: First to the South-Seas, thence to the East Indies, and homewards by the Cape of Good Hope. Begun in 1708, and finished in 1711. Containing a Journal of all the Remarkable Transactions; particularly of the taking of Puna and Guiaquil, of the Acapulco ship, and other Prizes: An Account of Alexander Selkirk's living alone four years and four months in an Island; and a brief Description of several Countries in our Course noted for Trade, especially in the South Sea. With Maps of all the Coast, from the best Spanish Manuscript Draughts. And an Introduction relating to the South-Sea Trade. By Captain Woodes Rogers, Commander-in-Chief on this Expedition, with the Ships Duke and Duchess, of Bristol. London. 1712." 8vo.

2. "A Voyage to the South-Sea Trade, and round the World. Wherein, an Account is given of Mr. Alexander Selkirk, his manner of Living and taming some Wild Beasts, during the four years and four months he lived upon the uninhabited Island of Juan Fernandez. London. 1712." 2 vols. 8vo. Notwithstanding the Expectations held forth in his Title, Cooke gave but a meagre account in his first volume; which creating disappointment, he endeavoured to atone for it by a more ample detail in an introduction to the second. But he writes like a man out of humour with the public for not being satisfied with his first narrative. Copious extracts from this work were published in the "Memoirs of Literature" for that year.

3. "Providence displayed; or a very surprising Account of one Mr. Alexander Selkirk, Master of a Merchantman, called the Cinque Ports; who dreaming that the Ship would soon after be lost on a desolate island in the South-Seas, where he lived four years and four months, without seeing the face of Man; the ship being afterwards cast away as he dreamed. As also, how he came afterwards to be miraculously preserved and redeemed from that fatal place, by two Bristol Privateers, called the Duke and Duchess; that took the rich Acapulco ship, worth a hundred ton of gold, and brought it to England. To which is added, An Account of his Birth and Education; his Description of the Island where he was cast; how he subsisted; the several strange things he saw, and how he used to spend his Time. With some pious Ejaculations that he used, composed

Selkirk no sooner made his appearance in London, than the singularity of his adventures occasioned much conversation; and being an object of curiosity, many persons resorted

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during his melancholy Residence there. Written by his own Hand, and attested by most of the eminent Merchants upon the Royal Exchange." This catch-penny publication is a quarto tract of twelve pages, manufactured from Cooke and Rogers to amuse the vulgar, whom it imposed upon by its mistakes. Selkirk, it is evident, could have had no hand in it. This tract is reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany.

4. The "Englishman" for December 3, 1713. Some further particulars concerning this singular man, may be Gleaned from the Voyages of Funnell, Shelvocke, Anson, and Ulloa; as also, from the more recent Collection of Voyages and Discoveries in the South Seas, by the late Captain Burney.

Besides the allusions to Selkirk, in the works above-mentioned, which relate chiefly to his solitude, there are two narratives of his life, in which are condensed all the particulars that had been hitherto published, together with some further information collected from tradition, or from more authentic sources. These are

1. "Providence Displayed: Or the Remarkable Adventures of ALEXANDER SELKIRK, of Largo in Scotland; who lived four years and four months by Himself, on the Island of Juan Fernandez; from whence he returned with Capt. Woodes Rogers, of Bristol, and on whose Adventures was founded the celebrated Novel of 'Robinson Crusoe.' With a Description of the Island, and an Account of several other Persons left there, particularly WILLIAM, a *Mosquito Indian*, and Capt. Davis's Men: Including brief Memoirs of the famous Capt. WM. DAMPIER. To which is added, A Supplement, containing the History of PETER SERRANO, EPHRAIM How, and others left in similar situations. By ISAAC JAMES. With a Map of the Island, and twenty-four Wood Cuts. Bristol. 1800." 12mo. This work contains a large body of information, industriously collected, and put together with great accuracy. The patient research of the writer, is equalled only by his great anxiety to record nothing but the truth.

2. "The Life and Adventures of Alexander Selkirk: Containing the real incidents upon which the Romance of 'Robinson Crusoe' is founded: In which also the Events of his Life, drawn from Authentic Sources, are traced from his Birth in 1676, till his Death in 1723. With an Appendix, comprizing a Description of the Island of Juan Fernandez, and some curious Information relating to his Shipmates, &c. By JOHN HOWELL. Edinburgh. 1829." 12mo. As this is the latest, so it is the most authentic Account of Selkirk, and embraces a variety of particulars relating to his personal history, never before communicated to the public. It is an elegant little volume, and will be read with interest by every admirer of 'Robinson Crusoe.'

to see him. Most of his visitors, of whom there is any traditional remembrance, represent him as an unsociable man, of singular habits, and far from communicative. As he spoke in a broad Scotch dialect, it was with some difficulty that he could be understood. Amongst his visitors was the celebrated Sir Richard Steele, who collected from him all the particulars he could remember of his employment during his solitude; which, with his own reflections upon his appearance and behaviour, he afterwards presented to the world in the 26th Number of the "Englishman." His narrative, which is worth preserving, is as follows:

"Under the title of this paper, I do not think it foreign to my design, to speak of a man born in her Majesty's dominions, and relate an adventure in his life so uncommon, that it's doubtful whether the like has happened to any other of human race. The person I speak of, is Alexander Selkirk, whose name is familiar to men of curiosity, from the fame of his having lived four years and four months alone in the island of Juan Fernandez. I had the pleasure, frequently, to converse with the man soon after his arrival in England, in the year 1711. It was matter of great curiosity to hear him, as he is a man of good sense, give an account of the different revolutions in his own mind in that long solitude. When we consider how painful absence from company, for the space of but one evening, is to the generality of mankind, we may have a sense how painful this necessary and constant solitude was to a man bred a sailor, and ever accustomed to enjoy, and suffer, eat, drink, and sleep, and perform all offices of life in fellowship and company. He was put ashore from a leaky vessel, with the captain of which he had had an irreconcilable difference; and he chose rather to take his fate in this place, than in a crazy vessel, under a disagreeable commander. His portion was a sea chest, his wearing clothes and bedding, a fire-lock, a pound of gunpowder, a large quantity of bullets, a flint and steel, a few pounds of tobacco, a hatchet, a knife, a kettle, a Bible, and other books of devotion; together with pieces that concerned navigation, and his mathematical instruments. Resentment against his officer, who had ill used him, made him look forward on this change of life as the more eligible one, till the instant in which he saw the vessel put off; at which moment, his heart yearned within him, and melted at the parting with his comrades and all human society at once. He had in provisions for the sustenance of life, but the quantity of two meals, the island abounding only with wild goats, cats, and rats. He judged it most probable that he should find more immediate and easy relief, by finding shell-fish on the shore, than seeking game with his gun. He accordingly found great quantities of turtles, whose flesh is extremely delicious, and of which he frequently eat very plentifully on his first arrival, till it grew disagreeable to his stomach, except in jellies. The necessities of hunger and thirst were his greatest diversion from the reflections on his lonely condition. When those appetites were satisfied, the desire of society was as strong a call upon him, and he appeared to himself least necessitous when he wanted every thing: for the supports of his body were easily attained, but the eager longings for seeing again the face of man, during the interval of craving bodily appetites, were hardly supportable. He grew dejected, languid, and melancholy, scarce able to refrain from doing himself violence, till by degrees, by the force of reason and frequent reading the Scriptures, and turning his thoughts upon the study of navigation, after the space of eighteen months, he grew thoroughly reconciled to his condition. When he had made this conquest, the vigour of his health, disengagement from the world, a constant cheerful serene sky and a temperate air, made his life one continual feast, and his being much more joyful than it had before been irksome. He now taking delight in every thing, made the hut in which he lay, by ornaments which he cut down from a spacious wood on the side of which it was situated, the most delicious bower, fanned with continual breezes and gentle aspirations of wind, that made his repose after the chace equal to the most sensual pleasures.

"I forgot to observe, that during the time of his dissatisfaction, monsters of the deep, which frequently lay on the shore, added to the terrors of his solitude; the dreadful howlings and voices seemed too terrible to be made for human ears: but upon the recovery of his temper, he could with pleasure not only hear their voices, but approach the monsters themselves with great intrepidity. He speaks of sea lions, whose jaws and tails were capable of seizing or breaking the limbs of a man, if he approached them. But at that time his spirits and life were so high, that he could act so regularly and unconcerned, that merely from being unruffled in himself, he killed them with the greatest ease imaginable; for observing that though their jaws and tails were so terrible, yet the animals being mighty slow in working themselves round, he had nothing to do but place himself exactly opposite to their middle, and as close to them as possible, and he dispatched them with his hatchet at will.

"The precautions which he took against want, in case of sickness, was to lame kids when very young, so as that they might recover their health, but never be capable of speed. These he had in great numbers about his hut; and as he was himself in full vigour, he could take at full speed the swiftest goat running up a promontory, and never failed of catching them, but on a descent.

"His habitation was extremely pestered with rats, which gnawed his clothes and feet, when sleeping. To defend himself against them, he fed and tamed numbers of young kitlings, who lay about his bed and preserved him from the enemy. When his clothes were quite worn out, he dried and tacked together the skins of goats, with which he clothed himself, and was inured to pass through woods, bushes, and brambles, with as much carelessness and precipitance as any other animal. It happened once to him that running on the summit of a hill, he made a stretch to seize a goat, with which under him, he fell down a precipice and lay senseless for the space of three days, the length of which he measured by the moon's growth since his last observation. This manner of life grew so exquisitely pleasant, that he never had a moment heavy upon his hands; his nights were untroubled and his days joyous, from the practice of temperance and exercise. It was his manner to use stated hours and places for exercises of devotion, which he performed aloud, in order to keep up the faculties of speech, and to utter himself with greater energy.

"When I first saw him, I thought if I had not been let into his character and story, I could have discerned that he had been much separated from company from his aspect and gesture; there was a strong but cheerful seriousness in his look, and a certain disregard to the ordinary things about him, as if he had been sunk in thought. When the ship, which brought him off the island, came in, he received them with the greatest indifference, with relation to the prospect of going off with them, but with great satisfaction in an opportunity to refresh and help them. The man frequently bewailed his return to the world, which could not, he said, with all its enjoyments, restore him to the tranquillity of his solitude. Though I had frequently conversed with him, after a few months' absence he met me in the street, and though he spoke to me, I could not recollect that I had seen him; familiar discourse in this town had taken off the loneliness of his aspect, and quite altered the air of his face.

"This plain man's story is a memorable example that he is happiest who confines his want to natural necessities; and he that goes further in his desires, increases his want in proportion to his acquisitions; or to use his own expression, I am now worth eight hundred pounds, but shall never be so happy as when I was not worth a farthing." (1)

Such is the story of a man who gave birth to the far-famed romance of "Robinson Crusoe." There have been, indeed, other persons in a similar situation, of whom accounts have been given by various authors, and whose fate may have suggested materials for fancy to work upon. The story of Friday, may, perhaps, have been borrowed from that of the Mosquito Indian, related by Dampier; but from a passage in De Foe's "Serious Reflections," there can be no doubt that Selkirk was the hero upon whose history the tale is founded. If he furnished the idea, however, this is all he can be said to have contributed. The details of the story, its varying incidents and engaging descriptions, with the useful reflections arising out of it, belong wholly to the author. The temporary interest excited by the adventures of an ordinary seaman, whose tale of solitude rendered him an object of curiosity, would have subsided with his day, and his name be scarcely remembered, but for the genius of De Foe. "Robinson Crusoe," observes a modern writer, "is a most skilful romance, of which the first idea indeed was borrowed from the strange story of Alexander Selkirk; but in which the whole arrangement and execution—all the filling up of incident, reflection and character—are truly and entirely De Foe's: and the same sort of criticism that would diminish the credit of its author, would produce the same effect on the authors of all the celebrated epic, and almost all the celebrated dramatic poems in the world. He took no more of 'Robinson Crusoe' from Selkirk's story, than Shakespeare did of Macbeth and Hamlet from the old Scotch and Danish chronicles; or of Romeo and Juliet from the Italian ballad." *

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(1) The sequel of Selkirk's life contains but few incidents. As soon as he had realized the profits of his cruize, he returned to Largo, his native place, early in the spring of 1712. His parents, who were still living, received him with joy; but his recluse habits induced him to shun the haunts of men, and he constructed a cave in their garden, where he sought repose in solitude. Having purchased a boat, he employed much of his time in fishing, and filled up the intervals in solitary walks amongst the woods and glens in his neighbourhood. In these rambles, he often met a young girl, Sophia Bruce, seated alone, and tending a single cow, the property of her parents. Her lonely occupation and innocent looks soon made a deep impression upon him; and he watched her for hours unseen, as she amused herself in gathering wild-flowers, or chanting her rural lays. At length he joined her in conversation; their attachment became mutual; and they agreed to elope from the romantic scenes of Scotland, for the atmosphere of London. From a deed executed by him in 1717, in which he conveyed his property to her, it should seem that they were not married, as he calls her his "trusty and loving friend Sophia Bruce, *Spinster*." She is said to have died within a year or two afterwards, but from a fact to be recorded presently, it is most probable that Selkirk deserted her, and returned again to Scotland, where an unfortunate broil in which he was engaged having brought him under the discipline of the church, he avoided its consequences by retreating to England, and at this time, is said to have visited Bristol and Liverpool. Tired of an inactive life, he again went to sea, on board his Majesty's ship Weymouth, where he died some time in the year 1723. He is said to have left his effects by will, "to sundry loving female friends, with whom he had contracted intimacies during his residence upon shore." One of these, Frances Candis, claiming to be his widow, made her appearance at Largo in 1724, and after some litigation with his relatives, is said to have recovered his property there. Another female, Sophia Selcraig, who represented herself as his widow, applied for charity to the Rev. Samuel Say, a dissenting minister in Westminster. She seems to have been a Scotchwoman, and to have had three uncles of the name of Rymer, all ministers in the church of Scotland. It is probable she was the Sophia Bruce before-mentioned who still survived. Her letter to Mr. Say, is to be found amongst the "Say Papers," published in the "Monthly Repository." Vol. v. p. 531.

Long after the publication of Crusoe, an idle tale got abroad in the world, that was calculated to injure the reputation of the author; and having passed through many hands, has obtained more credit than it was ever entitled to. The story is this: that Selkirk continued to keep a diary, from which he drew up a narrative of his adventures, which he put into the hands of De Foe, to be rendered fit for publication;

* Pref. to Cadell's edit. of "Robinson Crusoe."

but after purloining the contents, he returned it to the writer as an unsaleable commodity. To atone for the injustice, it is further said that he divided the profits with Selkirk. As there is no evidence for this story, it may be safely rejected without argument. Certain it is, that the most diligent inquiries have not produced a single fact to prove that De Foe was ever in possession of a single paper belonging to Selkirk; and how could they? For Selkirk had none to communicate! As he had neither pen, ink, nor paper upon the island, he could keep no journal. It appears from Rogers, that he had nearly lost his language during his solitude; and others agree, that what he recovered of it afterwards was scarcely intelligible. It is, therefore, without the range of probability, that an unlettered man, who had spent so many years at sea, and during a portion of the time in a state of seclusion from society, should find the use of his pen so suddenly as this story supposes. There can be no doubt that Selkirk told all he had to communicate, first to Rogers, and afterwards to Steele, who had several conversations with him, and elicited only the same facts that he had told before, but deriving a superior interest from his own mode of relating them. Had Selkirk possessed any papers, he could have been at no loss for assistance in making them public long before the appearance of Crusoe, when his story had ceased to excite attention. Besides, a circumstance so injurious to the reputation of De Foe, would not have been so long concealed; for there is no trace of it until nearly forty years afterwards. His enemies, always upon the alert, would not have failed to avail themselves of so strong a point against him; nor would it have escaped Gildon, who collected all the scandal that was afloat against De Foe, when he attacked Crusoe. So far from any charge of plagiarism, he represents Robinson Crusoe and his man Friday as the airy phantoms of the writer's brain. He says, "that the story was feigned; that it was all a romance; that there never was any such man, or place, or circumstances in any man's life; that it was formed and embellished by invention, to impose upon the world." This was an objection which De Foe found it more difficult to answer than the above scandal, which he would not have failed to notice had it been propagated in his life-time. No one who reads his "Essay upon Honesty," in the "Serious Reflections," published a year afterwards, can suppose for a moment, that he was capable of lending himself to a transaction like the one so wantonly attributed to him. Selkirk's story had been for full seven years a common prey to the birds of literature; and De Foe was at full liberty, equally with others, to extract from it all the nutriment that he conceived necessary to supply his genius, and to perfect his design for the amusement and instruction of the public. It may have been often observed, that the most groundless calumnies, when frequently repeated, acquire a certain credit which indisposes mankind for further inquiry. Hence the difficulty of surmounting early prepossessions, which acquire a tenacity unfavourable to the development of truth. That which has been often told, we readily believe; giving less heed to the contradiction of a story, than to an early impression in its favour. It is surely high time to divest ourselves of this prejudice, and to discard reports that have no solid foundation to rest upon. Envy and malice may blast the fairest reputation, and they hurled their shots without mercy at De Foe; but if this had not been a tale of after-times, we might have been well assured, from the general tenor of his character, that he who could inculcate the moral lessons so seriously enforced in "Robinson Crusoe", was not the man to commit a deliberate act of injustice. (K)

(K) The first writer who appears to have given currency to this tale of slander, was Entick, in his "Naval History," published in 1757; but he gives no authority, and his account carries its own confutation. Watson repeated the story in his "History of Halifax, 1775;" as did Dr. Beattie, in his "Dissertations, Moral and Critical, 1783." It is to be regretted that a writer so justly respected, should have given sanction to the calumny; for

The spirit of detraction, ever active in assailing the reputation of De Foe, attempted other means to despoil him of his literary honours. Singular as it may now appear, it was even gravely asserted that he was not the author of

people are too often misled by the authority of names. His version of the story, which has its variations, is as follows: "Selkirk was advised to get his story put in writing, and published. Being illiterate himself, he told every thing he could remember to Daniel De Foe, a professed author of considerable note; who instead of doing justice to the poor man, is said to have applied these materials to his own use, by making them the groundwork of Robinson Crusoe;" which he soon after published, and which being very popular, brought him a good deal of money. I am willing to believe that De Foe shared the profits of this publication with the poor seaman: for there is an air of humanity in it, which one could not expect from an author who is an arrant cheat. In the preface to his second volume, he speaks feelingly enough of the harm done him by those who had abridged the first in order to reduce the price." Upon this, Dr. Beattie raises a very natural question, which might go far to refute his hear-say story: "Is it to be imagined," says he, "that any man of common prudence would talk in this way, if he were conscious that he himself might be proved guilty of that very dishonesty which he so severely condemns?" Dr. Towers very appropriately remarks, "It certainly would have been somewhat extraordinary, that De Foe should have talked in the manner he did, if he had been guilty of that with which he was charged. But the fact appears to have been, that the charge against De Foe of having taken his book from Selkirk's manuscripts, or from communications of any kind made by Selkirk, was wholly groundless, and of which he had himself never heard; for we do not find that the least hint of any such accusation against him was ever published during his life-time." The charge was again revived in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1787 and 1788, and accompanied by other mistakes. It is to be regretted that so important a work as the "Encyclopædia Britannica" should have propagated the tale. The latest author who has adopted it, was Mr. Isaac James, in his account of Selkirk; but the present writer had the satisfaction to hear him give up the story as void of foundation. The writers who have rejected it, after deliberate investigation, are Dr. Towers, in the "Biographia Britannica;" Mr. Chalmers, in his Life of De Foe; Captain Burney, in the fourth volume of his "Voyages and Discoveries;" Mr. D'Israeli, in the third volume of his "Curiosities of Literature;" and Mr. Howell, in his "Life of Selkirk." To these may be added, the authors of the Prefaces to Cadell's and Mawman's editions of Robinson Crusoe. The reasonings of these writers, with what has been advanced in this work, will, it is hoped, set this matter finally at rest.

"Robinson Crusoe." By some it was ascribed to Arbuthnot; (L) by others to Harley, Earl of Oxford. (M) To refute these extravagant tales would be superfluous; the only surprising matter is, that they should ever have found any implicit believers. The merits of De Foe are now established upon too firm a basis to be shaken. Whilst his works have out-lived the age that obscured the brightest worth by the dimness of party, each succeeding inquiry has contributed to raise his fame, and to dispel the illusions by which it was surrounded. Learning and taste have now assigned him the foremost rank amongst original writers, and he must ever be regarded as one of the most ingenious moralists in the English language.

The well-established reputation of "Robinson Crusoe" has attached a degree of interest to every fact connected with its history. Even so minute a circumstance as the place

(L) The author of Arbuthnot's life, in the first edition of the "Biographia Britannica," says, "The Doctor shared the like fortune with his friends Pope and Swift, in having several brats illegitimately fathered upon him, among which the famous romance of 'Robinson Crusoe' is worth mentioning." He adds in a note, "This romance was written in so natural a manner, and with so many incidents, that it was judged for some time to be a true story. It was the delectable offspring of the teeming brain of Daniel De Foe, a writer famous in his generation for politics and poetry, especially the former."

(M) In the "Gentleman's Magazine," for March, 1788, is the following communication of an anonymous writer, who signs himself W. W., and dates from Dublin, Feb. 25:—"In the course of a late conversation with a nobleman of the first consequence and information in this kingdom, he assured me, that Mr. Benjamin Holloway, of Middleton Stony, assured him, some time ago, that he knew, for fact, that the celebrated romance of 'Robinson Crusoe' was really written by the Earl of Oxford, when confined in the Tower of London; that his lordship gave the manuscript to Daniel De Foe, who frequently visited him during his confinement; and that De Foe, having afterwards added the second volume, published the whole as his own production. This anecdote I would not venture to send to your valuable Magazine, if I did not think my information good, and imagine it might be acceptable to your numerous readers, notwithstanding the work has heretofore been generally attributed to the latter."

where it was written, has not escaped inquiry, and various are the opinions that have been started upon the subject. Watson, in his "History of Halifax," assigns it to a house in the back lane of that town, known by the sign of the "Rose and Crown," where he tells us De Foe resided, when he was forced to abscond for his political writings. But he had now done with politics, and had nothing to fear from the government. A writer in the "Gentleman's Magazine" says, it was written at Gateshead, in the county of Durham; and there is a story in the "Economist," which has been transcribed into several provincial papers, transferring the place to an alley in Whitechapel. (N) Widely differing from these authorities, a correspondent observes, that the honour appertains to the village of Hartley, in Kent. (O) It seems most probable, that De Foe wrote it in his retirement at Stoke-Newington, where he resided during the principal part of this reign, in a large white house, re-built by himself, and still standing in Church-street. In Gildon's libel before

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(N) This idle story is as follows :—"In the centre of Whitechapel-Market, is a little dirty alley, called Harrow-Alley, opposite to which is a hairdresser's shop, kept by Mr. Lunsun. In this house, above 150 years ago, dwelt that prince of wits and excellent man, Daniel De Foe; here he wrote that much-read and excellent moral work, 'Robinson Crusoe,' and here he wrote a memorable melancholy journal of the Plague in London, of which he was an eye-witness."

(O) The late William Titford, Esq., in a letter to the author, dated June 31, 1822, writes thus:—"I was born at Cranbrook, in the Weald of Kent, 1752; my father at Hawkhurst, four miles from Cranbrook, 1717. Hartley is now a very small village, being about half-way between Cranbrook and Hawkhurst: most of the houses now standing have been built in my remembrance. In this valley is a small public-house, standing by itself, the sign *The Duke William's Head.* Sixty years ago, my father, having occasion to stop there with me, he informed me, pointing to a back chamber, over a wash-house, and said, 'In that room Daniel De Foe wrote Robinson Crusoe.' He said De Foe had offended government, and was concealed in that house many months. Before the turnpike-road was made, it was quite impassable in winter for any carriage, and with difficulty for horses, and was well calculated for private concealment."

mentioned, the scene of the dialogue is laid in a field at Stoke-Newington, when De Foe is supposed to be upon his return home. This seems conclusive upon the subject. It appears from the records of that parish, that, upon the 10th of April, 1721, being Easter-Monday, he paid a fine of 10*l.* to be excused from serving parochial offices.

More than a century has now elapsed since the first publication of this charming work, but it has lost none of its interest. With few exceptions, no work has been so often printed, nor so extensively read; and the solid foundation upon which its popularity is built, will continue to maintain it so long as the language exists. Until of late years, if we except the early editions, which are respectably printed, it has walked abroad only in a homely dress, and most frequently in vile abridgments. The first attempt to press the fine arts into its service, was made at the Logographic Press, by the late Mr. John Walter, who published, in 1790, "A Selection from the Works of Daniel De Foe," in three volumes, octavo. The third volume comprises the "Serious Reflections;" the "True-Born Englishman;" and the political dissertation, intitled "The Original Power of the People of England." The other volumes were accompanied by four beautiful engravings, executed by Pollard, illustrative of events in the story of Crusoe. In an "Advertisement," written by the late Mr. William Coombe, whose memory, as an accomplished gentleman and a most agreeable companion, will be long cherished by those who knew him, it is justly observed, "Few writers have suffered more severely by abridgers, than Mr. Daniel De Foe. These lawless banditti, who are constantly employed in making predatory incursions into the territories of genius, have ravaged his most celebrated work, *The Adventures of Robinson Crusoe,* with a barbarous and indiscriminating ferocity. Not content with constantly ushering it into the world in a garb more worthy of a Grub-Street production, than a work on which the great

Rousseau has bestowed the highest encomiums, they have *modernized* it; that is, divested it of its simplicity,—struck out every thing moral, useful and impressive,—presenting nothing but a bare exterior; totally rejecting those excellent philosophical and religious applications, everywhere interwoven with the story. To restore to our author what has been thus unjustly ravished from him, and to give his principal productions that respectable appearance so justly their due, has been the chief object in publishing this selection."

The next edition deserving of notice, is that by Mr. Stockdale, published also in 1790, in two volumes, octavo, and embellished with a number of good engravings. To this work was prefixed Mr. Chalmer's Life of De Foe, considerably enlarged from the History of the Union; and some copies were then thrown off for separate distribution. The admirers of De Foe were under considerable obligations to Mr. Chalmers, for this acceptable addition to his work. The "Academic Edition," published in 1815, by Joseph Mawman, in one large volume, octavo, is chiefly remarkable for a large body of notes, illustrating the geographical and nautical parts of the work, and compiled by the hydrographer of the "Naval Chronicle." It has an original preface, and is accompanied by a considerable number of wood-cuts, of natural history; but the mechanical execution of the work is inferior to its other merits. In point of exterior embellishment, no former edition of this enchanting work can compete with that issued by Messrs. Cadell and Davies, in 1820, in two volumes, octavo, with twenty-two exquisite line engravings, executed by Heath, from drawings by Stothard. With these, the paper and typography are in good keeping, and altogether exhibit Crusoe in his gayest clothing. It is accompanied by a new life of the author, written with superior taste and discrimination, but exhibing no new facts in his history.

"Robinson Crusoe" has yielded as much delight to foreigners, as to the people in whose language it was written. Upon its first appearance, it was translated into French, and by that means became known to most of the nations of Europe. A very neat edition in that language, with a series of beautiful engravings by Picart, was printed at Amsterdam, in three thick volumes, 12mo, in 1720 and 1721. It comprised the "Serious Reflections," and had original Prefaces in commendation of the work. Since then, it has been often printed in France, Holland and Germany, and has had a powerful influence upon the minds of the rising generation. That it should have found admirers in a country that produced the renowned adventures of "Don Quixote," is not surprising; nor that it should have become obnoxious to those censors of literature, the fathers of the Inquisition, who inserted it in their list of prohibited books, in 1756.

It has been justly observed, that "although abounding in all the prejudices of his countrymen, even in those confined to the humbler orders, the nationality of De Foe's opinions formed no obstacle to his reception abroad; because it did not interfere in any way with the effect of his broad and sure pictures of human nature; his unfailing appeals to the elemental workings of the human mind; his mastery over the universal passions; the sagacity, finally, and the deep wisdom of those views of human character and conduct, which in "Robinson Crusoe," more successfully than in any production of the same captivating species, are made to display themselves in the apparently artless concatenation of the incidents of a fictitious narrative, and the development of one imaginary individual's mind."* One of the most striking features in the history of the work, is the acceptance it met with from the Arabs, whose literature is rich in works of fiction, the beauties of which can scarcely be appreciated by an European. The late enterprising traveller, John Lewis Burckhardt, during his residence in Syria, amused himself by translating "Robinson Crusoe" into the Arabic, in order to facilitate his acquaintance with the language. (P) "While he was composing it, he used to read passages of his work to his Arab friends, when they came to sit at his gate in the cool hours of evening; and the most learned and the most ignorant of them, says he, expressed great delight and admiration. The most bigotted lovers of Oriental literature could not help confessing, that the Frankish story-teller had afforded them as much amusement as the historian of Sinbad, without ever having recourse to anything in the smallest degree improbable, and without ever writing one sentence less pregnant with instruction than amusement." *

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* Pref. to Cadell's ed. i.

That a work of so much celebrity, and so well calculated to please the taste of a numerous class of readers, should meet with imitations, was to be expected; and no less so, that they should all have been left in the back ground. The first candidate for rivalship, was "The Hermit: or the unparalleled Sufferings and surprising Adventures of Mr. Philip Quarll, an Englishman; who was lately discovered by Mr. Dorrington, a British Merchant, upon an uninhabited Island in the South Sea; where he has lived above Fifty years without any human assistance, still continues to reside, and will not come away. Containing—1. His

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(P) Writing from Aleppo, July 2, 1810, he says, "I have for some time past been engaged in an Arabic exercise, which has proved of great utility to me; it is the metamorphosis of the well-known novel of 'Robinson Crusoe,' into an Arabian tale, adapted to Eastern taste and manners. A young Frank, born at Aleppo, who speaks Arabic like a native, but who neither reads nor writes it, has been my assistant in the undertaking. I take the liberty of sending you here enclosed a copy of this travestied Robinson, or as I call the book in Arabic, Dur el Bakur, the Pearl of the Seas." —*Burckhardt's Travels in Nubia*, p. 28.

* Pref. to Cadell's ed. iii.

Conferences with those who found him out, to whom he recites the most material circumstances of his life; as, that he was born in the parish of St. Giles's, educated by the charitable Contribution of a Lady, and put 'Prentice to a Lock-smith. II. How he left his Master and was taken up with a notorious Housebreaker, who was hanged; how, after his Escape, he went to Sea a Cabin-boy, married a famous Whore, listed himself a common Soldier, turned Singing-master, and married three Wives, for which he was tried and condemned at the Old Bailey. III. How he was pardoned by King Charles, II., turned Merchant, and was shipwrecked on this desolate Island, on the Coast of Mexico. With a curious Map of the Island, and other Cuts. Westminster: printed for T. Warner, &c. 1727." 8vo. This was the first edition of a work which has been often printed upon coarse paper for the common people, but never attained to any reputation. It is characterised by Dr. Beattie, as a paltry imitation of "Robinson Crusoe;" and it requires but little discernment to appreciate the justice of his remark. The preface sufficiently shews that it was suggested by envy at the popularity of De Foe's writings, which the author vainly imagined to supersede by his own lucubrations.

There have been also several imitations of the work, with the same title, of which the best, perhaps, is that of Mons. Campe, a Frenchman, who, taking some hints from Rousseau, composed a story upon the model of De Foe's romance, in which he professed to develope the resources of nature to a greater extent than had been done by the original writer. His work is cast in dialogues, and split into portions, adapted to evening conversations. One object of the writer was, to expunge from it every thing offensive to Catholics, that it might receive no obstruction from persons whose tenacity might lead them to reject it upon that account. It has accordingly been popular upon the continent, and translated into most of its languages, that of Spain amongst the rest; it being the only version of Crusoe that is allowed to circulate in that country. (Q) There is an English translation, which has been often printed under the title of "The New Robinson Crusoe," which has been likewise altered; the colloquy being dropped, and the story thrown into a continued narrative. Of late years, an attempt has been made to render it a class-book for schools, both upon the continent and in England. For this purpose, it was turned into Latin by Professor Goffaux, chiefly from Campe's work. The difficulty of such an undertaking must be very apparent; but it is upon the whole well executed; the style is pure, neat and simple; and the subject being attractive, it is calculated to awaken the attention of the young, during the hours of recreation. Another imitation in the French language, in which the hero is a Frenchman, was published in Switzerland, under the following title: "La Robinson Français ou l'histoire d'une Famille Francoise habitant une isle de la mer du sud."

Like most of its fellows, it is made up of imaginary voyages, and marvellous adventures. But, instead of making its hero a solitary being, upon a desart island, whither he arrived through hair-breadth escapes, it places him upon a beautiful and fertile spot, finds him a partner, and peoples

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(Q) It is intitled, "El Nuevo Robinson, Historia Moral, Reducida a Dialogo para instruccion y entretenimento de Ninos y Jóvenes de ambos sexôs: Escrita recentimente en Aleman Por el Senor Campe, Traducida al Ingles, al Italiano, y al Frances, y de éste al Castellano con varias correcciones. Por D. Tomas De Yriarte. Con las Licencias Necesarias. En Madrid: En la Imprenta de Benito Cano. Ano de 1789." 2 Tom. 12mo. Cuts. Yriarte, the translator, prefixed an original preface, in which he claimed for his countrymen the honour of furnishing the model for this ingenious work. The story is that of Peter Serrano, who lived seven years on a sandy island upon the coast of Peru: the particulars of which are to be found in the Royal Commentaries of Garcilasso De La Vega, from which work he produces an extract to justify his conjecture.

the island with his progeny. The morality of the work, however, is strictly attended to, and it is in some respects an agreeable performance. Amongst the varieties of the French press, is an edition of "Robinson Crusoe," with an interlineary translation by Mad. Montmorency Lavale, printed at her own house, in two volumes octavo. It bears the following title: "La Vie, et les tres surprennantes Aventures de Robinson Crusoe, en Anglais. Avec la Traduction Francaise interlineaire. Par G. E. J. M. L. 2 tom. a Dampierre. 1797." It is said, that only twenty-five copies were printed of this work, all upon fine Dutch writing-paper.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Account of Dickory Cronke.—Plausibility of De Foe's Narratives.—His Knowledge of Nautical Affairs.—He publishes the "Life and Piracies of Captain Singleton."—Account of the Work.—His "History of Duncan Campbell."—Fortune-Tellers of the Day.—Spy upon the Conjuror.—The Dumb Projector.—The Friendly Dæmon.—The Loadstone and Powder of Sympathy.—Campbell turned Doctor.—The Supernatural Philosopher.—Notice of William Bond.—Death of Duncan Campbell.—"Secret Memoirs of the late Mr. Duncan Campbell."—De Foe's "Poem upon Painting."—Various Translations of Du Fresnoy's Work.—"Christian Conversation, in Six Dialogues."

1719—1720.

THE success of "Robinson Crusoe," encouraged our author to persevere in the new line he had marked out for himself; and the fertility of his invention enabled him to supply the public with a series of works, as various in their nature, as they are ingenious in their contrivance.

The same year that produced his master-piece, gave birth to "The Dumb Philosopher; or, Great Britain's Wonder. Containing, I. A faithful and very surprizing Account how DICKORY CRONKE, a Tinner's son in the County of Cornwall, who was born Dumb, and continued so for 58 years; and how some days before he died, he came to his Speech; with Memoirs of his Life, and the Manner of his Death. II. A Declaration of his Faith and Principles in Religion: with a Collection of Select Meditations, composed in his Retirement. III. His Prophetical Observations upon the Affairs of Europe, more particularly of Great Britain, from

1720 to 1729. The whole extracted from his Original Papers, and confirmed by unquestionable Authority. To which is annexed, His Elegy, written by a young Cornish Gentleman, of Exeter Coll. in Oxford; with an Epitaph by another Hand. *Non Quis, sed Quid.* London: printed by Thos. Bickerton, at the Crown, in Paternoster-Row. 1719. Price 1*s*." 8vo. pp. 64.

In this, as in all the author's narratives, there is an unsuspicious air of truth running through all its circumstances, that sets scepticism itself at defiance. Anticipating the objections that would be started to its reality, he opens with an appeal to evidence that must stop the mouth of incredulity.

"The publick has too often been imposed upon by fictitious stories, so that I think myself obliged, by the usual respect which is paid to candid and impartial readers, to acquaint them with what they are to expect, and what they may depend upon; and yet with this caution too: that 'tis an indication of ill-nature or ill-manners, if not both, to pry into a secret that's industriously concealed. However, that there may be nothing wanting on my part, I do hereby assure the reader, that the papers from whence the following sheets were extracted, are now in town, in the custody of a person of unquestionable reputation, who, I'll be bold to say, will not only be ready, but proud to produce them upon a good occasion; and that I think is as much satisfaction as the nature of this case requires." By way of further verification, he tells the reader, "that what he has now before him, was collected from a large bundle of papers, mostly in short hand, and very ill digested; however, this may be relied upon, that though the language is something altered, yet strict care has been taken to speak the author's mind, and keep as close as possible to the meaning of the original."

The plausibility of De Foe's fictions, is partly maintained by the circumstantiality of his details. We have here all the particulars of time and place, noted with the same exactness that we should look for in the most authentic piece of biography. He tells us, that his hero was born at a little hamlet near St. Colomb, in Cornwall, upon the day of King Charles's return, which procured him the name of "Restoration Dick;" that he was first discovered to be dumb at three years old; that, notwithstanding this calamity, he learned to read and write so perfectly, as to be able to instruct his neighbours; that the delicacy of his constitution preventing him from working in the mines along with his father, he was taken into the family of a Welch gentleman, one Mr. Owen Parry, with whom he lived twenty years; and that after his death, he went into the service of Mrs. Mary Mordaunt, "a gentlewoman of great virtue and piety," with whom he continued to the time of her death. Being of sober and frugal habits, he then retired upon the fruit of his earnings to St. Helens, in his native county, and passed the remainder of his days with a sister, who had been left a widow, and was the last survivor of his family. Towards the close of his life, he was seized with an apoplectic fit; and upon his recovery, found himself in the possession of speech. This, however, was but the prelude to his death; but he improved the short interval to pious purposes, and delivered many excellent advices to his sister, for the regulation of her conduct. His speech, at length, failed him, and the fit returning, he expired, "after a severe conflict that lasted near eight hours;" and "which happened upon the 29th of May, 1718, about the same hour in which he was born." (R)

(R) De Foe relates a story of a man born deaf and dumb, who served his apprenticeship to Mr. H———l, a printer in St. John's-Lane, and was one of the compositors of the *Review*. This man arrived to a perfection in the silent language, or talking with his fingers: he learned to write without being taught, and wrote a good hand, as well as good sense; and which is yet more admirable, he arrived at the top of his trade, being a very good compositor, and a rare workman, though he died before the expiration of his time.—*Review,* ii. 51.

To the incidents of his life, our author adds the following account of his habits. "His constant practice, both winter and summer, was to rise and set with the sun; and if the weather would permit, he never failed to walk in some unfrequented place for three hours, both morning and evening. The chief part of his sustenance was milk, with a little bread boiled in it, of which, in a morning, after his walk, he would eat the quantity of a pint, and sometimes more. Dinners he never eat; and at night, he would only have a pretty large piece of bread, and drink a draught of good spring-water. After this method, he lived during the whole time he was at St. Helens. 'Tis observed of him, that he never slept out of a bed, and never lay awake in one; which I take to be an argument, not only of a strong and healthful constitution, but of a mind composed and calm, and entirely free from the ordinary disturbances of human life. He never made the least signs of complaint or dissatisfaction at any thing, unless it was when he heard the *Tinners* swear, or saw them drunk; and then too, he would get out of the way, as soon as he had let them see, by some significant signs, how scandalous and ridiculous they made themselves; and against the next day he met them, would be sure to have a paper ready writ, wherein he would represent the folly of drunkenness, and the dangerous consequences that usually attend it. Idleness was his utter aversion. If at any time he had finished the business of the day, and was grown weary of reading and writing, in which he daily spent six hours at least, he'd certainly find something, either within doors or without, to employ himself. Much might be said, both with regard to the wise and regular management, and the prudent methods he took to spend his time well towards the declension of his life. I shall only observe in the general, that he was a person of great wisdom and sagacity. He understood nature beyond the ordinary capacity; and if he had had a competency of learning suitable to his genius, neither this, nor the former ages, would have produced a better philosopher, or a greater man."

In this simple story, De Foe has put in practice, without any apparent effort, the same peculiarity of invention that distinguishes his other performances. Although the incidents of the narrative are few in number, they are told in the same unpretending manner, and with so much exactness, that it is difficult for the reader to persuade himself that it is any other than a real history. As De Foe wrote for the common people, he fed their appetite with such stimulants as were suited to their love of excitement; and when he lays a tax upon their credulity, it is levied with an air of seriousness that extorts belief, and finds ample remuneration in the moral lessons with which it is accompanied. His purpose of reformation, he unfolds at the outset: "for the design, I think there's nothing need be said in vindication of that. Here's a dumb philosopher introduced to a wicked and degenerate generation, as a proper emblem of virtue and morality; and if the world could be persuaded to look upon him with candour and impartiality, and then to copy after him, the Editor has gained his end, and would think himself sufficiently recompensed for his present trouble."

As De Foe had mixed much in society, he was become familiar with the habits and modes of talking that distinguished different persons, particularly in common life; and it is upon such subjects that he feels most at home. His different excursions to the continent, would bring him in contact with the British sailor, whose peculiarity of character was not lost upon him; and it is not improbable that he numbered amongst his acquaintance, persons of a sea-faring life, from whom he derived that correct knowledge of nautical affairs, which is so conspicuous in his writings. When personating the sailor, he is as much at home as when he is discoursing upon trade, or discussing politics. It has been thought that he was not unacquainted with the celebrated Dampier, who, to professional skill, united other commendable qualities. De Foe lived at a period when buccaneering was carried on to a great extent, being encouraged by the long wars that grew out of the revolution, particularly the war of the Spanish succession. From the relations of these lawless adventurers, he no doubt derived many anecdotes of surprising encounters and hair-breadth escapes, which he skilfully converted by his own genius to the uses required. He was also well-read in the voyages and travels of former days, from whence he transferred the most striking incidents into his own imaginary voyages.

The favourable reception of "Robinson Crusoe" might be partly owing to the partiality with which every circumstance, illustrating the character of the British sailor, is viewed by the public. It was probably in accommodation to this national taste, that De Foe now recorded the adventures of a buccaneer, which he depicts with all that spirit of enterprise and variety of incident, which usually mark the operations of that hardy character. This work he intitled, "The Life, Adventures, and Pyracies of the famous Captain SINGLETON: containing an Account of his being set on shore in the Island of Madagascar; his Settlement there; with a Description of the Place and Inhabitants: of his passage from thence in a Paraguay to the main land of Africa; with an Account of the Customs and Manners of the People: his great Deliverance from the barbarous Natives and wild Beasts: of his meeting with an Englishman, a Citizen of London, among the Indians; the great Riches he acquired; and his Voyage home to England. As, also, Captain Singleton's Return to Sea; with an Account of his many Adventures and Pyracies with the famous Captain *Avery* and others. London: printed for J. Brotherton, at the Black Bull in Cornhill; J. Graves, in St. James's Street; A. Dodd, at the Peacock, without Temple

Bar; and T. Warner, at the Black Boy in Paternoster Row. 1720." 8vo. pp. 360. 2nd edition. 1737. 12mo. 3d edition. 1768. 12mo.

Bob Singleton, as he was familiarly called, knew nothing of his origin, having been trepanned when a child, and sold to a gipsy woman; who happening to be hanged, he was thrown upon the parish. At twelve years old he went to Newfoundland, and upon his return home was captured by a Turkish rover, but re-taken by the Portuguese, and carried to Lisbon. His master dying there, he engaged himself as cabin-boy in a Portuguese vessel bound to the East Indies, and became initiated in every vice. But, degraded as he was, he could not but look with horror upon his ship-mates, whom he describes as the most profligate of beings. However, "he that is shipped with the devil, must sail with the devil;" so he continued his voyage. Upon his return from Goa, where he only escaped the inquisition by becoming a good Catholic, the vessel put into Madagascar; and a mutiny taking place amongst the seamen, twenty-seven of them, including young Singleton, were left upon shore. Here they were hospitably treated by the natives; but their new situation not sitting easy upon them, they longed for an opportunity of returning to Europe. Like men in despair, they wandered from one expedient to another; and at length committed themselves to the sea, in a vessel of their own construction. After a perilous voyage of twenty-four days, they reached the main land of Africa, but found themselves in a more barbarous country than that they had quitted. They had now to cross a large continent, which they performed upon foot; and we have a relation of many perilous adventures with wild beasts, and savage nations, as also, of the treasures they collected in their progress. Having at length reached the western coast, Singleton separated himself from the rest of his companions, and embarking at Cape Coast Castle, returned to England, where he soon dissipated his property. And with this ends the first part of his adventures.

The second part of his life was no less remarkable, but terminated more hopefully. As soon as he had seen the bottom of his purse, he went on board a trading vessel bound for Cadiz, where he engaged in a conspiracy to seize the ship. But the plot failing, he transferred himself to another vessel that was her companion, and where the crew met with better success. Having chosen Wilmot, one of them, their captain, and Singleton his lieutenant, they laid in stores for a voyage, and put to sea. It was not long before they captured a Spanish sloop, which they manned for a privateer, giving the command to Singleton. After a cruize of two years, they began to grow rich, disposed of the sloop, and transferred the crew to a large Spanish frigate carrying 38 guns, of which Singleton had the command. With this force they swept the seas of every vessel that came within their reach. In one of their prizes was a Quaker from Pennsylvania, a surgeon by profession; who, being a useful person, was made to bear them company, and cuts a considerable figure in the story. They now thought of returning home with their booty, and agreed to rendezvous at Madagascar. Here they fell in with Captain Avery, a noted pirate of those times, whose exploits are matter of history. But a difference now arising between Singleton and the other commander, they parted company, Wilmot carrying away all the spoil. Our hero had now to begin the world again; but he was not disheartened. Having a large frigate carrying 44 guns and 400 men, besides a sloop at his disposal, he set sail again, his friend the Quaker bearing him company. It was not long before they took some valuable prizes, with the contents of which they carried on a considerable trade, and in the end grew very rich. It was now time to think of leaving off so hazardous a mode of life, with the guilt of which our Captain began to have some compunctions of conscience, that were instilled into him by the Quaker. For some considerable time he was under great terror of mind, even bordering upon despair; but the Quaker's discourses brought him to some composure, with a resolution to reform his life, and make all the reparation in his power for the injustice he had committed. The Quaker had a sister in England, to whom he remitted a considerable sum of money, with directions to take a house in the country, as a retreat for them upon their arrival. This they at length accomplished; and the story ends by Singleton's marriage to the fair Quakeress.

This work is inferior to some of De Foe's narratives. His hero is altogether a worthless character, and the actions recounted of him, are such as few readers would take delight in. From the nature of the story, these, indeed, could not be much otherwise. Singleton is a faithful portrait of a numerous herd that swarmed upon the seas at that period. The events of his life are those of any other pirate, but diversified by some strange adventures, which owe their existence to the fertile brain of the writer. Those who take delight in adventures of this nature, will find much to amuse, if not to instruct them. De Foe has less moralizing in this, than in most of his other works, yet it is not entirely lost sight of; for towards the close, his hero becomes a reformed man. The story of the Quaker, who was the agent in the change, is by far the best part of the work.

For the further amusement of the public, De Foe published in the same year, some particulars of a noted seer of those days, who gave rise to a variety of speculations. Steele introduces him in the *Tatler*, as a dumb fortune-teller, who imposed upon the vulgar, by pretending to tell fortunes by the second-sight. Whether he was actually deaf and dumb, or only feigned so, for the purpose of notoriety, was a matter of doubt; but be this as it may, he practised many years upon the credulity of the public, and with so much success, as to amass a fortune by his profession. The celebrity to which he attained, is thus noticed by the Spectator. "Every one has heard of the famous conjuror, who, according to the opinion of the vulgar, has studied himself dumb; for which reason, as it is believed, he delivers out his oracles in writing. Be that as it will, the blind Teresias was not more famous in Greece, than this dumb artist has been for some years last past in the cities of London and Westminster."*

So remarkable a character was not likely to escape the observation of De Foe, who rightly considered, that he would be a popular subject for his pen. He therefore composed "The History of the Life and Adventures of Mr. DUNCAN CAMPBELL, a Gentleman, who though Deaf and Dumb, writes down any Stranger's Name at first sight, with their future contingencies of Fortune. Now living in Exeter Court, over against the Savoy in the Strand. London: printed for E. Curll: and sold by W. Meers, &c. 1720." 8vo. pp. 320. So great was the demand for the work, that a second edition appeared in the same year. It was accompanied by a portrait of Mr. Duncan Campbell, Ætat. 40, engraved by M. Vangergucht in his best manner; and there are some other plates illustrative of the subject.

In the days of De Foe, the resort to fortune-tellers, for the purpose of prying into futurity, was not confined to the lower orders. The slender education then bestowed upon females, and the habits of society so accurately described by Steele and Addison, left the higher orders equally exposed to the inroads of imposture. Accordingly, the levee of our seer, who affected to look down upon the vulgar arts resorted to by his rivals in the trade, could boast of a large assemblage of the fair sex, of various ranks, who had recourse to him for information upon the point that dwelt uppermost in their thoughts. The notoriety of the circumstance led many to expect a disclosure of secret intrigues in the life of the prophet; but he disdained to indulge this appetite for scandal. In a dedication "To the Ladies and Gentlemen of Great Britain," he says, "they will find a much more elegant entertainment. The good old gentleman who wrote the adventures of my life, has made it his business to treat them with a great variety of entertaining passages, which always terminate in morals that tend to the edification of all readers of whatever sex, age, or profession." Soaring above the tricks of common conjurors, he rejects the aid of those popular superstitions which act as talismans upon the vulgar. His skill in diving into futurity, he rests solely upon his gift of the "second-sight;" upon the history of which, the author employs a whole chapter. "The persons who are most to be avoided," says he, "are your ordinary fortune-telling men and women about this town, whose houses ought to be avoided as a plague or a pestilence, either because they are cheats and impostors, or because they deal with black arts, none of them that I know having any pretensions to the gift of a second-sight." Of these rivals for fame and fortune, he gives a curious account.(s)

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* Spectator, No. 560.

(s) "The first and chiefest of these mischievous fortune-tellers is a woman that does not live far from the *Old Bailey*, where she pretends to give charms written upon paper, with odd scrawls, which she calls figures. The other is a fellow that lives in *Moorfields*, in which place, those who go to consult him ought to live all their life-time at the famous palace of the senseless. He is the successor of the famous Dr. Trotter, whose widow he married; and from being a tailor, and patching men's garments, he now cuts flourishes with his shears upon parchment, considers the heavens as a garment, and from the spangles thereupon, he calculates nativities, and sets up for a very profound astrologer. The third, is an ignorant fellow, who kaws out strange predictions in *Crow Alley*, of whose croaking noise I shall now take no notice, he having been sufficiently mauled in the most ingenious *Spectators*. These, and such counterfeits, I would desire all gentlemen and ladies to avoid. The only two really learned men that I ever knew in the art of astrology, were my good friends, Dr. Williams and

Our present hero asserts a higher claim to attention than those he has just described. **Duncan Campbell**, according to his biographer, was descended from a Scotch clan that claimed the house of Argyle for its chief. But he was himself born in Lapland, whither his father had been driven by a storm, and united himself in marriage with a lady of consequence in that country. From his mother he is said to have inherited the gift of second-sight, for which the people in those northern regions were celebrated. Upon her death, which happened when young Duncan was little more than two years old, his father returned with him to Scotland, and there married a second wife. By the time he was four years old, it was discovered that nature had denied him the gift of speech, which put an end to all those hopes of future greatness which his father cherished, and had been prognosticated by his mother. From this state of distress, he was partially relieved by a learned divine of the University of Glasgow, who made himself acquainted with Dr. Wallis's method of teaching the deaf and dumb, and undertook the tuition of Duncan. He was about half a-year in learning his letters; but afterwards made such quick progress, that in little more than two years, he was able to read and write as well as other children. The process of tuition, which was chiefly by the fingers, is here explained at considerable length, and a plate of the alphabet annexed. His father joining in the expedition of Argyle, died soon afterwards in exile; and in the course of a few years he lost his stepmother, being left an orphan when he was twelve years old.

Mr. Gadbury."—The *Spectator*, (No. 505) observes, "It is not to be conceived how many wizards, gipsies, and cunning men are dispersed through all the counties and market-towns of Great Britain; not to mention the fortune-tellers and astrologers, who live very comfortably upon the curiosity of several well-disposed persons in the cities of London and Westminster." Moorfields had been time out of mind the most common habitation of these gentry.

He continued in Scotland two years afterwards, giving many indications of the rare faculty for which he became so famous, the particulars of which are noted down in his life with great exactness. In 1694, he removed to London, where he soon attracted a large concourse of visiters, some of them drawn together by motives of curiosity, and others by a concern for business. The fame he acquired by his predictions, of the fulfilment of which some strange stories are recorded, resounded to the remotest corners of the metropolis, and brought him a large harvest of the valuable metal. But as his reputation extended, envy and detraction were at work to undermine it. His oracles, which were sometimes of an unpalatable nature, and delivered with freedom, brought him into scrapes, and upon one occasion he narrowly escaped with his life. At length he began to grow tired of his profession; and having realized a handsome fortune, he solicited ease in retirement.

Being then in the prime of life, he embarked in the pursuits of a modern fine gentleman; frequented the coffee-houses and public assemblies; and addicting himself to a variety of expensive pleasures, he soon came to the bottom of his fortune. His biographer tells us, that being himself a man in years, and experienced in the ways of the world, he took upon him to admonish Mr. Campbell upon the tendency of his courses: but heedless of his advice, he still continued his expensive habits, until he involved himself in debt, and became the inmate of a prison. After a confinement of six weeks, he was delivered by some friends, and resolved to try his fortune in the army. For this purpose, he took his passage on board a vessel bound to Rotterdam, where he engaged in a frolic that again deprived him of his liberty. After his release, his humour for rambling brought him into fresh troubles, and he was persuaded to return to England; but the vessel in which he had embarked, was captured and carried into France. Here he had an odd adventure with some friars, who wished to convict him as a conjuror, but suddenly became his friends. Having arrived in London, he sought out his former lodgings, resumed his occupation as a fortune-teller, and had an abundance of customers. Prosperity again smiled upon him. "He had nothing to do from early in the morning till late at night, but to read questions and resolve them, as fast as much-frequented doctors write their prescriptions, and like them also to receive his fees." But a glut of money was not the only good thing that fortune bestowed upon him. Being visited by an agreeable young widow, who was not only liberal in her donations, but expressed great kindness for him, he felt a strong desire to interpret her fortune in his own favour, and proved a successful suitor. He now took a house in Monmouth-Court, where he continued to follow his profession; and with this part of his life the story ends.

Such is an outline of the particulars that form the subject of the present volume. A considerable part of it is occupied in a relation of the adventures of this singular personage, in stories of apparitions, and in arguments to support the theory of natural magic. The most interesting part of the book, perhaps, is the account of Archibald Campbell, father of the conjuror. (T)

(T) The subjects discussed in the volume, may be learnt from the following table of contents. Chap. I. Mr. Campbell's descent, family, birth, &c. Also, an account of Mr. Archibald Campbell's travels in Lapland, where he married a rich lady of that country, who was daughter to the under-prefect, or deputy-governor of the district of Uma Lapmark. With some letters from him to his father in the isle of Shetland in Scotland; particularly one concerning the birth of his son, Mr. Duncan Campbell. Chap. II. After the death of Mr. Duncan Campbell's mother, in Lapland, his father, Mr. Archibald Campbell, returned into Scotland with his little son and family. His second marriage, and how his son, being born deaf and dumb, was first taught to read and write. Chap. III. His method of teaching deaf and dumb persons to write, read, and understand a language. Chap. IV. Young Duncan Campbell returns with his mother to Edinburgh. The Earl of Argyle's overthrow. The ruin of Mr. Archibald Campbell, and

It is easy to perceive, that a man born deaf and dumb, but provided with the rare accomplishments possessed by Mr. Campbell, would excite no little degree of curiosity in the world. Accordingly, we find that De Foe's book was no sooner announced, than it produced a great demand, which induced him to conclude it sooner than he intended. The following passage seems to hint at a continuation of the memoirs. "The most diverting of all are to be found, best to the life, in original letters that passed between Mr. Campbell and his correspondents; some select ones of which will be shortly published, with a continuation of his life to the present time, for the farther entertainment of such readers as shall relish this treatise." The work to which this passage refers, appeared about four years afterwards, with the following title: "A Spy upon the Conjuror: or a Collection of surprising Stories, with Names, Places, and particular Circumstances relating to Mr. Duncan Campbell, commonly known by the name of the Deaf and Dumb Man; and the astonishing Penetration and Event of his Predictions. Written to my Lord ——, by a Lady, who, for more than Twenty years past, has made it her Business to observe all Transactions in the Life and Conversation of Mr. Campbell. London: sold by Mr. Campbell, at the Green-Hatch, Buckingham-Court, Whitehall; and at Burton's Coffee-House, Charing-Cross. 1724." 8vo. pp. 259. This volume has been sometimes attributed to Mrs. Eliza Haywood, a celebrated

his death. Young Duncan's practice in prediction at Edinburgh, while yet a boy. Chap. V. An argument proving the perception which men have had, and have, by all the senses, as seeing, hearing, &c., of Demons, Genii, or Familiar Spirits. Chap. VI. A narrative of Mr. Campbell's coming to London, and taking upon him the profession of a predictor; together with an account of many strange things that came to pass just as he foretold. Chap. VII. A philosophical Discourse concerning the Second-Sight. Chap. VIII. A Dissertation upon Magic, under all its branches. With some remarkable particulars relating to Mr. Campbell's private life. On the Existence of Spirits. And Witches.—Appendix.

female novelist; but the internal evidence is against that supposition; and notwithstanding the female disguise, it was most probably the production of De Foe, to whom it has been also assigned. It was evidently intended as a sequel to the former work, which is often referred to. About a third of the volume consists of Letters to Mr. Campbell; the remainder is occupied in relations of his interviews with various persons who consulted him upon their destinies, and the exposure of their fortunes. There are also some few particulars of his private history, intermixed with reflections of a moral nature; and he is represented as displaying more honesty towards his customers than was usual with persons of his profession.

In the following year, there appeared a further account of our prophet, by the author of the work last mentioned. It is intitled "The Dumb Projector: being a surprizing Account of a Trip to Holland made by Mr. Duncan Campbell; with the Manner of his Reception and Behaviour there. As also, the various and diverting Occurrences that happened in his departure. London: printed for W. Ellis, at the Queen's Head in Gracechurch Street, J. Roberts in Warwick Lane, &c. 1725. Price Sixpence. 8vo. pp. 40. The title sufficiently explains the nature of the work, which relates to a fool's errand upon which Mr. Campbell was sent to Holland, with the promise of a large reward, which he never received.

Another work relating to him, which was also most probably from the pen of De Foe, is intitled "The Friendly Dæmon: or the Generous Apparition. Being a true Narrative of a miraculous Cure newly performed upon that famous Deaf and Dumb Gentleman, Dr. Duncan Campbell, by a Familiar Spirit that appeared to him in a white Surplice, like a Cathedral Singing Boy. London: printed and sold by J. Roberts, in Warwick-Lane, 1726." 8vo. pp. 39. The following lines are inserted in the title:

"If by our senses, spirits we perceive,
Or from the strength of fancy, we believe,

No fault do we commit that merits blame,
If to the public we repeat the same.
For, whether by our eyes we spectres see,
Or by a second-sight, we must agree,
Things are to us, as they appear to be."

This singular performance consists of two letters: the first written by Duncan Campbell himself, and addressed "To my anonymous worthy friend, physician and philosopher, whose name for certain reasons I forbear to mention," contains a narrative of a distressing illness which attacked him in 1717, and continued nearly eight years. It was attended by epileptic fits, which seized him suddenly, and for a time deprived him of his senses. From this period, he tells us, that every little disorder of mind, or disappointment in business, never failed to bring on a return of the fits, which convulsed his features, distorted his limbs, and were attended by racking pains in the bowels. By this calamity, the faculties of his mind became greatly impaired, and his physicians advised him to try the cold bath, which for a time appeared to mitigate the disorder; but the fits returning upon him as frequently as ever, he began to despair of relief from human aid. In the midst of his despondency, as he was slumbering upon his bed towards the latter end of 1725, his good genius, or guardian angel, appeared to him, clothed in a white surplice, and with a scroll in his hand, containing the following inscription, written in large capitals: "Read, believe and practice. The loadstone shall be your cure, with an addition of the powder here prescribed you; but keep the last as a secret, for with that and the magnet, you shall relieve numbers in distress, and live to do greater wonders than you have hitherto performed: therefore, be of good cheer, for you have a friend unknown, who, in the time of trouble, will never fail you." This consoling news could not be otherwise than welcome to a person in his condition; therefore, after some struggle with his natural reason, to which, he tells us, he subjected his faith, he began to put the remedy in practice, and in a month's time, was restored to a state of health. The second letter is from his friend the physician and philosopher, whose opinion he had requested upon the notion of genii, or familiar spirits; upon the virtues of the loadstone; and upon the powder of sympathy, the effects of which had operated so mysteriously in his case. Diffident of his own ability to give any satisfactory account of the world of spirits, he refers to what the ancients had written upon the subject, particularly as it respected the dæmon of Socrates; and he adds to them the testimonies of Glanvil, Beaumont, and other moderns. For the wonderful efficacy ascribed to the loadstone, he professes his inability to account upon any rational principles; but he advises his friend to keep the secret to himself and to make the most of it. Upon the virtues of the sympathetic powder, as he was unacquainted with its composition, he forbears an opinion, being unable to say, "how far his guardian angel is a regular proficient in the modern practice of physic." But he tells him, that a powder of this kind was brought from the East by a religious Carmelite, who communicated the receipt to our countryman, the famous Sir Kenelm Digby, who wrote upon the subject, and performed a remarkable cure with it upon the person of Mr. James Howell, a well-known writer of the period.

Mr. Campbell having obtained possession of so important a secret, resolved to make his market of it with the public. He therefore advertised its virtues in a variety of complaints, and in commencing practitioner of the healing art, announced himself in due form a doctor of the faculty. To the above publication is annexed a "Postscript," in which the public are informed, that "at Dr. Campbell's house, in Buckingham-Court, over against Old Man's Coffee-house at Charing-Cross, they may be readily furnished with his *Pulvis Miraculosus,* and the finest sort of Egyptian loadstones, ready armed and fitted for the purpose, which if applied and continued according to direction, never fail of success." Such is the credulity of mankind, that those who practice upon it with a moderate share of skill, will never fail to accomplish their object; and their success will be in proportion to the degree of mystery that is mixed up with their art. Animal magnetism has performed as many exploits in our own day, as the loadstone and sympathetic powder in that of Doctor Campbell.

Another work connected with this subject, is "The supernatural Philosopher, or the Mysteries of Magic in all its branches clearly unfolded. Containing, first, An Argument proving the Perception which Mankind have by all the Senses of Dæmons, Genii, or Familiar Spirits, and of the several species of them, both Good and Bad. Second, A philosophical Discourse concerning the Second-Sight, demonstrating it to be hereditary in some Families. Third, A full Answer to all Objections that can be brought against the Existence of Spirits, Witches, &c. Fourth, Of Divination by Dreams, Spectres, Omens, Apparitions after Death, Predictions, &c. Fifth, Of Enchantments, Necromancy, Geomancy, Hydromancy, Æromancy, Pyromancy, Chiromancy, Augury and Aurispicy, collected and compiled from the most approved authorities. By William Bond, of Bury Saint Edmonds, Suffolk. Exemplified in the Life of Mr. Duncan Campbell. London: 1728. Price Five Shillings." 8vo. This is no other than the work first described, with a new title. William Bond was the name of a real person at this time, and not unknown in the republic of letters. His abilities, however, did not rank very high. He added a ninth volume to the Spectator; translated Buchanan's History; and was concerned with Aaron Hill in a periodical paper, called "The Plain Dealer." Having a taste for the stage, he played the part of Lasignan, in Hill's tragedy of Zara, but for one night only; being seized with a fit upon the stage, which terminated his life the following morning, in the month of June

1735. He is said to have been nearly related to Lord Gage; and was the author of some poetical pieces, for which he was placed in the *Dunciad*.

The remarkable personage who gave rise to the foregoing publications, died about the year 1730, after a long illness, in which he suffered great torture of body, that baffled the spells of the loadstone, as well as the art of the medical practitioner. As he was never heard to utter any complaints under the excruciating agonies that distorted his frame, it may be safely concluded that the suspicion of those who took him for an impostor were ill-grounded. The organs that nature had denied him, were compensated by the acuteness of his other faculties. A quickness of sight, joined to long practised observation, enabled him to understand the turn of conversation; and the delicacy of his touch qualified him to distinguish the harmony of sounds. He could play upon the violin with great exactness, and tuned it by putting the instrument between his teeth. He was a great master of the art of self-defence, frequented the fencing school, and was member of a society formed from amongst his pupils, who met once a week to improve themselves in the art. It was at one of these meetings that an experiment was made upon him by firing a pistol close to his ear, when he neither started nor betrayed any symptom of surprise. Aware that public curiosity would be excited to know something more of him after his death, Mr. Campbell, that his fame might not suffer by imperfect narratives, drew up an account of his own life, which he left prepared for the press. It made its appearance soon after his death, with the following title. "Secret Memoirs of the late Mr. Duncan Campbell, the famous Deaf and Dumb Gentleman. Written by Himself, who ordered they should be published after his decease. To which is added, An Appendix by way of vindication of Mr. Duncan Campbell, against that groundless aspersion cast upon him, that he but pretended to be Deaf and Dumb. London: printed for J. Millan, at the Green Door, the corner of Buckingham Gate; and J. Chrichley, at the London Gazette, Charing Cross. 1732." 8vo. pp. 239. The work is accompanied by a wretched portrait of Mr. Campbell, engraved by Price. His narrative commences from the time of his appearance in London, and for the former part of his history, he refers to the works already mentioned.

A rhyming fit having returned upon De Foe, he now produced "The Compleat Art of Painting: a Poem. Translated from the French of M. du Fresnoy. By D. F. Gent. London: printed for T. Warner. 1720. Price One Shilling." 8vo. pp. 53. Du Fresnoy's poem, so highly esteemed upon the continent, had been translated into English prose by Dryden, and his version met with a corresponding approbation in England. Although no attempt had been made to turn it into English metre, yet the rejection of it by Dryden might have been sufficient to deter our author from so venturous an experiment. De Foe's ear was never attuned to music, he was therefore incapable of that nice discrimination which is requisite to produce harmony. Dryden had set before him the noble example of abandoning a vicious taste; and Pope, who was now in the height of his popularity, had imparted a smoothness and perspicuity to his verse that procured the admiration of his contemporaries. With these models before him, it is surprising that De Foe could still take delight in his unmusical rhymes; for his present effort is even inferior to many of his former productions. It may be difficult to assign a motive for the publication, unless, as Mr. Chalmers intimates, it was to gain a few guineas, without much labour of the head or hand. A metrical translation of Du Fresnoy's work was attempted by Wills the painter; but, like its precursor, has been long since forgotten. In later times, it was undertaken with fair success by the late elegant scholar and poet, Mr. William Mason, whose work was enriched with many valuable notes, by his friend, Sir Joshua Reynolds.

Towards the end of the same year, De Foe employed his pen upon a subject more congenial with his talents, and better adapted to purposes of usefulness. In a series of moral discourses, written by way of dialogue, he showed how competent he was to explain the real nature of religion, and to unfold its consolations. He intitled his work "Christian Conversation: in six Dialogues. I. Between a doubting Christian and one more confirmed, about Assurance. II. Between the same Persons about Mortification. III. Between Eudoxius and Fidelius, about Natural Things spiritualized. IV. Between Simplicius and Conscius, about Union. V. Between Thipsius and Melaudius, about afflictions. VI. Between Athanasius and Bioes, about Death. By a Private Gentleman. London: printed for W. Taylor. 1720." 8vo. Entered at Stationers'-Hall, November 2. "The moralities of De Foe," observes Mr. Chalmers, "whether published in single volumes, or interspersed through many passages, must at last give him a superiority over the crowd of his contemporaries." In this judgment, those who have perused his writings cannot but concur. Upon most of them a favourable verdict was pronounced by his contemporaries; and they require only to be extensively known, to obtain for the author that meed of praise which is due to his meritorious exertions.

CHAPTER XIX.

De Foe a Painter of Nature.—He publishes the "Fortunes and Misfortunes of Moll Flanders."—Character of the Story.—De Foe's Object in writing it.—Its revolting Features.—Success of the Work.—Various Editions.—His Life of Colonel Jacque.—Nature of the Work.—Slaves and Slave-Owners.—De Foe an enlightened Philanthropist.—General Character of his Novels.—Moral Tendency of Colonel Jacque.—"Memoirs of a Cavalier."—Account of it by his Editor.—Laboured attempts to authenticate the Narrative.—The Cavalier's Story.—Character of Tilly's Army.—And of Gustavus Adolphus.—Sensation produced by his Death.—Civil Wars in England.—Character of Fairfax.—And of the Memoirs.—War and Pestilence.—De Foe's Account of the Plague.—Character of his Work.—Its Moral Tendency.—Plague at Marseilles.—Publications upon the great Plague.—Controversy with Dr. Hancocke.—Religious Courtship.—Its estimable Character.—Other Works attributed to De Foe.

1721—1722.

The misfortunes of De Foe, at a former period, had thrown him into circumstances which subjected him to the sight of human nature in its lowest and most degraded forms. Whilst immured in prison, he was necessarily brought into contact with persons who were competent to let him into those scenes of crime and misery, of which his fertile genius availed itself in the publications we are now about to notice. The various incidents in the eventful life of Moll Flanders, from the time of her seduction to that of her becoming a convict and a quiet settler in Maryland, are those of real life, as exemplified by multitudes of individuals, who have run the career of their vicious propensities. The artless disposition of the narrative, the lively interest excited by unlooked for coincidences, the rich natural painting, the moral reflections, are all so many proofs of the knowledge and invention of the writer; but the facts were furnished him by the annals of Newgate.

To gratify the taste of the public, De Foe now served up a dish of coarser materials than ordinary, but adapted to a numerous class of readers, who might be indisposed to receive instruction from his moral dialogues. It is intitled "The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous MOLL FLANDERS, &c., who was born in Newgate, and during a Life of continued variety for threescore years, besides her Childhood, was twelve years a Whore, five times a Wife, (whereof once to her own Brother) Twelve Years a Thief, Eight Years a transported Felon to Virginia, at last grew Rich, lived Honest, and died a Penitent. Written from her own Memorandums. London: printed for and sold by W. Chetwood, at Cato's Head, in Russell Street, Covent Garden; and T. Edlin, at the Prince's Arms, over against Exeter Change in the Strand. 1721." 8vo. pp. 366.

From the character of the incidents that compose the present narrative, De Foe was fully aware of the objections that would be urged against it by the scrupulous. To conceal a single fact, would have taken so much from the fidelity of the portrait; all that he could do, therefore, was to neutralize the poison, by furnishing the strongest antidotes. Accordingly, whilst he paints the courses of an every-day profligate in their natural colours, he shows us with the same faithfulness their natural tendency; and that, first or last, vice is sure to bring down its own punishment. His villains never prosper; but either come to an untimely end, or are brought to be penitents. In dressing up the present story, he tells us, he had taken care to exclude every thing that might be offensive; but conscious that he had a bad subject to work upon, he endeavours to interest the reader in the reflections arising out of it, that the moral might be more enticing than the fable. "To give the history of a wicked life repented of, necessarily requires that the wicked part should be made as wicked as the real history of it will bear, to illustrate and give a beauty to the penitent part, which is certainly the best and brightest, if related with equal spirit and life." Judging from the common experience of mankind, De Foe archly suspects that this part of his narrative will be less cordially received than the other. Should this be the case, he says, "I must be allowed to say, 'tis because there is not the same taste and relish in the reading; and indeed it is too true, that the difference lies not in the real worth of the subject, so much as in the gust and palate of the reader." But the work being intended for those who know how to make a good use of it, he adds, "It is to be hoped, such readers will be much more pleased with the application than with the relation; with the end of the writer, than with the life of the person written of."

Such is the object of the story of Moll Flanders, and it must be allowed to be executed in strict conformity with the writer's intentions. The events of her life are indeed coarse and disgusting; but they are exactly those of a person in her situation, led on from one degree of crime to another, and participating in all the miseries that may be expected to accompany such courses. In the midst of her career, this unhappy creature was not without those compunctions of conscience that often attend a life of guilt; and our author has pourtrayed the workings of her mind with great force and discrimination. But a perseverance in evil courses has a tendency to harden the heart, until it grows callous to conviction. So it was with our heroine; and the reflections suggested by it as soon as she found herself in Newgate, form a striking part of the narrative. The best part of her life is towards its close. "Her application to a sober life and industrious management at last in Virginia, with her transported spouse, is a story fruitful of instruction to all the unfortunate creatures who are obliged to seek their re-establishment abroad, whether by the misery of transportation or other disaster; letting them know, that diligence and application have their due encouragement, even in the remotest part of the world, and that no case can be so low, so despicable, or so empty of prospect, but that an unwearied industry will go a great way to deliver us from it, and will in time raise the meanest creature to appear again in the world, and give him a new cast for his life."

The story of Moll Flanders, although seriously told, and abounding in just reflections upon the danger of an habitual course of wickedness, is a book after all, that cannot be recommended for indiscriminate perusal. The scenes it unfolds are such as must be always unwelcome to a refined and well-cultivated mind; whilst with respect to others, it is to be feared that those who are pre-disposed to the oblique paths of vice and dishonesty, will be more alive to the facts of the story, than to the moral that is suspended to it. The life of a courtezan, however carefully told, if told faithfully, must contain much matter unfit to be presented to a virtuous mind. Moll Flanders is one of a low description; and gliding into the occupation of a shop-lifter, she became an adept in all the arts of her profession. The first part of her story renders her an object of pity, as the latter part of it does of respect; but the intermediate spaces are filled up by matters of a forbidding nature; and whatever lessons the whole may be calculated to afford to persons in a similar situation, it may be feared that they will weigh less with the obtuse and the profligate, than their dreams of present advantage. Those who take delight in exploring the annals of Newgate, without the moral, may here find the like scenes with the moral pointed. It is to the credit of De Foe, that he nowhere administers to the vicious taste of his reader, but takes every occasion of holding up vice to abhorrence.

If the sale of a book were any criterion of its merit, De Foe had every reason to be satisfied with the work. A third edition was published by the same booksellers in 1722, and another in the following year. There were two editions by J. Brotherton; the second in 1741. There is also one with wood cuts, by C. Sympson, in Stone-Cutter Street, Fleet Market, without a date. These were all in octavo, and there are many in a smaller size. An edition of the work, with many omissions and alterations, was published in 1776, by Francis Noble, who kept a circulating library in Holborn, and reprinted several of De Foe's pieces, with castrations. It professes to be taken from a corrected manuscript of De Foe's, dated Islington, December 20, 1730, in which he omitted some parts as unfit for perusal, and gave the whole a new dress. But this is a mere deception. There is no reason for supposing that De Foe left any such papers, nor that he intended his work to be mutilated in the manner performed by his anonymous editor. Besides abridging other parts of her story, the whole of her practices as a thief are omitted, and consequently those fine passages that describe her mental conflicts in the silent hour of reflection. She is no convict herself, but accompanies her husband to Virginia, from whence they both return to Ireland, purchase an estate, and pass a sober and religious life. She survives her husband, makes her will, leaving the whole of her property to her brother-in-law, and departs this life a great penitent, the tenth of December, 1722, in the 75th year of her age. The work concluding in this happy manner, is intitled "The History of Lætitia Atkins, vulgarly called Moll Flanders. Published by Mr. Daniel De Foe. And from Papers found since his decease, it appears greatly altered by himself; and from the said Papers, the present Work is produced. London: printed for the Editor; and sold by F. Noble, in Holborn, and T. Lowndes, in Fleet Street, 1776." 12mo. It contains little more than half the quantity of the original work. (U)

(U) The account given of it by the Editor is as follows: "My father was an intimate acquaintance of Mr. Daniel De Foe. I had frequently heard him

By the success of his late publications, De Foe obtained full possession of the public taste. To gratify it, therefore, he had only to follow the bent of his genius, which, as it pointed out to him the surest road to fame, offered at the same time the most likely method of improving his pecuniary affairs. He had at this time, in all probability, no other dependance than the gains of literature. His pen was therefore ever at work; and from the facility with which he employed it, there is reason to believe that he derived pleasure from an occupation, which was to him a matter of necessity.

As a sort of companion to the former work, and intended for the amusement of persons in the same class of life, De Foe now published "The History of the most Remarkable Life and Extraordinary Adventures of the truly Honourable COLONEL JACQUE, vulgarly called Colonel Jack; who was born a Gentleman, put Apprentice to a Pick-Pocket, flourished six and Twenty Years as a Thief, and was then Kidnapped to Virginia: came back a Merchant, was five times married to four Whores, went into the Wars, behaved bravely, got Preferment, was made Colonel of a Regiment, returned again to England, followed the Fortunes of the Chevalier de St. George, was taken at the Preston Rebellion, received his Pardon from the King, is now at the Head of his Regiment in the Service of the Czarina, fighting against the Turks; completing a Life of Wonders, and resolved to die a General. London: printed for J. Brotherton, &c. 1722." 8vo. A second edition by the same bookseller, appeared in the following year; a third in 1724; and a fourth, printed for Ward and Chandler, at the Ship without Temple Bar, in

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speak of his friend, highly to his advantage as a moral writer, in many of his publications, and wondered much after my reading his "Robinson Crusoe," to find both in his "Roxana," and in his "Moll Flanders," expressions so much beneath him; but upon a perusal, when I came in possession of the manuscripts of his alterations of both those histories, I acquiesced in the opinion of my father, and in that opinion, have thought it proper, in their new dress, to introduce them for the entertainment of those who are admirers of nature."

1738. 8vo. Since then, it has been printed several times in 12mo.

The "Life of Colonel Jacque," is a work excellent in its kind, although less known than some of the author's other performances. If it contains much manner of low-life, it aspires to an elevation of character; whilst the painting is that of nature, and the tendency strictly virtuous. There is in truth but little that can associate it in character with Moll Flanders; for, if there is a correspondency in some of their actions, the principle that actuated them was widely different, and our hero appears through the greater part of the volume, a personage intitled to some respect. Even the first portion of his life, which was spent amongst thieves and vagabonds, discovers the latent seeds of honesty, and a generosity of disposition rising superior to his profession. When a child, and ignorant of its meaning, he imbibed a strong notion of being a gentleman, which was of great service to him through this part of his career. The manner in which this laudable feeling is brought into play, is not only highly amusing, but strongly indicates the ingenuity of the writer. Perhaps the most valuable part of the story is that of his residence in Virginia, to which place he was trepanned by the master of a vessel, and sold for a slave. As he had hitherto lived a wandering life, without a home, or any honest means of subsistence, he soon grew reconciled to his lot, and conducted himself so well, as to give satisfaction to his employer. "During this scene of life," says he, "I had time to reflect on my past hours, and upon what I had done in the world; and though I had no great capacity of making a clear judgment, and very little reflections from conscience, yet it made some impression upon me; and particularly that I was brought into this miserable condition of a slave by some strange directing power, as a punishment for the wickedness of my younger years." When his master became acquainted with the circumstances that brought him to the colony, he took compassion upon his situation, and receiving a favourable report of his conduct, gave him his liberty, and appointed him overseer of his plantations. The manner in which he behaved himself in his new office, forms an interesting feature in the narrative.

De Foe had made himself fully acquainted with the general character of English planters, and with the cruel treatment exercised upon their negroes. A discipline so abhorrent to the feelings of humanity, struck him with horror. Instead of reforming, it hardened them in their faults; it rendered them the ignoble victims of fear; and it instilled a deep-rooted hatred against their oppressors. Believing that negroes possessed all the faculties of reasonable creatures, and were susceptible of the same impressions as others of the species, he considered them not insensible of kindness: that possessing the same principles of natural generosity as others, they were equally alive to feelings of gratitude; and that they might be governed by an appeal to generous motives, without recourse to the lash, or at least so much of it as is generally inflicted. In accordance with these humane sentiments, our hero tells his master, "I have found out that happy secret to have good order kept, the business of the plantation done, and that with diligence and dispatch; and that the negroes are kept in awe, the natural temper of them subjected, and the safety and peace of your family secured as well by gentle means as by rough, by moderate correction as by torture and barbarity, and by a due awe of just discipline, as by the horror of insufferable torments." The mode by which he effected the change, is detailed with much interest, and occupies several pages. He first alarmed their apprehensions of punishment, in order to enhance the value of a pardon; he then conversed with them upon the nature of their offences, which he aggravated as committed against so good a master; he appealed to all their better feelings in order to excite the sentiment of gratitude; explained the nature of an obligation, and so wrought upon their minds, as to make them sensible of their faults, and alive to the obligations of mercy. If, after all, any should prove so utterly refractory as to be insensible to kindness, as will be sometimes the case with both blacks and whites, he recommends their expulsion from the plantation; for the peace of the society is not to be disturbed for the sake of a single individual. The slaves thus won by kindness, he found to be not only the most diligent and laborious, but the most useful upon the plantation, as influencing others. "It appeared, that negroes were to be reasoned into things as well as other people; and it was by thus managing their reason, that most of the work was done." He tells us, he had dwelt the longer upon the subject, "that, if possible, posterity might be persuaded to try gentler methods with those miserable creatures, and use them with humanity; assuring them that if they did so, adding the common prudence which each particular case would suggest, the negroes would do their work faithfully and cheerfully, and be the same as their christian servants, except that they would be the more thankful and laborious of the two." De Foe was an enlightened philanthropist. Esteeming the principle of love a safer stimulus than fear, equally strong, but more honourable and lasting, he commended it to the practice of mankind; and it would be well if it were more generally acted upon.

Unlike the common herd of novel writers, who build their stories upon love adventures, from which they derive all their attraction, De Foe almost discards women from his narratives; at least from those in which they do not figure as the chief actors. He has nothing of the sickly sentimental to nauseate and deprave the appetite, nor does he stimulate the passions by unnatural tales of love. The vicissitudes of fortune, which mark the characters of his heroes, and derive their charm from their semblance to real life, are sufficient to enchain the attention; and when women are introduced, they are quickly dismissed as mere incidents in the story. In all cases, whether he talks of men or women, the governing passion is the accumulation of wealth. Money is the main object; and to this he directs all their pursuits, whether honest or otherwise. But it should not be overlooked, that De Foe always keeps in view the character of a rigid moralist. His rogues never prosper eventually; that is to say, while they continue so, Providence always frowns upon their ill-gotten wealth, and he contrives some natural calamity by which it is dispersed. It was so with Colonel Jacque. He had accumulated about a hundred pounds by his trade as a pick-pocket, and lodged it with a friend in London, who engaged to pay him interest. Having occasion for the money to stock some land, of which he had obtained a grant by favour of his master, he ordered it to be laid out in such articles as would be useful to him in his new plantation. The goods were shipped, and the vessel had just entered the bay of Virginia, when it was suddenly lost.

Many reflections of a moral and religious nature are interspersed through the volume, highly honourable to the piety and good understanding of the writer. Our Colonel, whose affairs prospered as they were directed by the hand of industry, found out at last, "that it was honesty and virtue alone that made men rich and great, and gave them a fame as well as figure in the world; and that, therefore, he was to lay his foundation in these, expecting what might follow in time." These thoughts led to many serious reflections upon the occurrences of his past life; his conscience becomes gradually awakened to the enormities he had committed; and he resolves henceforward to live like a reasonable being, and a good Christian. The circumstances which led to his convictions, the workings of his mind during their progress, and the happy means that were used for his illumination, are minutely described by our author, and are so many proofs of his great skill as a mental physiognomist.

The moral uses that may be extracted from the work, are thus happily expressed by the author. "Here's room for just and copious observations on the blessing and advantages of a sober and well-governed education, and the ruin of so many thousands of all ranks in this nation for want of it. We may also see how much public schools and charities might be improved, to prevent the destruction of so many unhappy children as are every year bred up for the executioner. The miserable condition of multitudes of youth, whose natural tempers are docile, and would lead them to learn the best things rather than the worst, is truly deplorable, and is abundantly seen in the history of this man's childhood; where, though circumstances formed him by necessity to be a thief, surprising rectitude of principles remained, and made him early abhor the worst part of his trade, and at length to forsake the whole of it. Had he come into the world with the advantage of a virtuous education, and been instructed how to improve the generous principles he had in him, what a figure might he not have made, either as a man or a Christian. The various turns of his fortune in different scenes of life, make a delightful field for the reader to wander in; a garden where he may gather wholesome and medicinal fruits, none noxious or poisonous; where he will see virtue and the ways of wisdom every where applauded, honoured, encouraged and rewarded; vice and extravagance attended with sorrow and every kind of infelicity; and at last, sin and shame going together, the offender meeting with reproach and contempt, and the crimes with detestation and punishment. Every vicious reader will here be encouraged to a change, and it will appear, that the best and only good end of an impious mis-spent life, is repentance; that in this there is comfort, peace, and oftentimes hope, that the penitent shall be received like the prodigal, and his latter end be better than his beginning."

It was the fortune of De Foe, that the circumstances of his life, concurring with the bent of his genius, enabled him to study human nature in all its gradations, from the prince to the peasant; and in accommodation to the variety of tastes, he adapted his food to the appetite of the persons for whom he provided. In the stories of Moll Flanders and Colonel Jacque, he administered moral instruction to the lower orders, in a shape that was most accessible to their capacities. In that which we are now about to notice, he brings us into better company; and whilst his story rises in character, it loses none of its interest.

It was probably about this time (for there is no date to the work), that De Foe published his "Memoirs of a Cavalier: or a Military Journal of the Wars in Germany, and the Wars in England; from the year 1632 to the year 1648. Written three-score years ago by an English Gentleman, who served first in the Army of Gustavus Adolphus, the glorious King of Sweden, till his Death; and after that, in the Royal Army of King Charles the First, from the Beginning of the Rebellion, to the End of that War. London: printed for A. Bell, at the Cross Keys in Cornhill; J. Osborn, at the Oxford Arms, in Lombard Street; W. Taylor, at the Ship and Swan, and T. Warner, at the Black Boy, in Paternoster Row." 8vo. pp. 338. The second edition of this work, also without a date, was printed at Leeds, by James Lister, and has the names of several country booksellers. (x) It is likewise in octavo, and has an Introduction by the publisher, containing some speculations as to the author; for, as De Foe always writes in the first person, it is the hero himself who is supposed to be telling his own story. How well he supports the artifice, may be gathered from this writer.

(x) There are some later editions of this work. Francis Noble has one in 3 vols. 12mo, 1784. It was re-printed at Newark, in 8vo, 1782; and by Edward Jeffrey, in 1792; also in 8vo.

"The following historical memoirs are writ with so much spirit and good sense, that there is no doubt of their pleasing all such as can form any just pretensions to either. However, as upon reading a book, 'tis a question that naturally occurs, *Who is the Author?* And as it is too much the custom in these days to form our sentiments of a performance, not from its intrinsic merit, but from the sentiments we form of the writer, the present re-publication of these Memoirs will renew an inquiry which has been often made, *Who wrote them?* Some have imagined the whole to be a Romance; if it be, 'tis a Romance the likest to truth that I ever read. It has all the features of truth, 'tis clothed with simplicity, and adorned with her charms. Without hazard I may venture to say, were all romance writers to follow this author's example, their works would yield entertainment to philosophers, as well as serve for the amusement of *beaux-ésprits*. But I am fully persuaded our author, whoever he was, had been early concerned in the actions he relates. 'Tis certain, no man could have given a description of his retreat from Marston-Moor to Rochdale, and from thence over the Moors to the North, in so apt and proper terms, and in so exact a manner, unless he had really travelled over the very ground he describes. I could point out many other instances in the course of the Memoirs, which evidence that the author must have been well acquainted with the towns, battles, sieges, &c., and a party in the action he relates. But, as 'tis needless to do this, all that remains is to trace our author to his name. He says, he was a second son to a Shropshire gentleman, who was made a peer in the reign of King Charles I., whose seat lay eight miles from Shrewsbury. This account suits no one so well as Andrew Newport, Esq., second son to Richard Newport, of High Ercol, Esq., which Richard was created Lord Newport, October 14, 1642. This Andrew Newport, whom we suppose our author to be, was, after the Restoration, made a Commissioner of the Customs, probably in reward of his zeal and good services for the royal cause."

The name of Andrew Newport, bestowed upon the Cavalier, is purely suppositious, and any other would do equally well. As De Foe professes himself unable to discover it, we may be sure the Cavalier had good reasons for keeping the secret; but the laboured attempts of our author to investigate the matter, and to authenticate the manuscript, are so many proofs of his amazing skill in bestowing real life upon the phantoms of his own genius. In this he has succeeded so completely, that it is impossible to read his book without a full persuasion of its being written by the identical person whose story it relates, and that he was not only present upon the spot, but an eye-witness of every fact here registered. In ordinary cases, it requires a long detail of proofs to authenticate a narrative; but here, the illusion is so perfect, that the reader seeks for no further evidence; the story itself furnishes him with all that he requires. Of this, the author himself seems fully conscious: for he says, "There is no need to trace the history of the papers, to give reputation to the story; seeing the actions here mentioned, have a sufficient sanction from all the histories of the times to which they relate, with this addition:—that the admirable manner of relating them, and the wonderful variety of incidents with which they are beautified, give such a lustre, as well to the accounts themselves, as to the person who was the actor, that no story we believe extant, ever came abroad with such advantages." Whilst the reader feels constrained to take a similar view of the work, he cannot withhold his belief "that it is born of a soldier;" for, "it is through every part related with so soldierly a style, and in the very language of the field, that it seems impossible any but the very person who was present in every action here related, could be the relater of them." That we may be assured the Memoirs are authentic; our author adds, "the accounts of battles, the sieges, and the several actions of which this work is so full, are all recorded in the histories of those times; such as the great battle of Leipsick, the sacking of Magdeburgh, the siege of Nuremburgh, the passing the river Leek in Bavaria; such also as the battles of Keynton and Edge-hill, the battles of Newbury, Marston-Moor, and Naseby, and the like. They are all, we say, recorded in other histories, and written by those who lived in those times, and perhaps had good authority for what they wrote." But the charm of the present work, as he justly observes, consists in "the circumstances and incidents that this man's eyes were witness to, and which his memory has thus preserved."

That our Cavalier was a perfectly original character, the reader will readily perceive by the *naiveté* of his remarks, and we will endeavour to bring him acquainted with him in a few words. There was something ominous in his very birth; for his mother was haunted with dreams of kettle-drums and other tokens of war, all which she noted most religiously in the first leaf of her prayer-book. Being a favourite with his father, he took extraordinary care of his education, and sent him to complete it at Oxford. But a college life did not suit him at all; so that when he had been there three years he desired to be recalled, writing word to his father, "that he thought he had staid there long enough for a gentleman." Being gratified in his wishes, he now evinced a desire to travel abroad, wishing rather to see the world for himself, "than to hear of it in musty libraries." After staying three weeks in Paris, he proceeded through Savoy into Italy. Here he continued nearly two years, visiting the principal cities, "but saw nothing that gave him any diversion." Although he was not very religious himself, he took a disgust at the vices of the people, which made him disrelish the beauties of the country. Having "no gust to antiquities," he left such things "to those people who made them more their business." When at Rome, indeed, he thought it pleasant to say, "here stood the Capitol, there the Colossus of Nero; here was the Amphitheatre of Titus, there the Aqueduct; here the Forum, there the Catacombs; here the Temple of Venus, the Pantheon, and the like." But that which inspired him with most pleasure, was the war which the French were then waging with some Italian princes; and finding the military fever to be growing rather strong upon him, he thought he would "go out and see the sport, as the French gentlemen call it." He was, however, but a raw soldier, and did not like the sport at all; for, his party being surrounded by the Duke of Savoy, he was obliged to run for his life. After another encounter equally unfortunate, it began to occur to him, what business he had there? And, as he could give but a slender account of it, he prudently resolved that they should fight it out by themselves. The plague then raging in that part of Italy, he thought it time to be gone, having no manner of courage to risk the disease. He took it, nevertheless, but passed through it more favorably than he expected.

It was at Milan that he first heard of the great Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, who was at war with the Emperor. He says, "I had indeed no thought of seeing that king or his armies; I had been so roughly handled already, that I had given over the thoughts of appearing among the fighting people." Yet, he could not deny, that the account of his conquests, published in every gazette, gave him a strong desire to see him. Leaving Italy, he passed through Bavaria, and at last came to Vienna. Here he had a returning fit to see the king of Sweden's army, but took rather a disadvantageous mode of doing so, by entering that of the Emperor. Having procured passes, he made his way to Tilly's army, then at the siege of Magdeburgh; but the cruelties committed by the Imperialists upon the fall of the city, gave him a distaste to the cause, and he quitted the camp three days afterwards. Having obtained a pass to Leipsic, he had an opportunity of viewing the Saxon army, and was pleased with its fine appearance; but he had misgivings of their ability to meet the Imperialists. "I that had seen Tilly's army, and his old weather-beaten soldiers, whose discipline and exercises were so exact, and their courage so often tried, could not look on the Saxon army without some concern for them, when I considered who they had to deal with. Tilly's men were rugged surly fellows, their faces had an air of hardy courage, mangled with wounds and scars; their armour showed the bruises of musket-bullets, and the rust of the winter storms. I observed of them, their clothes were always dirty, but their arms were clean and bright; and they were used to camp in the open fields, and sleep in the frosts and rain. Their horses were strong and hardy like themselves, and well taught their exercises; the soldiers knew their business so exactly, that general orders were enough; every private man was fit to command; and their wheelings, marchings, counter-marchings, and exercise, were done with such order and readiness, that the distinct words of command were hardly of any use among them; they were flushed with victory, and hardly knew what it was to fly."

As Tilly was now upon his march to Leipsic, our cavalier, who had no mind to be besieged by such formidable cut-throats, hastened away with the Saxon army, which in a short time joined the Swedes. There happening to be some Scotch regiments in the service, he soon made acquaintance with Sir John Hepburn, one of their colonels, who knew his father, and introduced him to King Gustavus. The sight of the Swedish hero at once dispelled his fears; for who could withstand the glory of following so victorious a prince, or decline the honour of dying in his service? Besides, his Swedish Majesty "makes war in so pleasant a manner," and his soldiers have always the pleasure to conquer; which is all that a warrior can wish. He therefore requested the honour to trail a pike under Sir John; but it was not long before the king gave him a commission. Hitherto, our Cavalier had been only an amateur soldier; but he soon saw some service at the terrible battle of Leipsic, in which Tilly's army was almost entirely destroyed. From this time, he saw as much fighting as the most warlike person could desire, and had the honour to be distinguished by many marks of favour from the king, whose generous disposition, no less than his heroic conduct, he dwells upon with delight. "'Twas a most pleasant court sure as ever was seen, where every day expresses arrived of armies defeated, towns surrendered, contributions agreed upon, parties routed, prisoners taken, and princes sending ambassadors to sue for truces and neutralities, to make submission and compositions, and to pay arrears and contributions."

In the same pleasant mood, he goes on to relate the events of the war, so far as he was personally concerned; and excepting upon one or two occasions, when he had the misfortune to be wounded or taken prisoner, they fell out much to his mind. The modesty with which he speaks of himself accords with the simple strain of the narrative, in which the historical and the fictitious are so artfully blended, as to relieve the insipidity that usually accompanies military journals. Although the course of events brings us acquainted with many persons who figured in the war, yet he never loses sight of his own story; all other matters are incidental to his own concerns; and these are sufficiently diversified to engage the attention, and absorb the interest of the reader. The lively manner in which they are related, throw a charm over the dry details of war; and we instinctively move along with him from place to place, as if we had a personal concern in his actions.

The sensation produced by the death of Gustavus, who was slain at the battle of Lutzen, is thus noticed by the Cavalier. "It is impossible to describe the consternation the death of this conquering king struck into all the princes of Germany. The grief for him exceeded all manner of human sorrow. All people looked upon themselves as ruined and swallowed up. The inhabitants of two thirds of all Germany put themselves into mourning for him. When the ministers mentioned him in their sermons or prayers, whole congregations would burst into tears. The Elector of Saxony was utterly inconsolable, and would for several days walk about his palace like a distracted man, crying, The Saviour of Germany was lost; the refuge of abused princes was gone." It was indeed a great blow to the Protestant cause, but it triumphed eventually. Our Cavalier was quite unnerved by the event, and quitted the army. After wandering two years longer upon the continent, he returned to England; but his military ardour was not cooled. "I could not," says he, "be but prying into all the foreign accounts from Germany. There I could never hear of a battle, and the Germans being beaten, but I began to wish myself there." In this fighting humour he longed to be gone; but it was not long before the events in his own country furnished him with ample scope for the indulgence for his favourite sport.

Upon the breaking out of the civil war, he offered his services to Charles I., "being ready to serve him against any that his Majesty thought fit to account his enemies." As these were rather numerous, he had ample field for his valour, but it was damped at the outset. Not that he had any distaste to the burning of towns and the murder of the inhabitants, of which he had seen an abundance in Germany; nor had he "the least compassionate thought for the miseries of his native country." Fighting was his trade, and no music so delightful to his ears as the beating of drums. His pride was most piqued at the beggarly appearance of the army, and the unsoldier-like manner of conducting the war. He says, "I was in the first army at York, and I must confess had the least diversion there that ever I found in an army in my life; for, when I was in Germany with the king of Sweden, we used to see the king with the general officers, every morning on horseback, viewing his men, his artillery, his horses, and always something going forward. Here we saw nothing but courtiers and clergymen, bishops and parsons, as busy as if the direction of the war had been in them; the king was seldom seen among us, and never without some of them always about him." His description of the Scotch army is highly picturesque. It seems, a peep into their camp gave him a distrust of the royal cause; so that when the war began in earnest, he shewed a disposition to hang back, for a soldier has no stomach to be beaten. The indignities put upon the king revived his chivalrous feelings; but after the fight at Edge-hill, his misgivings returned, and some good English feeling got the better of his German taste; he could no longer bear to see the cutting of throats, especially those of his own friends and relations. He, however, persevered in the contest, and was in most of the engagements under Prince Rupert, of whom he gives a descriptive account. The hard blows dealt out to the royalists, somewhat cooled the fighting ardour of our Cavalier; but the Prince thought of nothing else, having come to England for the purpose. It is no wonder, therefore, if he sometimes had more than was agreeable; for, notwithstanding he made light of the raw troops opposed to him, "he found they stood to their tackle better than well enough." Both parties growing tired of the war, some efforts were made for its termination. "The treaty of Uxbridge now was began, and we that had been well beaten in the war, heartily wished the king would come to a peace; but we all foresaw the clergy would ruin it all. The Commons were for Presbytery, and would never agree the bishops should be restored. The king was willinger to comply with any thing than this; from whence we used to say among ourselves, that the clergy were resolved, if there should be no bishop, there should be no king." Upon the appointment of Sir

Thomas Fairfax to command the parliament forces, our Cavalier gave all over for lost. His description of that General, is too striking to be omitted. "Nor can I omit to make very honourable mention of this noble gentleman, though I did not like his cause; but I never saw a man of a more pleasant, calm, courteous, downright honest behaviour in my life; and for his courage and personal bravery in the field, that we had felt enough of. No man in the world had more fire and fury in him while in action, or more temper and softness out of it. In short, and I cannot do him greater honour, he exceedingly came near the character of my foreign hero, Gustavus Adolphus, and in my account is, of all the soldiers in Europe, the fittest to be reckoned in the second place of honour to him." Our Cavalier being taken prisoner, had nothing more to do in the way of fighting, and therefore quietly returned home. He tells us, that he declined engaging in any subsequent insurrections of the royalists, "having no mind to be beaten and then hanged."

From the foregoing particulars, the reader must allow that the Cavalier has composed his Memoirs with a spirit and vivacity that keep alive the attention, whilst he is charmed with the extreme simplicity of his narrative. His account of the civil wars, is distinguished by great candour and fairness; not concealing the errors of his own party, whilst he does justice to the bravery and the good conduct of his enemies. It is said to have been a favourite book with the great Lord Chatham, who long considered it an authentic history, and was in the habit of recommending it as the best account of the civil wars extant; nor was he a little mortified when told that it was a romance. It is indeed, as Mr. Chalmers observes, "a romance the likest to truth that ever was written." As a narrative of important events, containing a correct picture of the times, and enlivened by many just observations, it will be always read with a keen interest by those who may wish to occupy a spare hour in amusement or instruction.

From the plague of war, which has lately occupied our attention, we now revert to one of a still more distressing nature. The game of swords and cannon-balls may be an amusing one to the gaining side, and even the fluctuations that attend it serve but as varieties that call into exercise the inventive powers of the gamesters. As for the waste of human life, which forms a necessary appendage, it is appreciated by a certain kind of political arithmetic that has given laws to the world, and easily stifles the accusations of conscience. But a visitor more insidious in his approaches, more silent in his progress, and more appalling to the sensibilities of our nature, which in the other case are blunted by the habits of life, is viewed with feelings less obtuse. The reason is, because he appears in his native dress, unincumbered by the subtleties that confound the distinction of right and wrong, and levels the shafts of death without respect of persons. Such is the pestilence. In waging war with mankind, it knows nothing of those maxims that govern the every-day destroyers of the human race. Like Leviathan of old, it laughs at the sword and the buckler, and whilst it mocks the pride of man, it equally confounds his devices. Insatiable as the grave, it stalks abroad in dreadful majesty, with the king of terrors at its skirts; entering with unsparing impartiality the mansions of the rich, and the hovels of the poor; and thundering the language of the prophet, *prepare to meet your God.*

A subject so uninviting as that of the Plague, is one of the last from which we might expect pleasure in the contemplation. Yet, De Foe has founded upon it one of the most ingenious of his productions; one that never can be read without the deepest interest; and read it will continue to be, as long as the memory of that awful event shall remain upon record. It is written with all the characteristic traits of the author's genius; excessive minuteness, rich natural pathos, and exquisite moral feeling. Whilst it is impossible to read his description without the keenest sensations of sorrow, the attention is rivetted by the constant succession of incidents that crowd upon the scene.

It was one of the felicities of De Foe, to select such subjects for his pen, as would be of permanent interest; and such are all those pictures of life and manners that carry us back to former days, in the delineation of which he so greatly excelled. "Nothing in the world is finer than the impression of the old city of London, before the fire, which one gathers from his History of the Plague. Throughout the whole of that most striking narrative, his mind is visibly haunted with the idea, how princely was the desolation of her grass-grown streets—how awful the silence of her deserted palaces, and the fatal calmness of her shipless river."* In this affecting narrative, he has contrived to mix up so much that is authentic with the fabrications of his own brain, that it is impossible to distinguish the one from the other; and he has given to the whole such a likeness to the dreadful original, as to confound the sceptic, and encircle him in his enchantments. No one can take up the book without believing that it is the saddler of Whitechapel who is telling his own story; and that he was an eye-witness to all that he relates; that he actually saw the blazing stars which portended the calamity; that he witnessed the grass growing in the streets, reading the inscriptions upon the doors of the infected houses, heard the bell-men crying, "Bring out your dead!" saw the dead-carts conveying the people to their graves, and was present at the digging of the pits in which they were deposited. In this, indeed, consists the charm of the narrative. It is not merely a record of the transactions that happened during the calamity, nor even of private circumstances that would escape the public eye; it is rather the familiar recital of a man's own observations upon all that passed before him, possessing all the minuteness of a log-book, without its dullness. The advantage derived from this mode of telling the story is, that it prepossesses the reader in a full belief of its reality. When a man sits down to record the events that happened in any given year, and crowds it with incidents, many of which are known to be true, we do not hesitate to give him credit for the remainder; and this more especially when he tells us, that he was upon the spot when such a thing happened, that he saw and spoke with the persons he describes, and relates the substance of the conversation. With the same unhesitating confidence we take up the book before us. It is not the journal of another person; there is not even the formality of a preface; but we open it, and come in contact at once with the author, who sees and hears all that he writes, and tells us so in the first person.

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* Pref. to Cadell's Ed. of "Rob. Crusoe," p. lxii.

By adopting this familar method of treating his subject, it cannot be doubted that De Foe secured to himself many advantages which he could not have hoped for in a formal history. Thus, whilst detailing incidents of importance, he will sometimes introduce a story, apparently trifling in itself, and by no means necessary to his main design; but merely to show, that he is willing to keep back nothing, or rather, must communicate every thing in the exact way that it happened. But, however trivial his incidents, or common-place his mode of relating them, they possess a secret charm that keeps the mind upon the full stretch, and gains it over to an unhesitating confidence in the relation. No one thinks of skipping over a single particle of his narrative, nor of exchanging for other words the homely language of the writer. In truth, the circumstantiality of De Foe never wearies; it rather adds to that intense consciousness of reality that hovers over every page of his writings. His "History of the Plague," is one of those books in which he has carried his art to the greatest perfection. So faithful is the portrait of that distressing calamity, so entire its accordance with what has been delivered by other writers, so probable the circumstances of all the stories, and so artless the style in which they are delivered, that it would baffle the ingenuity of any one but De Foe, to frame a history with so many attributes of truth, upon the basis of fiction. It is no wonder that a work so gravely written should have deceived Dr. Mead, who considered it an authentic history, and quoted it as such in his Treatise upon the Plague. (Y)

The propriety of such an alliance between history and fiction, more especially when so managed as to impose upon the most wary reader, has been called in question, and perhaps will scarcely admit of a satisfactory defence. Yet, who would sacrifice the "Memoirs of a Cavalier," or the "Journal of the Plague Year," to be disenchanted of so pleasing a delusion? De Foe well knew, that a dry detail of circumstances collected from the Bills of Mortality and the pamphlets of the day, would interest none but an antiquarian, the subject being of too repulsive a nature to invite general attention. By personating a citizen of London, who lived in the midst of the contagion, and was a spectator of the scenes he describes, he not only secured credit for his narrative, but was enabled to enliven it with numerous stories of probable occurrence, and with picturesque descriptions of the agitated feelings of the people. These, with the moral reflections which would naturally occur to

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(Y) Dr. Mead is not the only person who has mistaken the drift of the writer. The editor of the "Beauties of England," taking it to be a real history, observes, "De Foe continued in London during the whole time of the Plague; and for some portion of it, was one of those officers who, under the appellation of Examiners, were appointed to shut up infected houses." De Foe is thought to have borrowed some of his incidents from Withers's "Britain's Remembrancer," a poem in eight cantos, descriptive of the plague in 1625. There is a good article upon both works, and another upon the "Memoirs of a Cavalier," in the "Retrospective Review."

persons in so distressing a situation, combine to render a story, in itself forbidding, not only readable, but highly attractive. The plain matter-of-fact style of the author, his undeviating simplicity, his well-timed lectures upon the uncertainty of life, and the air of serious piety that he communicates to his subject, concur not only to fix the attention of the reader, but to put into motion all the sympathies of his nature. As De Foe was a mere child when the calamity happened, he could have no personal knowledge of the matters he has recorded. But the feelings arising from so awful a visitation would not subside suddenly. It would continue to be the talk of those who witnessed it for years afterwards, so that he must have been familiarized with the subject from his childhood; and as curiosity is most alive and the impressions strongest at that period, there can be no doubt that he treasured up many things in his memory, from the report of his parents and others, which he converted into useful materials as they passed through the operation of his own lively fancy. As it was a subject rendered peculiarly seasonable by the recent plague at Marseilles, so it was one that afforded him a fine opportunity for indulging in those religious feelings which it was so well calculated to awaken. De Foe is never so much at home as when he is inviting men to repentance and reformation; yet, he never goes out of his way for the purpose, but seizes upon incidents as they arise, and are calculated by their nature to give effect to his admonitions.

The work that has given rise to the foregoing remarks, bears the following title: " A Journal of the Plague Year: being Observations or Memorials of the most remarkable Occurrences, as well public as private, which happened in London during the last great Visitation in 1665. Written by a Citizen, who continued all the while in London. Never made public before. London: printed for E. Nutt, at the Royal Exchange; J. Roberts, in Warwick-Lane; A. Dodd, without Temple-Bar; and J. Graves, in St. James's-Street. 1722." 8vo. pp. 287. This first edition of the work is amongst the scarcest of De Foe's pieces, and when brought to market, bears a high price. In the subsequent editions the title is altered. The second was published by F. and J. Noble, in 1754, and is called "The History of the Great Plague in London, in the year 1665. Containing Observations, &c. To which is added, A Journal of the Plague at Marseilles, in the year 1720." 8vo. A third edition was published by the same booksellers in 1769. It was also printed in Ballantyne's collection of De Foe's novels; and lastly, for John Offer, in Newgate-Street, 1819. 8vo. Of the plague at Marseilles, De Foe does not treat in his own work; but, being a kindred subject, an abstract of it has been appended to subsequent editions. Those, however, who wish the best information upon this subject, must read the excellent work of Mons. Bertrand, of which there is an English translation by Miss Plumptre, containing, amidst other interesting matters, a record of the good deeds of Henry de Belzune, the renowned bishop of Marseilles.

Of the plague in London, the only authentic accounts published at the time, were those of Dr. Hodges and Dr. Sydenham; but they are chiefly of a professional nature, and contain few historical facts. A work of more general interest, is that of Thomas Vincent, entitled "God's Terrible Voice in the City," published in 1667. The author was one of those noble-minded men who remained at their post during the calamity, administering to the relief of the sufferers. In the house where he resided, three persons were cut off, yet he escaped the infection.

The recent distemper at Marseilles occasioned the revival of those pieces, and the publication of others, and no doubt suggested to De Foe the idea of his present work. (z) It was his peculiar talent to seize upon any popular subject, and convert it, by his inimitable genius, into a fruitful source of amusement and instruction. From his history of the plague, notwithstanding its fictitious origin, we may derive more information, than from all the other publications upon the subject put together. He has collected all the facts attending the rise, progress, and termination of the malady, an accurate report of the number of deaths as published by authority, a faithful account of the regulations adopted to arrest and mitigate its fury, and numerous cases of infection, whether real or imaginary. But that which imparts life to the whole, and forms its distinguishing feature, is its descriptive imagery. The author's object is not so much to detail the deadly consequences of the disorder, as to delineate its effects upon the frighted minds of the inhabitants. These are depicted with all the genuine pathos of nature, without any aim at effect, but with the ease and simplicity of real life. The numerous incidents that follow in rapid succession, fraught as they are with human misery, present, at the same time, an accurate picture of life and manners in the metropolis, at the period referred to. The style and dress, the language and ideas,

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(z) Amongst the publications of the times, was the following pamphlet, which De Foe perhaps might have found of some use in compiling his

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narrative. "A Collection of very Valuable and Scarce Pieces relating to the last Plague, in the year 1665; viz. I. Orders drawn up and published by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, to prevent the spreading of the Infection. II. An Account of the first Rise, Progress, Symptoms, and Cure of the Plague; being the Substance of a Letter from Doctor Hodges to a Person of Quality. III. Necessary Directions for the Prevention and Cure of the Plague, with divers Remedies of small Charge, by the College of Physicians. IV. Reflections on the Weekly Bills of Mortality, so far as they relate to all the Plagues which have happened in London, from the year 1592, to the Great Plague in 1665, and some other particular Diseases. With a Preface, shewing the Usefulness of this Collection; some Errors of Dr. Mead; and his Misrepresentations of Dr. Hodges and some authors. To which is added, An Account of the Plague at Naples in 1656, of which there died, in one day, 20,000 Persons; with the Symptoms that appeared upon Dissection, and the approved Method of Cure. The Second Edition. London: printed for J. Roberts. 1721." 8vo. pp. 88.

are exactly those of a citizen of London at the latter end of the 17th century. It is an observation of a great modern writer, that "had he not been the author of 'Robinson Crusoe,' De Foe would have deserved immortality for the genius which he has displayed in this work."* It is well known to have furnished the machinery for a poem of great merit, published at Edinburgh in 1816, and entitled "The City of the Plague;" by John Wilson, now Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, and author of many other esteemed works.

Before we dismiss the subject of the plague, it may be proper to notice a controversy arising out of it, in which De Foe is supposed to have participated. In consequence of the general apprehension that the disorder would be communicated to this country from France, a variety of books was published, with a view to guard the people against its approaches, and to instruct them how to treat it, in case it should make its appearance. Amongst them was a treatise by Dr. Hancocke, a respectable clergyman, who recommended the trial of cold water, taken internally, which he had found effectual in cases of common fever. The charm consisted in its acting as a sudorific. His work is intitled "*Febrifugum Magnum:* or Common Water the best Cure for Fevers, and probably for the Plague. By John Hancocke, D.D., Rector of St. Margaret's, Lothbury, London; Prebendary of Canterbury; and Chaplain to his Grace the Duke of Bedford. London: printed for R. Halsey, in St. Michael's Church Yard, Cornhill. 1722." 8vo. There were several editions of the work; the first must have appeared as early as 1720, as in that year, the French biographer, Niceron, published a French translation, which also passed through several editions.

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* Sir W. Scott's Works, iv. 290.

The work being popular, it was soon replied to in "Remarks upon *Febrifugum Magnum,* wrote by the Rev. Dr. Hancocke, for the general Good of Mankind. Wherein is shown the Absurdity and inconsistency of the Doctor's Reasonings, and the inevitable danger consequent upon the use of cold Water in Fevers. London: 1722." 8vo. The dedication to the College of Physicians, is subscribed James Gardner, M.D.; but common report at the time, perhaps with doubtful propriety, united in ascribing it to De Foe, who was charged with writing in masquerade, and had the credit of another pamphlet in the controversy, intitled "*Flagellum*: or a dry Answer to Dr. Hancocke's wonderfully Comical Liquid Book, which he merrily calls *Febrifugum Magnum,* &c. Second edition. London: T. Warner, 1723."

Whether De Foe had any concern in these publications, can be now only matter of conjecture. The cause of Dr. Hancocke was taken up in "Remarks upon Remarks: or some Animadversions on a Treatise wrote by one who calls himself Dr. Gardner, others say Daniel De Foe. Intitled Remarks on *Febrifugum Magnum,* wrote by the Rev. Dr. Hancocke, for the general Good of Mankind. The Remarker's Dedication to the President, Censors, and others of the College of Physicians considered, and of the rest in as good order as the Falsehood and confused Nature of the said Pamphlet would admit, without Partiality or Respect of Persons. To which some Accounts are added, of the Use and Abuse of Common Water in many Distempers, not taken Notice of by any of them. With an Hudibrastick Reply subjoined, by Way of Appendix, to the sarcastical Gabriel John's *Flagellum,* or a Dry Answer to Dr. Hancocke's wonderfully Comical Liquid Book, &c. London: printed by S. Collins, and sold by J. Isted, T. Crouch, &c." 8vo. No date. The pamphlet bearing this singular title, is a farrago of abuse and absurdity, such as it is surprising any man could have the folly to write, or expect any person to read. (A) In the last page, the author signs himself "Thomas Taylor, Anti-Lithotomist, or author of the great dissolver of the gravel and stone;" and he probably intended by the publication to puff himself into notice. Gabriel John having defended his *Flagellum* in a "Postscript," Taylor, who calls himself "Anti-Lithotomist, but not Antichrist," returned to the combat in "Kick for Kick, and Cuff for Cuff; a clear stage and no favour: or a Refutation of a bombastical and scurrilous Postscript, writ by one who calls himself Gabriel John, others will have it Daniel De Foe, which he calls 'Observations on my Hudibrastick Reply to his *Flagellum*, or Dry Answer to Dr. Hancocke's Liquid-Book,' &c. London: T. Crouch, &c. 1723." 8vo. Hancocke received another reply in "The Juice of the Grape; or Wine preferable to Water, &c. By a Fellow of the College. London: printed for W. Lewis, 1724." 8vo. It seems, however, that he did not desert his argument; for he published another treatise soon afterwards, intitled "*Febrifugum Magnum, Morbifugum Magnum*: or the grand Febrifuge improved. London: 1726." (B)

(A) In his preface, he says, "Since the finishing these sheets, another very comical thing, called '*Flagellum*, or a dry Answer to Dr. Hancocke's Wonderfully Comical Liquid Book, &c.' is come to our hands, which, though the author calls himself Gabriel John, any body who can relish words, may be very positive by the arch waggery therein, it was wrote by D——l D——e when awaked, and that when in a deep sleep he wrote his Remarks, or at least was tied up from his usual merry waggish way of joke by those who hired him; that having nothing merry in it except the female brute, with his father's coach. *Flagellum*, indeed, is as dry as Daniel himself, the brat being as like him as ever it can stare; and because it contains a little wit and mirth, I shall give some slight touches thereon, and add it by way of Appendix to my animadversions on his first Remarks."

(B) Dr. Hancocke was the author of a few single sermons, and of one of the courses at Boyle's Lecture. Also, of a pamphlet against Sacheverell, intitled "Low Churchmen Vindicated from the Character of No Churchmen." London: 1705. 8vo.] He died June 21, 1728.

With a mind ardently devoted to the improvement of his fellow-men, and energies that seemed incapable of exhaustion, De Foe continued to instruct the world by his moralities, whilst he amused it by his fictions. The same year that produced some of the foregoing publications, gave birth to a work that is composed with his characteristic talent, and distinguished as well for its utility as for its genius, for the importance of the story as for skill in its management. There are few books better known in the middle classes of society than the "Religious Courtship," and few that are more deserving of general perusal. To those who have been trained to religious habits, it needs no formal recommendation; whilst others, who have yet to learn their value, may be amused by an interesting story, at the same time that they are instructed by the moral. Much of it is a faithful picture of manners in the upper classes of life. The work that lays claim to such merited regard, bears the following title: "Religious Courtship: being Historical Discourses on the Necessity of Marrying Religious Husbands and Wives only. As also, of Husbands and Wives being of the same Opinions in Religion with one another. With an Appendix. Of the Necessity of taking none but religious Servants, and a Proposal for the better Managing of Servants. London: printed for E. Matthews, at the Bible, and A. Bettesworth at the Red Lyon, in Paternoster Row; J. Brotherton and W. Meadows, in Cornhill. 1722." 8vo. pp. 358. The second edition was published in 1729; that in 1789 was the twenty-first; and there have been many since. The earlier editions are well printed, and all in octavo; those published afterwards are many of them of a smaller size and upon coarser paper, for cheap distribution. As the work was brought early into general notice, so its well-established popularity procured for it a constant sale, and a wide extended circulation. This favourable decision of the public is the highest testimony of its merits; for, notwithstanding other and more modern treatises upon the subject, it still maintains its ground, and will secure for the author a lasting fame independently of his other performances.

In discussing a subject of so much importance to young persons of both sexes, and one that required to be handled with great nicety, De Foe was well aware, that precept would be of less weight than example; that whilst the world refused to be instructed by a didactic treatise, it might be disposed to listen to a familiar story. He therefore chose to convey his ideas in this more inviting form, that by raising the curiosity of the reader he might the more effectually fix him with the moral. Historical dialogues, when written with spirit, are particularly acceptable to the inferior classes, and to young people in general, who make themselves parties to the conversation, and can fix the subject, with a slight effort, upon their memories. The familiar style of the present work, its deep acquaintance with human nature, and the exquisite moral feeling that pervades every page, render it peculiarly adapted to steal instruction upon the young and the uninformed, and to leave an abiding impression upon the heart. If this and the other moralities of De Foe were substituted for the modern novels that have so pernicious an influence in raising up false pictures to the mind, and unfitting it for sober contemplation, the experience of the present writer can vouch for their being equally attractive, whilst no one can doubt the incalculable superiority of their permanent effect. The voice of public opinion has long since concurred with that of the author, that "The story represented here is capable of such, and so many applications to the cases of young people, whose settlement is always in view, that there will never be a time when the instruction will be useless." For, "to those who do not cast off all concern for themselves, who do not make marrying a mere leap in the dark, these things will be of some moment. As to those who are void of care in these matters, they must go on, and pay for their experience; let them take heed and buy it as cheap as they can." In the story framed by De Foe for the purpose of enforcing his admonition, he points out the evil consequences that infallibly result from ill-assorted matches; and he strongly urges the duty of making religion the basis, as affording the best materials for the happiness of conjugal life.

Upon a story so well known as that which furnishes the materials for the present work, it would be needless to dwell. Those who are not acquainted with it may repair their neglect, as it is easily accessible; and they will find their reward. The author's deep knowledge of human nature, enabled him to decipher the motives that influence mankind, and to delineate the passions as they operate upon the mind, or influence the conduct. He had studied religion with all the attention due to its importance; and feeling its moral influence himself, he was qualified to trace its workings upon others. The reader that can peruse this narrative without instruction, has yet an important lesson to learn; and if he is disposed to give the subject his attention, he can scarcely hope for a more faithful or intelligent instructor.

A work that has been often attributed to De Foe, made its appearance at this time, under the title of "The Comical Pilgrim; or Travels of a Cynick Philosopher through the most wicked parts of the World; namely, England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and Holland. With his Merry Observations on the English Stage, Gaming-Houses, Poets, Beaux, Women, Courtiers, Politicians, and Plotters, Welsh Clergy, Gentry and Customs; Scotch Manners, Religion, and Lawyers; Irish Ceremonies in their Marriages, Christenings, and Burials; and Dutch Government, Polity and Trade. Being a general Satire on the Vices and Follies of the Age. The Third Edition. London: printed for S. Briscoe, at the Belle Sauvage, Ludgate Hill, &c. 1723. Price 1*s*. 6*d*." 8vo. pp. 108. A cursory glance at this work will be sufficient to show that De Foe could not have been the author; but his name being a marketable commodity, has been attached to many books without the slightest authority. (c)

(c) A friend of the author's has suggested to him whether De Foe was not the author of "The History of Mademoiselle De St. Phale," and of "The French Convert;" but he sees no reason for the supposition. The following work has been also ascribed to him, but perhaps with little foundation: "The Compleat Mendicant; or Unhappy Beggar. Being the Life of an Unfortunate Gentleman: In which is a comprehensive account of several of the most remarkable adventures that befel him in Three and Twenty Years' Pilgrimage. Also, a Narrative of his Entrance at Oxford, his Ordination, his Behaviour, and Departure from Court, his taking upon him the habit of a Shepherd, &c. With general Reflections and Observations upon the Men, Manners, Customs, and Religions of the several countries he wandered through. Likewise divers familiar Letters, both Latin and English, Sermons, Poems, Essays, upon particular occasions, with a singular account of a Monastick Life, and the Description of a Monastery, all faithfully collected from his originals Papers. London: printed for E. Harris, at the Harrow, in Little Britain. 1699." 8vo. pp. 156.

CHAPTER XX.

Remarks upon De Foe as a Novelist.—Moral Tendency of his Writings.—His " Fortunate Mistress: or Life of Roxana."—Variations in the Editions of the Work.—Its leading Features.—Character of the Story.—Design of the Publication.—De Foe's " Tours through Great Britain." —Character of his Work—Mutilated in later Editions.—Confounded with " Macky's Journey."—" Great Law of Subordination."—Cause of the Decline of Virtue.—Abuse of Liberty.—Character of his Book.— " Everybody's Business Nobody's Business."—Habits of Servants.—Preface to the Fifth Edition.—Answers to it.—" New Voyage Round the World."—" Roberts's Voyages."—" Essay upon Literature."—" More Nature Delineated."—Account of Peter, the Wild Boy.—De Foe's Theory of Education.

1724—1726.

THE merits of De Foe, as a writer of fictitious narrative, are fully established by the works recorded in the foregoing chapters. These efforts of genius gave a new and decided turn to his reputation, and raised him to a proud superiority over other writers in the same class. Yet the year 1724 gave birth to a romance, which for originality of invention, for accuracy of painting, and for utility of purpose, was not exceeded by any of the former. In the story of " Roxana," there are incidents, indeed, that cannot be welcome to a virtuous mind; but the fault is in the subject rather than in the author, whose aim is to describe human nature as it is, for the purpose of contrasting it with what it should be.

This fidelity of design will not always admit of an agreeable outline; and it was the humour of De Foe to employ his pen upon those subjects that present the broad features of life in their full deformity. In ordinary cases, this would be considered a mark of bad taste; but De Foe had always some important end to legitimate his choice. He was the last man to administer fuel to a flame that he sought rather to extinguish. He never tells a story for mere amusement, nor does he go out of his way to obtrude reflections for the purpose of correcting it. His facts, however disreputable to virtue, are always subservient to it in the long run: he tells his story for the sake of the moral, which forms a constituent part, and yet so inartificially produced, as to be essential to the narrative. As a correct painter of life and manners, he was under the necessity of taking the world as he found it; as a moralist, he was desirous of leaving it better. He therefore selected those parts from the great drama that he thought most susceptible of improvement, and converted them into sources of instruction, in a form that would be most accessible to the generality of readers. His knowledge of the world had taught him, that those who would not listen to a grave discourse, might be allured by an eventful story; that whilst to the former they gave only the unwilling assent of the judgment, its exemplification would go far towards fixing it upon the heart. Such a result, however, is not to be produced by a forced delineation of the passions, nor by pictures of life that do violence to truth. These, indeed, have been the common resort of novelists, whose aim at effect has betrayed them into a departure from the ordinary operations of nature, and producing a degree of excitement that requires to be kept alive by fresh stimulants; but as the illusion vanishes, the mind falls a prey to grief and disappointment. De Foe never attempts the *beau ideal* of human life.. His characters are those of ordinary occurrence, his portraits strictly natural, and his sketches of manners exactly such as existed at the period he describes.

The work eliciting these remarks, is intitled "The Fortunate Mistress: Or a History of the Life and vast Variety of Fortunes of Mademoiselle de Beleau, afterwards called The Countess de Wintelsheim, in Germany. Being the Person known by the Name of the Lady ROXANA, in the Time of King Charles II. London: printed for T. Warner, at the Black Boy in Paternoster Row; W. Meadows, at the Angel in Cornhill; W. Pepper, at the Crown in Maiden Lane, Covent Garden; S. Harding, at the Post House in St. Martin's Lane; and T. Edlin, at the Prince's Arms against Exeter Change, in the Strand. 1724." 8vo. pp. 407. It has a Frontispiece, exhibiting "The Famous Roxana," in her drawing-room. This, like most of De Foe's narratives, has passed through several editions, but the variations in them require some distinct notice. The writer has been informed, that in the second edition, De Foe was persuaded by his friend Southerne to leave out the whole of the story relating to Roxana's daughter, Susannah; who, suspecting her relationship, contrived various expedients to throw herself in her mother's way, until she at length succeeded, and accomplished her ruin. Southerne's objection, certainly a very curious one, rested upon the supposition, that the daughter's history was imaginary, whilst the rest of the story was founded upon fact. Whatever foundation there may be for this tradition, it is certain that most of the subsequent editions of the book contain the story, and it is one of the finest-wrought pictures in the work. There are some points in it that strongly resemble the case of poor Savage, whose prying curiosity was a great annoyance to his unnatural mother, but did not end so successfully. It was upon this part of Roxana's history, that Mr. Godwin founded his tragedy of "Fawkener," which was acted and printed in December, 1807, with a prologue by Charles Lamb.

The editions of "Roxana" printed since the death of the author, contain some variations in the matter as well as in the title. That of 1735, is called "The Life and Adventures of Roxana, the Fortunate Mistress, or most unhappy Wife." The edition of 1742, printed for H. Slater in Clement's Lane, 12mo, varies again in the title, but the matter is an exact transcript of the first edition. In 1745, there appeared a new impression in 12mo, with a continuation of Roxana's life from the place where it was broken off by De Foe, until the time of her death, in 1742. It is impossible at this distance of time to say by whom it was written; perhaps by a son of De Foe, as the style in some places greatly resembles that of the original; but there are some passages that are not in good keeping with the rest. These additions amount to about a fourth part of the work, and have been retained in the subsequent editions; but in most of them the work is printed incorrectly, and with the omission of some passages in the first edition. That of 1755, printed for H. Owen, in White Fryars, 12mo, is divided into chapters, and embellished with copper-plates; as is that published by J. Cooke, in 2 vols. 12mo, without a date. There is an edition in crown octavo, printed uniformly with Moll Flanders, by C. Sympson, in Stone-Cutter Street, Fleet Market; and there is another in small quarto, printed uniformly with Robinson Crusoe, towards the middle of the last century. (D) Roxana, in common with the other fictions of De Foe, fell into the merciless grasp of Francis Noble, a bookseller in Holborn, and a wholesale dealer in the trash then published under the name of novels. Like his other works, it was dreadfully mangled in the operation. Besides mutilating it of nearly half its contents, and suppressing some of the finest and

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(D) The latter work has the following imprint: "London: printed for R. Crusoe, Junior, and may be had of all the persons who serve newspapers and subscription books. 1742." It has some rude wood cuts.

most interesting passages, he had recourse to artifice in order to procure a sale for his broken wares. His dealings with Moll Flanders have been already noticed; his Roxana bore the following title: "The History of Mademoiselle de Beleau: Or the New Roxana, the Fortunate Mistress, afterwards Countess of Wintelsheim. Published by Mr. Daniel De Foe; and from Papers found since his Decease, it appears was greatly altered by himself; and from the said Papers, the present work is produced. London: printed for F. Noble, &c. 1775." 12mo. As De Foe left no such papers as are here mentioned, it required no small stock of effrontery to publish the falsehood. Yet from these mutilated editions, so imposed upon the public, those which have since appeared, seem to have been chiefly copied.

The history of the beautiful Roxana, in the original dress that De Foe bestowed upon it, is one of those rare efforts of genius that occasionally blaze upon the world, to relieve it from the surrounding dullness. In rich natural painting, combining all the charms of simplicity with the most exquisite pathos, it is surpassed by none of his preceding works, and it is the subject only that renders it less acceptable than Robinson Crusoe. The genius that inspired the one, has put forth the same energies in the other, producing an equally striking effect, and illustrating alike the peculiar talents of the writer. From the nature of the facts developed in Roxana, her story will be less inviting to many readers than if she had been a virtuous character; and for this reason, its circulation will be restricted by prudence. Scenes of vice, however cautiously described, are never welcome to a virtuous mind, which feels an instinctive withdrawing from the degraded part of the species. But tales of real life, even when partially repulsive, if rendered subservient to the interests of virtue, may have their utility; although, to the young especially, there is always danger that the moral will be less attractive than the story. Of this De Foe was well aware, and therefore takes all imaginable pains to guard against any improprieties of expression that could prompt a vicious mind. "Scenes of crime," says he, "can scarce be represented in such a manner, but some may make a criminal use of them; but when vice is painted in its low-prized colours, 'tis not to make people fall in love with it, but to expose it; and if the reader makes a wrong use of the figures, the wickedness is his own." In the mean time, there are sufficient materials in the work, to extract improvement from a vicious story. De Foe instructs us, that a prosperous wickedness has a worm at its root, which blights the bud of enjoyment, and spreads a canker through the whole circulation. The terrors of a guilty conscience, lacerated by remorse, and haunted with the fears of future retribution, spring up in the paths of forbidden pleasure; and their workings in the mind of our heroine are delineated with a power that strikes the reader with awe, and constrains him to visit his own conscience with serious reflections. In such descriptions De Foe particularly excelled. He never labours at the pathetic, but produces all the effect without the assistance of art. The compunctions of Roxana are the spontaneous effusions of a mind oppressed with guilt, and feelingly alive to its alarming consequences. In the midst of her gaiety, she sees the *hand-writing upon the wall*, which strikes a dart through her liver, and poisons the cup of enjoyment. But her miseries do not end here. She becomes the victim of her own vices, and reads her sin in her punishment. With De Foe the prosperity of the wicked always comes to an end, even in this life. The children of Roxana, whom she had deserted in their childhood, and who trace her out by a chain of events as singular as they are delightfully told, become eventually the cause of her ruin; her ill-gotten gains are swept from her at a blow; and she descends from the pinnacle of greatness, to the depths of poverty and disgrace. Although the incidents that compose this instructive narrative, derive all their interest from the contrivances of the writer, yet we may believe him when he says, "That the foundation is laid in truth of fact." It is not improbable that the original of the picture may have had an existence in the gay court of Charles II; but be this as it may, it is certain that the effect is greatly heightened by her being made to tell her own story. In this, indeed, consists its magical influence, persuading the reader that he is conversing with the very person, and receiving from her own lips the recital of her misfortunes.

Although Roxana has passed under the same ban of proscription as Moll Flanders, yet there is an essential difference in the character of the two stories. The latter is an epitome of vice in low life, exhibiting the homely features of the class to which she belongs. Roxana, on the contrary, is a high-bred courtezan, and however revolting her story, she presents less grossness than is common to many of her order. She is just such a sort of person as may be supposed to have figured in the gay and licentious days of Charles II; when a thorough-bred loyalist, whether in court or city, would have thought it a breach of good manners to be considered better than his prince. It is true, that in the empire of vice, the moralist knows no distinction of ranks. In its personal consequences, the rich and the poor meet upon one common ground, and the more eminent the station, the more baneful is the influence; but it is equally true, that in proportion to the refinements of life, its exhibition will be usually more or less disgusting. In Roxana, we have a portraiture of manners in the upper classes of society; whilst her maid Amy, who performs a minor part in her adventures, belongs to the same class as Moll Flanders.

The story of Roxana presents a striking elucidation of the fatal effects of female vanity. It is also fruitful in lessons upon the hardening tendency of a perseverance in vicious courses, which blunt the feelings, and render the mind impervious to conviction. The gradual steps by which she proceeded in her career, the arts employed to entangle her, and the flashes of conscience that would sometimes intrude upon her gaieties, are all traced with a masterly pen, and furnish inlets to moral instruction. Although she attained her eminence by the sacrifice of her virtue, she had no pleasure in the indulgence of the vice. Her besetting sins were an excess of avarice, and an excess of vanity, which were not proof against the flatteries of the great. The mode in which these passions operated, are traced with great skill by our author, who paints, in vivid colours, the fluctuations of her mind between interest and conscience. "In the manner she has told her story, it is evident she does not insist upon her justification in any one part of it; much less does she recommend her conduct, or indeed any part of it, except her repentance, to our imitation. On the contrary, she makes frequent excursions in a just censuring and condemning her own practice. How often does she reproach herself in the most passionate manner, and guide us to just reflections in the like cases? It is true, she met with unexpected success in her wicked courses; but even in the highest elevations of her prosperity, she makes frequent acknowledgments, that the pleasure of her wickedness was not worth the repentance, and that not all the satisfaction she had in her prosperity, no, nor all the wealth she rolled in, the gaiety of her appearance, the equipages and the honours she was attended with, could quiet her mind, abate the reproaches of her conscience, or procure her an hour's sleep, when just reflections kept her waking. The noble inferences that are drawn from this one part, are worth all the rest of the story, and abundantly justify, as they are the professed design of the publication." * Although there are scenes in the work of a forbidding character, yet its evident purpose is to discourage the vices it recounts, and to alarm the conscience of the reader by a full

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* Preface.

display of their fearful consequences. As a means to reclaim the profligate, we must commend the motives of the writer; whilst, as an effort of strong natural genius, it is impossible to read it without the highest admiration of his talents, and an equal impression of his piety.

De Foe's next appearance before the public, was in the character of a tourist; and it is generally agreed that he supports it in a very respectable manner. He was not one of those fire-side travellers who describe countries they have never seen, and deal out the labours of others at second hand. In the former part of his life, business or pleasure had carried him into most of the counties of England, and he traversed them "with observant eyes and a vigorous intellect." * Of the pains he has taken to procure correct information, he thus speaks: "The preparations for this work have been suitable to my earnest concern for its usefulness. Seventeen very large circuits, or journies, have been taken through divers parts separately, and three general tours over almost the whole English part of the island; in all which the author has not been wanting to treasure up just remarks upon particular places and things. Besides these several journies in England, he has also lived sometime in Scotland, and has travelled critically over great part of it: he has viewed the north part of England, and the south part of Scotland, five several times over; all which is hinted here, to let the readers know what reason they have to be satisfied with the authority of the relation." The wide range he has proposed to himself, would not allow of much amplification; yet, he neglects nothing that is worthy of observation to the philosopher, the historian, or the antiquary. His narrative is diversified by many anecdotes of local customs, distinguished families, and remarkable events, which are rendered welcome

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* Chalmers, p. 61.

to the reader by their intrinsic interest, or by the happy manner in which they are related. Although nothing material escapes him, either in the works of nature or the productions of art, that is worthy of notice, yet his principal business is with the people, whose customs, habits, and character, in all their varieties, are pourtrayed with great felicity of description. Those who are desirous of a pleasant ramble in search of national manners at the period referred to, may be amply gratified by accompanying our author; whose volumes, notwithstanding more modern publications upon the subject, will always possess a sufficient charm to beguile the attention, and please by their variety.

The first of these excursions was given to the public in 1724, under the title of "A Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain, divided into Circuits or Journies. Giving a particular and diverting Account of whatever is Curious and worth Observation, viz. I. A Description of the Principal Cities and Towns; their Situations, Magnitude, Government, and Commerce. II. The Customs, Manners, Speech; as also, the Exercises, Diversions, and Employment of the People. III. The Produce and Improvement of the Lands, the Trade and Manufactures. IV. The Sea Ports and Fortifications, the course of Rivers, and the Inland Navigation. V. The Public Edifices, Seats and Palaces of the Nobility and Gentry. With useful Observations on the whole. Particularly fitted for the Reading of such as desire to Travel over the Island. By a Gentleman. London: printed and sold by G. Strahan, in Cornhill; W. Mears, at the Lamb without Temple Bar; R. Francklin, under Tom's Coffee House, Covent Garden; S. Chapman, at the Angel in Pall-Mall; R. Stagg, in Westminster Hall; and J. Graves, in St. James's Street, 1724," 8vo. This volume includes "A Diary of the Siege and Blockade of Colchester, An. 1648;" with a plan of the town.

The favourable reception of this volume, encouraged the author to follow it by a second in the next year, with a similar title, and the addition of a Map of South Britain, by Herman Moll, the Geographer. A third volume, the same also in title, was added in 1727, containing the northern counties of England, and the south of Scotland; and this completes the work. The useful information contained in these volumes, is conveyed in the familiar form of letters, which are paged separately, and have distinct indexes. In commending the work to the notice of the public, he says, "I have endeavoured that these letters shall not be a journal of trifles. If it is on that account too grave for some people, I hope it will not for others. I have studied the advancement and increase of knowledge for those that read, and shall be as glad to make them wise, as to make them merry; yet I hope they will not find the story so ill-told, or so dull, as to tire them too soon, or so barren as to put them to sleep over it. The observations here made, as they principally regard the present state of things, so, as near as can be, they are adapted to the present state of the times."

These light and entertaining Tours being in a palatable form, and recommended by their authenticity, were for a long time a standing favourite with the public. Successive editions attested their popularity, but they all varied in a greater or less degree from the original. Samuel Richardson, the celebrated novelist, who appeared to have studied the writings of De Foe, and to have formed himself very much upon his model, is said to have furnished the additions to the impression of 1732, shortly after the death of the author. All the later editions are in four volumes duodecimo. That of 1778 is called the eighth, and is said in the title to have been "originally begun by the celebrated Daniel De Foe, continued by the late Mr. Richardson, and brought down to the present time, by a Gentleman of Eminence in the literary world." It is, however, a paltry imitation of De Foe's work. The operation this has undergone in the way of *improvement*, or rather for the purpose of giving it a more modern dress, has exposed it to dreadful mutilations; insomuch that it has lost not only the pith of the original, but all its characteristic features. It is in fact no longer the work of De Foe, being stripped of the finest passages illustrating the manners of his time, and conveyed in his own simple language, which forms one of the principal charms of his own work. This, notwithstanding the local changes that have taken place since it was written, will never be out of date; for it contains those characteristic features of the times, which we look for in vain in more modern works, and is exactly the sort of information that a curious reader would desire. A writer in the "Gentleman's Magazine" has the following remarks upon the spoliation it has undergone. "The Tour through Great Britain, originally written by Daniel De Foe, is an entertaining and useful book, describing faithfully the face of the country, as it appeared about the year 1725; but the last edition is the strangest jumble and hodge-podge that ever was put together. The compiler has cut out paragraphs from books that have been since published, and tacked them to the original work, without any local knowledge, and with so little skill, as to make what was separately respectable, become truly ridiculous by the strange admixture of it with the old materials."* (E)

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* Gent. Mag. for 1783, vol. liii. p. 409.

(E) De Foe's Tours have been sometimes confounded with another work published about the same time, and intitled "A Journey through England, in Familiar Letters, from a Gentleman here to his Friend Abroad. Containing whatever is curious in the Counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, &c. London: printed for J. Pemberton, at the Buck, against St. Dunstan's Church, Fleet Street, 1722." 2 vols. 8vo. The Author was John Macky. Although his name does not appear in the title, it is subscribed to the Preface. He added a third volume in 1726, being "A Journey through Scotland." The same author also published "A Journey through the Austrian Netherlands: containing the Modern History and Description of all the Provinces, Towns, Castles, Palaces, &c. of that fruitful, populous Country, so long the Scene of Wars and dreadful Ravages; till it was by the Treaty of Utrecht yielded to the Emperor of Germany. With an Account of all the remarkable Battles and Sieges; taken from the most Authentic Narratives. To which is prefixed, an Introduction, contain-

The versatility of our author's talents furnished him with topics as various in their nature as they were useful in their design; whilst his desire for reformation led him to select those that came recommended by their importance, or their urgency. In the same year that produced *Roxana*, he addressed another class of the community upon some excesses which he had glanced at before in his "Religious Courtship," and were of so notorious a character, as to induce him to lay open in a distinct treatise. He intitled it "The Great Law of Subordination considered: or, the Insolence and Unsufferable Behaviour of Servants in England duly enquired into. Illustrated with a great Variety of Examples, Historical Cases, and Remarkable Stories of the Behaviour of some particular Servants, suited to all the several Arguments made use of as they go on. In Ten Familiar Letters. Together with a Conclusion, being an earnest and moving Remonstrance to the House-keepers and Heads of Families in Great Britain, pressing them not to cease using their utmost interest (especially at this Juncture) to obtain sufficient Laws for the effectual Regulation of the Manners and Behaviour of their Servants. As also, A Proposal, containing such Heads or Constitutions as would effectually answer this great End, and bring Servants of every Class to a just (and yet not a grievous) Regulation. London: Sold by S. Harding, at the Post-House in St. Martin's Lane; and other Booksellers. 1724." 8vo. pp. 302.

De Foe makes heavy complaints of the change of manners, even in his own time, which he attributes in a great measure to the increase of drunkenness. "You cannot doubt," says he, "but that flood of infatuation which has spread over the whole kingdom, has had its effect not only upon the

ing the Ancient History of the whole Seventeen Provinces. By the Author of the Journey through England and Scotland. London: printed for J. Pemberton, 1725," 8vo. By an easy mistake, this work also has been commonly attributed to De Foe.

morals, but even upon the senses and good manners of the English nation. The very blood and nature of men seem to be changed. With their temperance, they have lost their temper; and with their virtue, so much of their good humour, for which they used to be so famed, that they seem to be quite another kind of people than their ancestors were usually said to be, and even than I myself remember. The effect is seen in abundance of ways in their families, and particularly in their conduct and treatment of their wives. They grow sottish and stupid more than ever, and by that sordid way of living, drink away their understandings, and even their senses; to say nothing of their substance and estates. By this they become brutish and sour in their families, and at best deprive their wives and daughters, not only of their care and management, on which the prosperity of families so much depends, but of the solace and comfort of their company, and of all that enjoyment which derives from what we call social life." Profane swearing is another bad custom that was become common in his day; and to the prevalence of these two, he traces most of the vices that had overspread, not the common people only, but also the nobility and gentry.

Our author has many excellent remarks upon the perverted notions of liberty, entertained by servants and common people, which often rendered their conduct absurd and ridiculous. "'Tis with an Englishman about his liberty," says he, "as 'tis with many of them about Popery, and is as blindly espoused as Popery is blindly hated, by those who mistake it in the grossest manner. Nothing is more certain, than that true liberty consists in a freedom to do well, not giving a loose to the passions, gratifying every vicious gust, and taking off the restraint of laws, leaving every man to do what is right in his own eyes. What the people's notions of liberty are," he adds, "I shall best describe, by giving some historical examples that have come within my own observation." De Foe introduces some apt stories to illustrate his subject, and has many pithy remarks, highly characteristic of his ingenuity and good sense. He enters largely into the conduct of labouring people generally, and of servants in particular, describing the arts they resort to for the circumvention of their employers, and recommending some legal enactments for the regulation of their behaviour. Yet, as Mr. Chalmers observes, "Though he interest by his mode, inform by his facts, and convince by his argument, he fails at last, by expecting from law, what must proceed from manners." De Foe seems to have been fully sensible, that no reform was to be expected without the assistance of the persons most concerned. For, he says, " 'Tis a needful and unanswerable truth, that the want of family government is the ruin of servants; and it is since family discipline decayed in England, and the good example of masters ceased, that servants have got the head and mastership over us. And until something of an orderly and virtuous governing of families comes in fashion again among us, I fear that no laws or public regulations will be effectual to this purpose." However unpromising his subject, De Foe has contrived to make a most entertaining book of it. The numerous stories with which it abounds, not only give a spur to the reading, but are strongly indicative of character and manners in those classes of society to which they refer. It does not appear that there was ever more than one edition of the work.

The abuses unfolded by our author in the foregoing treatise calling loudly for redress, he returned to the subject in a pamphlet published in the following year, in which he resumed some topics that he had before handled but slightly. His work is intitled " Every Body's Business is Nobody's Business; or Private Abuses, Public Grievances. Exemplified in the Pride, Insolence, and Exorbitant Wages of our Women Servants, Footmen, &c. With a Proposal for Amendment of the same. As, also, for the clearing of the

Streets of those Vermin called Shoe-Cleaners, and substituting in their stead many Thousands of Industrious Poor, now ready to Starve. With divers other Hints of great Use to the Public. Humbly submitted to the Consideration of our Legislature, and the careful Perusal of Masters and Mistresses of Families. By Andrew Moreton, Esq. London: Printed for W. Meadows in Cornhill; and sold by T. Warner, Paternoster Row; A. Dodd, without Temple Bar; and E. Nutt, at the Royal Exchange. 1725." 8vo. pp. 36. This is the first of a series of works which he wrote under the assumed name of Andrew Moreton.

As a censor of public manners, our author deemed no subject that interfered with the comforts of life, of too trifling a nature for animadversion; and the one now discussed by him partook of this character. He tells us, that servants, in his day, caballed with each other to raise their wages, and carve out their own work; that the former had risen from thirty or forty shillings a year, to eight pounds and upwards; and all to support the pride of dress, in which they vied with their mistresses. These evils are traced by our author to their proper source, and exposed in a strain of caustic humour, as amusing as his remarks are pertinent. In the following passage, we have a striking picture of London manners in the class of persons referred to. "The country girl no sooner comes to London, than she thinks of nothing but vails and high wages. Her neat leathern shoes are now transformed into laced ones, with high heels; her yarn stockings are turned into fine woollen ones, with silk clocks; and her high wooden pattens are kicked away for leathern clogs. She must have a hoop too, as well as her mistress; and her poor scanty linsey-woolsey petticoat is changed into a good silk one, of four or five yards wide at the least. Not to carry the description further, in short, plain country Joan is now turned into a fine London Madam; can drink tea, take snuff, and carry herself as high as the best." In descanting upon the petty habits of servants, De Foe lets us into many of the artifices by which they often ruined themselves, as well as their employers.

To the fifth edition of the work, published in the same year, our author added a preface, in which he alludes to three Answers that had appeared against it, besides "fresh attacks daily expected from the powers of Grub Street." But he declines a paper war with his antagonists. "As my intentions are good," says he, "so have they had the good fortune to meet with approbation from the sober and substantial part of mankind: as for the vicious and vagabond, their ill-will is my ambition." One of the replies alluded to, is intitled "Every Man mind his own Business; or private Piques no public Precedents. Being an Answer to a late scurrilous Pamphlet, intitled *Every Body's Business Nobody's Business.* Written by an old peevish trading J——ce, whose false Reasoning is here exposed, the Cruelty of Masters and Mistresses exemplified, and the Hardships of Servants set in a clear light. In a letter to A—— M—— Esq. By Catherine Comb-Brush, Lady's Woman. London: printed and sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. 1725." 8vo. Mrs. Comb-Brush, who mistakes her author for a Justice of the Peace, is very eloquent in street-abuse. She is angry that "Mr. Moreton's Essay is read in every house;" and adds, "His doctrines, like weeds, spread all abroad, and every master and mistress copy this great original." Another of De Foe's Antagonists published "Servitude: a Poem. To which is prefixed, an Introduction, humbly submitted to the Considerations of all Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Ladies, who keep many servants. Also, a Postscript, occasioned by a late trifling Pamphlet, intitled *Every Body's Business Nobody's.* Written by a Footman: in behalf of good Servants, and to excite the bad to their Duty. London: printed for T. Worrall, at the Judge's Head, against St. Dunstan's Church, in Fleet Street. 8vo. No date. De Foe's pamphlet was re-printed in 1767, but the replies to it have been long since forgotten.

In the course of this year, De Foe presented the world with a fresh proof of his skill in nautical affairs, in a work replete with interest, and no less ingenious in the contrivance, than amusing in its details. He intitled it, "A New Voyage round the World, by a course never sailed before. Being a Voyage undertaken by some Merchants, who afterwards proposed the setting up an East India Company in Flanders. Illustrated with Copper Plates. London: printed for A. Bettesworth, at the Red Lyon in Paternoster-Row; and W. Mears, at the Lamb, without Temple Bar. 1725." 8vo. pp. 413.

Although many voyages of equal extent had been performed by our countrymen, yet their published accounts, as De Foe justly observes, contain but little to amuse or instruct the reader, consisting chiefly of dry details extracted from their journals, and these mostly of a professional nature. Our author possessed the happy talent of rendering his voyages attractive, by the variety of his incidents, and by the felicity with which he related them; and he is no less happy in making them a vehicle for insinuating instruction. From those who have explored newly discovered countries, we naturally look for information concerning the character, habits, and customs of the people, the productions of the soil, and whatever may be interesting to the philosopher and the historian. But it was the misfortune of our early navigators to be generally men of confined education, who were in the pursuit of wealth rather than of information, so that their adventures correspond more with those of a bucanier, than with any thing of a civilized description. It was the object of De Foe to give them a more inviting dress, that by mixing the agreeable with the useful, he might fascinate at the same time that he instructed the reader. In reference to this work, Mr. Chalmers has the following remarks. "Most voyagers have had this misfortune, that whatever success they had in the adventure, they have had very little in the narrative. They are indeed full of the incidents of sailing, but they have nothing of story for the use of readers who never intend to brave the dangers of the sea. These faults De Foe is studious to avoid in his new voyage. He spreads before his readers such adventures as no writer of a real voyage can hope to imitate, if we except the teller of Anson's tale. In the life of Crusoe, we are gratified by continually imagining that the fiction is a fact: in the voyage round the world, we are pleased by constantly perceiving that the fact is a fiction, which, by uncommon skill, is made more interesting than a genuine voyage." The same writer observes, "*the ship of Fools* had indeed been launched in early times; but who, like De Foe, had ever carried his readers to sea, in order to mend the heart, and regulate the practice of life, by shewing his readers the effects of adversity, or how they might equally be called to sustain his hero's trials, as they sailed round the world. But without attractions, neither the originality nor the end, can have any salutary consequence. This he had foreseen; and for this he has provided, by giving his adventures in a style so pleasing, because it is simple, and so interesting, because it is particular, that every one fancies he could write a similar language."

A main object of De Foe in all his writings, is to bring forward some prominent error that has taken root in society, for the purpose of its correction. In this work, he takes occasion to reprehend the excess of punishment that is sometimes inflicted at sea, for trivial offences. His experience of human life had taught him, "that men were always secured in their duty by a generous kindness, better than by absolute dominion and severity." This sentiment he endeavours to enforce by example; and who that has any knowledge of mankind, does not acquiesce fully in its propriety? It is quite evident from the aptitude and correctness of his writing that De Foe must have been well acquainted with the stories of former navigators, from which he gleaned the materials for his fancy to work upon. But the charm of the work owes every thing to his own genius, which was fertile in contrivances, and rich in the sources of amusement. Whoever may feel disposed to accompany our author in his imaginary voyage, will find much to gratify his curiosity, and to inform his judgment.

It has been suggested to the present writer, by a friend conversant in works of the kind, that the Voyage of Captain Roberts, published in the following year, was also the production of De Foe. Notwithstanding the circumstantiality of facts and dates, he had a strong impression that it was no other than a fiction; and from the likeness to be traced in some passages, he thought himself warranted in coming to his conclusion. How far the conjecture is correct, it may be difficult perhaps to determine, and shall therefore be left to the judgment of those who are disposed to investigate the matter. The title of the work, from whence the reader will derive some notion of its contents, is as follows: "The Four Years' Voyages of Capt. George Roberts; being a Series of *Uncommon* Events, which befel him in a Voyage to the Islands of the Canaries, Cape de Verde, and Barbadoes, from whence he was bound to the Coast of Guiney. The Manner of his being taken by Three Pyrate Ships, commanded by Low, Russell, and Spriggs, who, after having plundered him, and detained him Ten Days, put him aboard his own Sloop, without Provisions, Water, &c., and with only Two Boys, one eighteen, and the other of eight years of age. The Hardships he endured for above Twenty days, till he arrived at the Island of St. Nicholas, from whence he was blown off to sea, before he could get any sustenance, without his boat and biggest Boy, whom he had sent ashore; and after Four Days of Difficulty and Distress, was shipwrecked on the unfrequented

Island of St. John, where, after he had remained near Two Years; he built a vessel to bring himself off. With a particular and curious Description and Draught of the Cape de Verd Islands; their Roads, Anchoring Places, Nature and Production of the Soils; the Kindness and Hospitality of the Natives to Strangers, their Religion, Manners, Customs, and Superstitions, &c. Together with Observations on the Minerals, Mineral Waters, Metals and Salts, and of the Nitre with which some of these Islands abound. Written by Himself. And interspersed with many pleasant and profitable Remarks, very instructive for all those who use this Trade, or who may have the Misfortune to meet with any of the like Distresses, either by Pyracy or Shipwreck. Adorned with several Copper Plates. London: printed for A. Bettesworth at the Red Lyon in Paternoster Row; and J. Osborn, at the Ship at St. Saviour's Dock-Head, near Horsleydown, 1726." 8vo. pp. 458. The work is dedicated "To my highly esteemed Friend, William Killet, of Gorlestown, in the County of Suffolk, Gent."; subscribed "George Roberts"; and dated "Shad-Thames, July 11th 1726." There was a new edition of this work in 1815.

Amongst the multifarious subjects that engaged the attention of De Foe, was one of great curiosity to literary men, and important in its consequences to the public at large. The work we are now about to notice, although excellent in its kind; and containing much information within a narrow compass, is but little known, and still less so as emanating from our author. Besides the evidence furnished by its contents, he has an allusion to it in one of his subsequent publications*; and in a copy before the writer, it is pointed to him in the hand-writing of a contemporary. The work is intitled "An Essay upon Literature: Or an Enquiry into the Antiquity and Original of Letters; proving that the Two Tables, written by the Finger of God in Mount Sinai, was the first Writing in the World; and that all other Alphabets derive from the Hebrew. With a Short View of the Methods made Use of by the Ancients to supply the Want of Letters before, and improve the Use of them after they were known. London: printed for Thomas Bowles, Printseller, next to the Chapter House, St. Paul's Church Yard; John Clark, Bookseller, under the Piazza, Royal Exchange; and John Bowles, Printseller, over against Stocks Market, 1726." 8vo. pp. 127.

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* System of Magick, p. 185.

As a writer who had contributed so largely to the concerns of literature, he might be expected to feel interested in an inquiry that brought to light the sources of its manufacture. In the time of De Foe, the English language had produced but few publications upon the subject, and none containing so much information in a popular form. It was, therefore, an object of curiosity with his countrymen; and the manner in which he has treated it, exhibits more learning and research than he has been usually credited with. "It is something strange," says he, "that among the abundance of writers in the world, and the multitude of authors who have published their labours for the instruction of mankind in this age, not one has thought it worth while to give any significant account of the art by which all their works are performed; and by which, indeed, all manner of science is conveyed from age to age, and handed down from our ancestors to this day: I mean that of writing. Printing is a modern invention, but writing is of a very ancient date, and has been the most useful of all arts in the world." In attempting to supply the deficiency, our author dives into the records of ancient times, and can find no mention of letters before the writing upon the Two Tables, from whence Moses took occasion to impart the knowledge to the Israelites. Having established his position, he examines the pretensions of other nations to the discovery, and finds them wanting. Cadmus, who is said to have first imparted letters to the Greeks, derived his knowledge from the Phœnicians, as they did from the Jews; and the Egyptians obtained it from the same source. For the proof of these points, he goes into an ingenious train of reasoning, built upon the imperfect remains of antiquity, but he thinks sufficiently satisfactory to warrant his conclusion. The knowledge of music and of numbers, he refers to the same divine original; and is of the opinion before broached by Theophilus Gale, that all human literature is to be traced to the Hebrews. It is probable that De Foe was not unacquainted with the elaborate work of that learned writer, upon "The Court of the Gentiles."

Having discoursed upon the origin of letters, our author proceeds next to inquire, "In what manner they were made use of in the respective ages, after they were first given out; and by what degrees the writing and printing of these letters advanced to the perfection which we see them now arrived to? Also, how, and in what manner, and upon what occasions, the materials for writing and printing, and the instruments and engines for the performance of the several parts of it, were discovered." He supposes that the original writing was by excoriation, upon a substance somewhat similar to slate. That the law of the two tables was engraven in some such manner, he infers from its being sufficiently portable for Moses to carry in his hand. After this, the hammer and the chisel were employed upon stone; the *stylus* upon wood, &c. In process of time, the bark of trees, and a weed produced in Egypt, called the Papyrus, were prepared for the purpose, as were afterwards the skins of animals, known by the name of parchment; and linen steeped in oil. The instruments used for writing, were either of bone or iron, and afterwards of steel; from whence the word *stylus*. The liquid employed was prepared from the juice of a particular kind of fish, called the *Sepia,* or Ink-fish. In the reign of Augustus, the materials for writing underwent considerable improvement, and continued in a progressive state, until they arrived at the perfection in which we now have them. The various methods of writing, whether by words, abbreviations, or ciphers; the process for preparing the materials; and whatever relates to the history of the art, are detailed in an entertaining manner, and with perspicuous brevity. From writing, the author is led to a brief sketch of the origin of printing, the manufacture of paper, and the invention of the rolling press. These subjects have been more amply illustrated by succeeding writers; but whoever wishes for much useful information within a narrow compass, will be amply compensated by the perusal of this little volume. It is now but rarely to be met with; nor is it noticed in the ample work of Dr. Watt.

The public curiosity being now excited by the case of a wild youth, lately discovered in a German forest, and brought to England by George I., De Foe naturally considered that it would be a popular subject for his pen. He therefore contributed to the speculations then afloat amongst naturalists and philosophers, in a pamphlet, intitled, "Mere Nature delineated: or a Body without a Soul. Being Observations upon the Young Forester lately brought to Town, from Germany. With suitable Applications. Also, a brief Dissertation upon the Usefulness and Necessity of Fools, whether Political or Natural. London: printed for T. Warner, at the Black Boy, in Paternoster-Row. 1726. Price 1*s*. 6*d*." 8vo. pp. 123.

The contradictory reports that were in circulation respecting this youth, rendered it difficult, in some instances, to get at the truth. De Foe does not attempt to reconcile them; but applies his reasoning to detect such as appeared void of probability. He considers it next to impossible for so young a child, who, from the account of his habits, must have been long in the situation he was found in, to have maintained his existence. This he argues from the severity of the climate; his want of clothing, shelter, and food; and his inability to protect himself from the wild beasts of the forest. Yet, if he had not been so exposed for a length of time, it is difficult to account for his want of speech, as his hearing appeared to be perfect. These are points, observes De Foe, which require explanation. He objects to the statement of his going upon his hands and feet, as inconsistent with experience and common sense; and for the same reason, of his climbing trees like a cat or a squirrel. If he had lived long in the forest, De Foe thinks it scarcely probable that he would have been overlooked by the boars and hunting parties, by whom it was continually traversed. He therefore rejects the notion that he had been dropped there by some unnatural mother, and left, like Romulus and Rhemus, to the mercy of the beasts. He was as little disposed to admit the idea of his being an idiot, as he had exhibited proofs of reason, and appeared susceptible of instruction. After arguing against the improbable stories related of him, De Foe admits the fact of his having been found in the situation described, but how he came there, he leaves in the same uncertainty that he found it. After a visit to the boy, he remarks, "He seems to be the very creature which the learned world has, for many years past, pretended to wish for, viz., one that being kept entirely from human society, so as never to have heard any one speak, must therefore either not speak at all; or, if he did form any speech to himself, then they should know what language nature would first form for mankind."

From commenting upon the story of this young forester, De Foe proceeds to moralize upon it, and has many sarcastic allusions to the men of his times. "In our further considering this wild youth," says he, "the business is, to make his case useful to the rational part of the world, whether the world can be made so to him or no; in which, if I do not treat him *a la buffoon,* as has been thought proper by a learned author of brains and brass, (for he calls himself the copper farthing author (F,) or *a la solemn,* as a more learned divine lately proposed to do when he had studied a whole sermon upon him, making the words *The wild beasts of the forest,* his text. I say, if I fall into neither of these extremes, I hope the enquiring reader will not be disappointed." In giving a political turn to the subject, he says, in his dry sarcastic way, "I had some thoughts here of taking a little notice of the extraordinary usefulness, nay, even the necessity of *Fools* at court; (and pray take notice that I must always be understood of foreign courts, not our own) how needful it is that there should be beasts of burthen, where there are so many heavy burthens to be carried; and that there should be many asses where there are many riders. But this is an article of such importance, 'tis not to be brought into a parenthesis, and therefore I have referred it to a part by itself."

De Foe has some curious speculations upon the possibility of thinking, without a knowledge of words, expressive of our ideas of sensible objects. "Every mute," says he, "is not an idiot or a fool; and we see some daily among us, whose parts are as bright, their understandings as large and capacious, and their reason in as full exercise, and as clear as perhaps any other." Art had done much towards conquering this defect, of which he relates a remarkable instance in the case of a child that lost its parents in infancy, and being bred by some dumb relations, did not acquire its speech until some years afterwards. He makes respectful mention of the skill of Mr. Baker, "who is eminently known for a surprising dexterity in teaching such as have been born deaf and dumb, both to speak and understand what is said when

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(F) De Foe here pays off an old score upon Swift, who had often handled him with severity, and had lately published a book against Wood's Copper Coinage.

others speak to them; some living, though wonderful examples of which are now to be seen." This Mr. Baker afterwards married a daughter of De Foe. Had the wild boy been committed to his care, he thinks he would have stood a better chance of overcoming the disadvantages of his situation, and the defects of nature, than he could derive from the persons who had the charge of him. Dr. Arbuthnot, to whose tuition he was consigned at first, had him but a short time, when he was transferred to a farm-house in the country. It is probable his case was now considered hopeless.

From the case of this wild youth, our author draws some practical reflections upon the value of education, and the difficulty of communicating it after the powers of nature have lost the pliancy of childhood. Of its success in the present instance, he entertains strong doubts, having a mean opinion of the boy's faculties; yet, as he exhibited no apparent deformity, he was unwilling to go the length of those who set him down as a fool, by their judgment of his physiognomy. The face, he observes, is not always an index of the mind. "The Lunenburgher has, indeed, no agreeable aspect. He has a kind of natural dejection in his countenance, looks wild and awkward, like one that has not yet found his mouth, that does not know how to look; and, indeed, having no speech, he seems to look dumb, if that may be allowed me. His want of speech assists very much to keep him just in the same state of nature that he was in when first brought among us, and I do not find that he makes much improvement in any thing." In favour of the boy, he adds, "this is all nature still: for the natural powers come to their maturity of acting by gradations; as the body grows in strength, and as habits and exercise dictate and instruct. Every man is born mute, though not dumb. He is mute, because he cannot speak till he learns by imitation; but he is not dumb, because he has a potential capacity to speak, as soon as he can shape his mouth to form a sound articulate and distinct." De Foe was of the same opinion as Locke, upon the structure and pliability of the human powers, which he compares to a lump of soft wax, capable of receiving whatever impressions are fixed upon it. "The soul," says he, "is placed in the body like a rough diamond, which requires the wheel and knife, and all the other arts of the cutter to shape and polish it, and bring it to show the perfect water of the true brilliant. If we do not think it worth while to bestow the trouble, we must not expect the blessing. Education seems to me to be the only specific remedy for all the imperfections of nature. The difference in souls, or the greatest part at least, is owing to this. The man is rational or stupid, just as he is handled by his teachers. As he can neither read, write, nor perform some of the most necessary actions of life without being taught, so neither can he any of those operations in which the soul is wholly the operator. This goes a great way to confirm me in the opinion which was long received among the ancients, of a parity of souls." The only obstructions to it he conceives to arise from natural defects, or accidental causes affecting the essential organs.

If De Foe had been told that he was a necessitarian, the names of Hobbes and Collins would probably have made him shrink from the suggestion. Yet, however unconscious of the circumstance, he pleads for a doctrine which, if properly understood and generally acted upon, would furnish a lever to society more powerful and beneficial in its operation, than all the chance-laws by which it is governed. We complain, and justly, of the increase of crime, but it is in vain that we go on to legislate for its punishment, whilst society continues to furnish the incentives to its commission. Let these be withdrawn, and it will be found that men are not naturally more vicious than they were centuries ago. Our author justly observes, that "as wisdom and virtue are their own reward, so vice and ignorance are their own punishment; and they who choose them, as Solomon says of other criminals, *Let them flee to the pit, let no man stay them;* that is, as I should translate, Let them be as miserable as they desire to be."

By the time De Foe had finished his pamphlet, reports were in circulation, that the boy was to be received into the church, by undergoing the rite of baptism; a circumstance that he considered highly discreditable, unless he had made greater proficiency than was generally known. The rite, however, was performed, and he received the name of *Peter.* Those who urged its administration, must have had very low notions of religion, and his sponsors must have promised more than they could perform; for it does not appear that he ever became susceptible of instruction, or even acquired the use of speech. Such as he was, however, he served to swell the catalogue of *national christians.* The case of this savage being so much to his purpose, attracted the attention of that singular genius, Lord Monboddo, who paid him a visit in 1782, and deduced conclusions from it favourable to his theory of the human species. These he has detailed at length in his "Ancient Metaphysics." Of his mode of life in England, and the failure of every attempt to develope his mind by education, there is a detailed account in the parish register of North Church, in the county of Hertford, where he was buried. A copy of it may be found in Dodsley's Annual Register, for the year 1785.

CHAPTER XXI.

De Foe's Notions of Spirits.—His Experience of their Existence.—Popular Credulity.—Satirized by De Foe.—His "Political History of the Devil."—"System of Magick."—"Essay on Apparitions."—Satire upon the Fops of his Day.—Moral Improvement of the Subject.—"The Protestant Monastery."—De Foe's Age and Infirmities.—Allusion to the Undutifulness of his Children.—Parochial Tyranny.—Select Vestries.—Third Volume of the "Family Instructor."—Subjects handled in it.—"Use and Abuse of the Marriage Bed."—"The Compleat Tradesman." A Second Volume upon the Subject.—Merits of the Work.—"Plan of the English Commerce."—De Foe and Gee compared.—"Military Memoirs of Captain Carleton."—A favourite with Johnson.—"Augusta Triumphans."—London University.—De Foe a Practical Reformer.—His Scheme for the Prevention of Street Robberies.—Invasion of his Labours.—He publishes "Second Thoughts are Best."—Strictures upon the Beggar's Opera.—Schemes for Improvement of the Police.—"Dissectio Mentis Humanæ."—A Manuscript called "The Compleat Gentleman."—De Foe's Letter to his Printer.

1726—1730.

The course of his studies, aided perhaps by his misfortunes, led our author into many speculations upon the subject of spirits, and their communication with the visible world. From early life, his own mind had been strongly impressed with a belief in their reality; and there are some passages in his writings, from whence may be collected his opinion, that they exercise, more or less, a direct influence upon the affairs of men. He notices two ways by which the communication is maintained :—First, by "immediate, personal, and particular converse ;" and secondly, by "these spirits acting at a distance, rendering themselves visible, and their transactions perceptible, on such occasions as they think fit, without any farther acquaintance with the person." * He thought that God had posted an army of these ministering spirits round our globe, "to be ready, at all events, to execute his orders, and to do his will; reserving still to himself to send express messengers of a superior rank on extraordinary occasions." These, he adds, "may, without any absurdity, be supposed capable of assuming shapes, conversing with mankind by voice and sound, or by private notices of things, impulses, forebodings, misgivings, and other imperceptible communications to the minds of men, as God their great employer may direct." † But, upon the power of man to control or communicate at his will with these spiritual beings, he entertains doubts, and protests against the arts of conjuration.

De Foe has many allusions in his writings, to the silent workings of some supernatural influence upon his own mind, acting as a prompter upon extraordinary occasions. He speaks sometimes of mysterious impressions directing him to particular subjects, and guiding his pen whilst in the act of writing. Under the same impulse, we find him the subject of secret forebodings, conveyed by some invisible agent, and enabling him to escape from evils into which he must have fallen but for such premonitions. However such a belief may be condemned as fanciful, it has been that of many grave theologians, and is sanctioned in some measure by the sacred writings. There can be no doubt, also, that it had a favorable influence upon the mind of De Foe, as it reconciled him to many distressing events, and enabled him to pass through the vicissitudes of life, with a confiding

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* History of Magick, p. 327.

† History of Apparitions, p. 56.

trust in the superintendency of Providence. At the same time, it opened to his view the cheering prospect of another world, which became realized in proportion as it was brought in contact with the present.

"I firmly believe," says he, "and have had such convincing testimonies of it that I must be a confirmed Atheist if I did not, that there is a converse of spirits, I mean those unembodied, and those that are incased in flesh. From whence, else, come all those private notices, strong impulses, involuntary joy, sadness, and foreboding apprehensions, of and about things immediately attending us, and this in the most important affairs of our lives. That there are such things, I think, I need not go about to prove; and I believe they are, next to the Scriptures, some of the best and most undeniable evidences of a future existence. It would be endless to fill this paper with the testimonies of learned and pious men; I could add to them a volume of my own experiences, some of them so strange as would shock your belief, though I could produce such proofs as would convince any man. I have had, perhaps, a greater variety of changes, accidents, and disasters in my short unhappy life, than any man, at least than most men alive; yet I had never any considerable mischief or disaster attending me, but sleeping or waking I have had notice of it before hand, and had I listened to these notices, I believe might have shunned the evil. Let no man think this a jest. I seriously acknowledge, and I do believe my neglect of these notices has been my great injury; and since I have ceased to neglect them, I have been guided to avoid even snares laid for my life, by no other knowledge of them, than by such notices and warnings: and more than that, have been guided by them to discover even the fact and the persons. I have living witnesses to produce, to whom I have told the particulars in the very moment, and who have been so affected with them, as that they have pressed me to avoid the danger, to retire, to keep myself up, and the like." De Foe tells us, that had he not neglected the advice and the notice, he had been safe; but slighting both, he has fallen into the pit exactly as described to him. He says, that if it would be thought useful, he could descend to particulars; but it being a private case, he did not think it so material, and therefore avoided it. The inference that he draws from the subject is, that "if such Notices, by whatsoever hand, or for whatever purpose, are given us, in our personal, private, and particular cases, as I believe nobody will deny, why may not the same Providence and Power permit the like notices, call them what you will, to be given to some persons in matters public and national? History is full of these; and were I not at the writing of this absent from books, being now travelling, and at an inn on the road, I could bring a numerous roll of quotations." De Foe refers from memory to the well-known case of Mr. Wishart and the Archbishop of St. Andrews; also to the names of Bradford, Knox, Calvin, Luther, and Buchanan, for other examples; and particularly to Mr. Withers, who foretold the fire of London several years before it happened.

Our author then descends to the phenomena of dreams, which he desires to touch with great caution, on account of the extremes into which even good people are apt to run. But, in support of his theory, he adduces the examples of Job, Daniel, Joseph, and others recorded in Scripture; and, referring to profane history, he cites the dream of Cæsar's wife, and the celebrated case of Brutus at Philippi. From the whole, he concludes with a desire to steer between the two extremes of rejecting "the warnings God is pleased to give us in visions of the night, and of giving heed to those delusions of the imagination, which proceed only from a distempered brain.*

Perhaps the following passages in one of his works, has an immediate reference to himself: "I know a man, who made it a rule always to obey these silent hints, and he has often declared to me, that when he obeyed them he never miscarried; and if he neglected them, or went on contrary to them, he never succeeded; and gave me a particular case of his own, among a great many others, wherein he was thus directed. He had a particular case befallen him, wherein he was under the displeasure of the Government, and was prosecuted for a misdemeanour, and brought to a trial in the King's Bench Court, where a verdict was brought against him, and he was cast; and times running very hard at that time, against the party he was of, he was afraid to stand the hazard of a sentence, and absconded, taking care to make due provision for his Bail, and to pay them whatever they might suffer. In this circumstance, he was in great distress, and no way presented unto him but to fly out of the kingdom, which, being to leave his family, children, and employment, was very bitter to him, and he knew not what to do; all his friends advising him not to put himself into the hands of the law, which though the offence was not capital, yet in his circumstances seemed to threaten his utter ruin. In this extremity he felt one morning (just as he had awaked, and the thoughts of his misfortune began to return upon him), I say, he felt a strong impulse darting into his mind thus, *Write a letter to them.* It spoke so distinctly to him, and as it were forcibly, that as he has often said since, he can scarce persuade himself not to believe but that he heard it; but he grants that he did not really hear it too. However, it repeated the words daily and hourly to him, till at length walking about in his chamber where he was hidden, very pensive and sad, it jogged him again, and he answered aloud to it, as if it had been a voice, *Who shall I write to?* It returned immediately, *Write to the Judge.* This pursued him again for several days, till at length he took his pen, ink, and paper, and sat down to write, but knew not one word of what he should say, but *dabitur in hac hora,* he wanted not words.

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* Review, viii. 93—96.

It was immediately impressed on his mind, and the words flowed upon his pen in a manner that even charmed himself, and filled him with expectations of success. The letter was so strenuous in argument, so pathetic in its eloquence, and so moving and persuasive, that as soon as the judge read it, he sent him word he should be easy, for he would endeavour to make that matter light to him; and in a word never left, till he obtained leave to stop the prosecution, and restore him to his liberty and to his family." *

In all his excursions through the world of spirits, De Foe never allowed himself to wander beyond the confines of religion. If his speculations are sometimes fanciful, and in but little accordance with the known phenomena of the human mind, it is a consequence resulting from the uncertain nature of his subject. Those who speculate upon matters beyond the confines of human intelligence, are navigating an unknown ocean, where they are in constant danger of shipwreck. Hence, the absurd theories that have passed current in the world, accredited by the sanctions of learning and religion, in both of which subsequent inquiries have found them wanting. People emerging from a state of ignorance do not suddenly cast aside the prejudices that have so long bound them. Every thing in society conspires to render improvement gradual and progressive. Thus it has been with the occult sciences. It is not difficult to assign a cause for their popularity with the common people, who have a strong appetite for the marvellous, which is only to be allayed by a sound education. "Wonderful operations," observes De Foe, "astonish the mind, especially where the head is not over burthened with brains; and custom has made it so natural to give the devil either the honour or scandal of every thing that we cannot account for, that it is not possible to put the people out of the road of it."† There was a time when dæmonology was fostered in this country by men of rank and learning, when religion

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* Vision of the Angelic World, p.48.

† Hist. of the Devil, p. 380.

was brought to its aid, and when it received the sanction of royal authority. But the learned trifling to which it gave birth, was upon the decline towards the close of the 17th century, when its influence extended chiefly to the common people. In the time of De Foe, there was a strong remnant of credulity upon such subjects; and, availing himself of the circumstance, he turned it to account by some popular publications, in which he endeavoured to give it a useful direction. Whatever were his own sentiments upon the subject of supernatural appearances,—and there is reason to think that he entertained a belief of them upon extraordinary occasions,—yet he was far from feeding the credulity of the vulgar, by sanctioning the impostures that were daily practised by cunning men laying wait to deceive. The works he composed are designed rather to unmask the popular delusion; and in stripping it of its magic, he often resorts to a strain of irony, which few could handle with greater effect.

From the succession of works produced by him upon the subject, and the elaborate manner in which he has treated it, there is reason to suppose that he was allured to it by taste, and that it occupied a large portion of his serious attention. At any rate, he could not easily have selected one that was likely to gain a larger share of popularity, or in which the depraved taste of the vulgar called more loudly for correction. It is to his credit, that whilst he administers to the amusement of the reader, he never loses sight of his improvement. Although there is no subject upon which curiosity is more awake, yet he forbears to gratify it by diving into the secrets of nature; his treatises, therefore, partake less of the mechanism of science, than of that moral instruction which he is most solicitous to impress upon his reader. But whilst our author appears more ambitious to be thought a moralist than a conjuror, his treatises display a considerable portion of learning and research; and they are enlivened by a number of dialogues and stories, that strongly indicate the genius of the writer.

De Foe's first attempt to encounter supernatural appearances, was in "The Political History of the Devil, as well Ancient as Modern: in Two Parts. Part I. Containing a State of the Devil's Circumstances, and the various Turns of his Affairs, from his Expulsion out of Heaven, to the Creation of Man; with Remarks on the several Mistakes concerning the Reason and Manner of his Fall. Also, his Proceedings with Mankind, ever since Adam, to the first planting of the Christian Religion in the World. Part II. Containing his more Private Conduct, down to the Present Time: His Government, his Appearance, his Manner of Working, and the Tools he works with.

'Bad as he is, the Devil may be abused,
Be falsely charged, and causelessly accused,
When Men, unwilling to be blamed alone,
Shift off their Crimes on Him, which are their own.'

London: printed for T. Warner, at the Black Boy in Paternoster Row. 1726." 8vo. pp. 408. *Front.* So rapid was the sale of the work, that a second edition was called for in the following year. In this, it is called, simply, "The History of the Devil;" but in the subsequent editions, the original title is restored. De Foe observes in his preface, that the sale of a large impression of the first edition, is a certificate from the world of its general acceptance. "The wise world has been pleased with it, the merry world has been diverted with it, and the ignorant world has been taught by it; and none but the malicious part of the world has been offended at it. Who can wonder, that when the devil is not pleased, his friends should be angry." A third edition was called for in 1734; a fourth in 1739; a sixth in 1770; and since then, it has been frequently printed both in London and in the country.

The nature of the work will be best explained by the table of contents below. (G) This, it is impossible to peruse without admiring the ingenuity of the writer, who amuses by

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(G) Part I. Chap. I. Being an Introduction to the whole Work. Chap. II. Of the word Devil, as it is a proper name to the Devil, and any or all his Hosts, Angels, &c. Chap. III. Of the Original of the Devil, who he is, what he was before his Expulsion out of Heaven, and in what state he was from that Time to the Creation of Man. Chap. IV. Of the Name of the Devil, his Original, and the nature of his circumstances since he has been called by that name. Chap. V. Of the Station Satan had in Heaven before he fell; the Nature and Original of his Crime, and some of Mr. Milton's mistakes about it. Chap. VI. What became of the Devil and his Host of fallen Spirits after their being expelled from Heaven, and his wandering condition till the Creation; with some more of Mr. Milton's absurdities on that subject. Chap. VII. Of the number of Satan's Host; how they came first to know of the new-created Worlds now in Being, and their measures with Mankind upon the discovery. Chap. VIII. Of the Power of the Devil at the Time of the Creation of this World; whether it has not been farther straitened and limited since that time, and what shifts and stratagems he is obliged to make use of to compass his designs upon Mankind. Chap. IX. Of the progress of Satan in carrying on his conquest over Mankind, from the Fall of Eve to the Deluge. Chap. X. Of the Devil's second Kingdom, and how he got footing in the renewed World by his Victory over Noah and his Race. Chap. XI. Of God's calling a Church out of the midst of a degenerate World, and of Satan's new measures upon that Incident: How he attacked them immediately, and his success in those attacks.

Part II. Chap. I. The Introduction. Chap. II. Of Hell, as it is represented to us, and how the Devil is to be understood, as being personally in Hell, when at the same time we find him at liberty ranging over the World. Chap. III. Of the manner of Satan's acting and carrying on his affairs in this World, and particularly of his ordinary workings in the dark by Possession, and Agitation. Chap. IV. Of Satan's Agents or Missionaries, and their actings upon, and in the minds of Men in his Name. Chap. V. Of the Devil's management in the Pagan Hierarchy, by Omens, Entrails, Augurs, Oracles, and such like Pageantry of Hell; and how they went off the Stage at last by the Introduction of true Religion. Chap. VI. Of the extraordinary appearances of the Devil, and particularly of the Cloven-Foot. Chap. VII. Whether is most hurtful to the World, the Devil walking about without his Cloven-Foot, or the Cloven-Foot walking about without the Devil? Chap. VIII. Of the Cloven-Foot walking about the World without the Devil, (viz.) of Witches making Bargains for the Devil, and particularly of selling the Soul to the Devil. Chap. IX. Of the Tools his archness, whilst he instructs by his information. Aware that many would be stumbled at his subject, he says, "I doubt not but the title of this book will amuse some of my reading friends a little at first. They will make a pause, perhaps, as they do at a witch's prayer, and be sometime resolving whether they had best look into it or no, lest they should really raise the devil by reading his story." To disarm their fears, he tells them, that superstition has painted him in colours which do not belong to him. "Children and old women have told themselves so many frightful things of the devil, and have formed ideas of him in their minds, in so many horrible and monstrous shapes, that really it were enough to frighten the devil to meet himself in the dark, dressed up in the several figures which imagination has formed of him." He adds, "It must therefore be a most useful undertaking, to give the true history of this terror and aversion of mankind: to show what he is, and what he is not; where he is, and where he is not; when he is in us, and when he is not; for I cannot doubt but the devil is really in a great many of our honest weak-headed friends, when they themselves know nothing of the matter." In describing his religion, De Foe says, sarcastically, "In reverence to my brethren, I will not reckon him among the clergy; yet I cannot deny that he often preaches; and if it be not profitably to his hearers, 'tis as much their fault, as it is out of his design." As an apology for his undertaking, he says, "'Tis a great mistake in those who think that an acquaint-

the Devil works with, (viz.) Witches, Wizards, or Warlocks, Conjurors, Magicians, Diviners, Astrologers, Interpreters of Dreams, Tellers of Fortunes; and above all the rest, his particular modern Privy Councillors, called Wits and Fools. Chap. X. Of the various methods the Devil takes to converse with Mankind. Chap. XI. Of Divination, Sorcery, the Black Art, Pawawing, and such like Pretenders to Devilism, and how far the Devil is, or is not, concerned in them. Chap. XII. The Conclusion. Of the Devil's last scene of Liberty, and what may be supposed to be his End; with what we are to understand of his being tormented for ever and ever.

ance with the affairs of the Devil, may not be made very useful to us all. They that know no evil, can know no good; and as the learned tell us, that a stone taken out of the head of a toad, is a good antidote against poison, so a competent knowledge of the Devil and all his ways, will be the best help to make us defy the Devil and all his works."

The "History of the Devil," is a fine satire upon the credulity of mankind. De Foe explodes the vulgar notions of his person and residence as the fictions of poets and painters, and "little more or less than the old story of Pluto, Cerberus and Charon; only that our tale is not half so well told, nor the parts of the fable so well laid together." He adds, "Let us learn to talk of these things as we should do; and as we really cannot describe them to our reason and understanding, why should we describe them to our senses?" His work exhibits much and various reading, strong natural sense, and an intimate knowledge of mankind. His talent for broad-buffeting sarcasm is applied with wonderful effect in exposing the popular delusions, whilst they supply him with materials for insinuating wholesome moral instruction. One of his leading objects is to correct the bad passions of mankind, by tracing them to their proper source, and by showing, that they furnish a more accurate representation of Satan, than the painted spectres with which the world has been so long amused and terrified. Mr. Chalmers, in describing the work, says, "The matter and the mode conjoin to make this a charming performance. He engages poetry and prose, reasoning and wit, persuasion and ridicule, on the side of religion and morals, with wonderful efficacy." Our author relieves his argument by a number of entertaining dialogues, and relates many instructive stories, partly real, and partly fictitious, in order to illustrate his subject, and confirm his moral.

In the following year, De Foe pursued the subject of his former treatise, in "A System of Magick: or a History of the Black Art. Being an Historical Account of Mankind's most early dealing with the Devil; and how the Acquaintance on both sides first began.

> ' Our Magick, now, commands the troops of Hell,
> The Devil himself submits to charm and spell,
> The Conjuror in his circles and his rounds
> Just whistles up his Spirits, as Men do Hounds.
> Th' obsequious Devil obeys the Sorceror's skill,
> The Mill turns round the horse, that first turns round the Mill.'

London: printed and sold by J. Roberts, in Warwick Lane. 1727." 8vo. pp. 403. *Front.*

De Foe's system is rather a satire upon the conjurors, than a book of rules for understanding their art. "The world," says he, "has been imposed upon in nothing more than in their notions of this dark practice. Most people when they read of the ancient magicians, take them for necromancers and conjurors, when at first they were really very honest men. The Magi were persons of real science, and the instructors of mankind; their magick was the knowledge of nature. But the modern pretenders to the art, are mere jugglers and mountebanks; men that would be wicked if they did not want wit, and are no otherwise harmless than as they happen to be fools. There is one sort would fain be called *cunning men,* than which nothing can be a grosser piece of delusion: 'Tis not their cunning, but their client's want of cunning, that gives them the least appearance of common sense." He adds, "I see no great harm in them, if the poor people could but keep their money in their pockets; but that they should have their pockets picked by such an unperforming, ignorant crew, is the only magick that I can find in the whole science." The best course that he could think of to cure the people of this folly, was to laugh at them. Even general vice, says he, may be hissed out of the world, should preaching prove fruitless: "for, men are to be ridiculed into good manners, when they won't be cudgelled into them." The scope of our author in this treatise, will be best explained by exhibiting the contents of the several chapters, which the reader will find in the note. (H)

(H) Introduction. Of the meaning of the terms; who and what kind of people the magicians were, and how the words Magick, or Magician, were originally understood. Chap. II. How Wisdom and Learning advanced Men in the First Ages to Royalty and Government, and how many of the Magicians were made Kings on that account, as Zoroaster, Cadmus, and many others. Chap. III. Of the reason and occasion which brought the ancient honest Magi, whose original study was Philosophy, Astronomy, and the works of nature, to turn Sorcerors and Wizards, and deal with the Devil; and how their conversation began. Chap. IV. Of what Shapes the Devil assumed in his first appearances to the Magicians, and others in the first ages of the World; and whether he is, or has been allowed to assume a human shape or no. Chap. V. A Farther Account of the Devil's conduct in imitating Divine Inspirations; something of the difference between them; and particularly of signs and wonders, false as well as true, and the cheats of the former. Chap. VI. Of who were the first Practisers of Magick, as a Diabolical Art, and how it was handed on to the Egyptians and Phœnicians, where it was first openly encouraged. Chap. VII. Of the Practice and Progress of Magick, as it is now explained to be a Diabolical Art, how it spread itself in the World, and by what degrees it grew up to the height which it has since arrived to. Part II. Introduction. Of the Black Art itself; what it really is, why there are several differing practices of it in the several parts of the World, and what those Practices are; also, what is contained in it in general. Chap. I. Of Modern Magick; or the Black Art as now in its practice and perfection. Chap. II. The scene changed; that as the Devil acted at first with his Black Art without the Magicians, so the Magicians seem to carry it on now without the Devil. Chap. III. Of the present pretences of the Magicians; how they defend themselves; and some examples of their practice. Chap. IV. Of the Doctrine of Spirits, as it is understood by the Magicians; how far it may be supposed there may be an Intercourse with Superior Beings, without any Familiarity with the Devil, or Evil Spirits; with a transition to the present Times. Chap. V. Of the Magick of the present Time, as it stands stripped in the last Chapter, from all the pretences of the Magicians, and the delusions of Hell; of what length it has gone, or is like to go, in deluding mankind; what the Magicians can do, and that they really have now no Converse with the Devil at all; so that the Art being at an end, the history comes to an end of course. Chap. VI.

At a period when the dealers in the *black art* have been chased from the world, a treatise upon *magick* would recommend itself merely as an object of curiosity. The time is happily gone by for entertaining the subject in a serious light; the credulity that supported it, having given way before the diffusion of rational knowledge. It was upon the wane when De Foe wrote; but as the race of conjurors was not extinguished, his work was not only seasonable, but, being written in a popular style, was eminently calculated to expose their knavery. The stories he has collected together for this purpose, are chosen appropriately and related with humour. But the turn our author has given to the subject, renders it both an agreeable and an useful performance. The reader will find much information upon the early history of mankind; many scriptural illustrations; and some curious discussions upon the origin of witchcraft and idolatry. In tracing the corruptions of religious worship, he exhibits much learning and ingenuity, intermixed with many shrewd remarks upon the follies they occasion, and the knavery that produced them. His zeal for religion led him to encounter the Atheists and Sceptics of his day, and to level his satire at the vices of mankind, which diverted their attention from a subject of so much importance. In some few places, his zeal betrays him into improper personalities; but his remarks in general are distinguished by their soundness, and partake of that keen caustic humour in which he so greatly excelled. As a work of amusement, delineating the manners of former times, and exhibiting a useful moral, it may be always read

Of raising the Devil by Magical Operations; whether the Magicians really have such a power or no; and if they have, whether it is performed as an Art, and by the consequence of Magical Experiments, or whether it is by Concert and mutual Consent, between Satan and the Magicians. Chap. VII. Seeing, as the Magicians pretend, they do not deal with the Devil, or raise the Devil; who it is they do deal with, how their Correspondence is managed, and why do they deal with good Spirits, by Conjuring and the Black Art.

with pleasure; for, as Mr. Chalmers remarks, "the reader will discover in our author's system, extensive erudition, salutary remark, and useful satire."

In the same year, De Foe produced another work of a kindred nature, intitled "An Essay on the History and Reality of Apparitions. Being an Account of what they are, and what they are not. As, also, how we may distinguish between the Apparitions of Good and Evil Spirits, and how we ought to behave to them. With a great variety of surprising and diverting Examples, never published before.

'By Death transported to th' eternal shore,
Souls so removed re-visit us no more:
Engrossed with joys of a superior kind,
They leave the trifling thoughts of life behind.'

London: printed and sold by J. Roberts in Warwick Lane, 1727." 8vo. pp. 395. *Plates.* The subject being popular, a second edition was soon called for; but not going off so soon as desired, a new title was printed in 1738, when it was announced as a third edition, with the following display of its contents: "The Secrets of the invisible World disclosed: or an Universal History of Apparitions, Sacred and Profane, under all denominations, whether Angelical, Diabolical, or Human Souls departed. Shewing, I. Their various Returns to this World; with sure Rules to know, by their manner of appearing, if they are Good or Evil Ones. II. The Differences of the Apparitions of Ancient and Modern Times; and an Enquiry into the Scriptural Doctrine of Spirits. III. The many species of Apparitions, their real Existence and Operations by Divine Appointment. IV. The Nature of seeing Ghosts before and after Death; and how we should behave towards them. V. The Effects of Fancy, Vapours, Dreams, Hyppo, and of real and imaginary Appearances. VI. A Collection of the most authentic Relations of Apparitions, particularly that surprising one attested by the learned

Dr. Scott. By Andrew Moreton, Esq. Adorned with Cuts. The Third Edition. London: printed for J. Clark, at the Royal Exchange; A Millan, over against St. Clement's Church in the Strand; and J. Brindly, in New Bond Street, 1738." 8vo. It has been reprinted since then in a smaller size (1).

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(1) The following are the contents of this work. Introduction. Of Apparitions in general: the certainty and nature of them. Chap. I.—Of Apparitions in particular, the reality of them, their Antiquity, and the difference between the Apparitions of former times and those which we may call modern; with something of the reason and occasion of that difference. Chap. II. Of the Appearance of Angels immediately in mission as from Heaven; and why we are to suppose those kinds of Apparitions are at an end. Chap. III. Of the Appearance of the Devil in human shape. Chap. IV. Of the Apparition of Spirits Unembodied, and which never were embodied; not such as are vulgarly called Ghosts; that is to say, Departed Souls returning again, and appearing visibly on Earth, but spirits of a superior and angelick Nature, with an opinion of another species. Chap. V. Of the appearance of departed unembodied souls. Chap. VI. Of the manner how the spirits of every kind which can or do appear among us manage their appearance, and how they proceed. Chap. VII. Of the many strange Inconveniences and ill consequences which would attend us in this world, if the souls of Men and Women, unembodied and departed, were at Liberty to visit the Earth, from whence they had been dismissed, and to concern themselves about Human Affairs, either such as had been their own, or that were belonging to other people. Chap. VIII. The Reality of Apparitions farther asserted; and what Spirits they are that do really appear. Chap. IX. More Relations of particular facts, proving the reality of apparitions; with some just observations on the difference between the good and evil spirits, from the errand or business they come about. Chap. X. Of the different Nature of Apparitions; how we should behave to them; when to be afraid of or concerned about them, and when not. Chap. XI. Of Apparitions in dreams, and how far they are or are not real Apparitions. Chap. XII. Of Apparitions being said to happen just at the time when the person so happening to appear is said to be departing; the fiction of it confuted. Chap. XIII. Of the Consequence of this Doctrine; and seeing that Apparitions are real, and may be expected upon many occasions, and that we are sure they are not the souls of our departed friends; how are we to act, and how to behave to them, when they come among us, and when they pretend to be such and such, and speak in the first person of those departed friends, as if they were really themselves? Chap. XIV. Of Sham Apparitions, and Apparitions which

Spectral appearances, observes our author, have made a great noise in the world, and exercised no little influence upon its affairs. Our ancestors laid too great stress upon them, whilst the moderns have endeavoured to explode them altogether; to reconcile which extremes, is the avowed object of the present performance. "Some despise them in so extraordinary a manner," says he, "that they pretend to wish for nothing more than to be convinced by demonstration; as if nothing but seeing the Devil could satisfy them there was such a person." And he wonders that Satan does not think fit to justify his reality, by a personal appearance, that men may no longer be in doubt upon the subject. On the other hand, "some people are so horribly frighted at the very mention of an apparition, that they cannot go two steps in the dark, without looking behind them; and if they see but a bat fly, they think of the devil, because of its wings." How to bring the world to a right temper upon this point, he acknowledges to be difficult; but to calm the apprehensions of his readers, he tells them, that almost all real apparitions are of a kind and beneficent nature, and that when an evil spirit appears, he is limited by a superior power, and can do no harm without special licence. This, he thinks, should arm us with resolution enough to meet the devil, whatever shape he may assume: "for, I must tell you, good people, he that is not able to see the devil, in whatever shape he is pleased to appear in, is not really qualified to live in this world,—not in the quality of a common inhabitant." To enable his readers to make a just discrimination between good and evil apparitions, he has adduced examples of both kinds; and the difference, says he, is so notorious, "that no man can be easily deceived, that will but make use of the eyes of his understanding, as well as of those in his head."

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have been the effect of fraud. Chap. XV. Of Imaginary Apparitions, the Apparitions of Fancy, Vapours, waking Dreams, delirious Heads, and the Hyppo.

In this work, our author fully unfolds his belief in the converse "between our spirits cased up in flesh, and the spirits unembodied, who inhabit the unknown mazes of the invisible world; those coasts which our geography cannot describe; who between somewhere and nowhere dwell, none of us know where, and yet we are sure must have locality, and for aught we know, are very near us." To meet the charge of credulity, he observes, "I have, I believe, as true a notion of the power of imagination as I ought to have. I believe we form as many apparitions in our fancies as we see really with our eyes; nay, our imaginations sometimes are very diligent to embark the eyes, and the ears too, in the delusion. But it does not follow from thence, that there are no such things in nature, and that there is no intercourse or communication between the world of spirits, and the world we live in. The inquiry is not, as I take it, whether they do really come hither, but who they are that do come?" He supposes them to be an intermediate order of beings between angels and men, possessing limited powers, and inhabiting the vast regions of space; and that they are the immediate agents in dreams, premonitions, and secret hints, "calling upon men to seek for direction and counsel from that hand who alone can both direct and deliver." He strenuously opposes the notion, that ghosts and apparitions are really the departed souls of the persons they are said to represent, as contradictory to the language of Scripture, which consigns the departed to the immediate occupation of their future abodes. He says, in his dry way, "could souls departed come back to demand redress of grievances, and to put men in mind of the injustice done them, I doubt it would make but sad work among some families who now possess large estates. But much as I think there is reason to apprehend the prayers of the oppressed widow and orphan, I must acknowledge, I see no reason to be afraid of their ghosts." De Foe goes into a variety of arguments to show that there are good spirits; that they sometimes assume a visible appearance; and are employed by the governing Power of the universe to communicate notices of approaching good or evil, for the admonition and well-being of mankind. "To say, that the unembodied spirits have nothing to do with us, and that we have reason to believe they are not at all acquainted with human affairs, is what no man can be assured of; reason does not exclude them; nature yields to the possibility; and experience, with a cloud of witnesses in all ages, confirm the reality of the affirmative." Our author supports his argument by a reference to the appearances recorded in the Old and New Testaments, apologising to the reader for troubling him with examples from such unfashionable authorities. "Unhappy times!" says he, "when to be serious is to be dull, and consequently to write without spirit. We must talk politely, not religiously; we may shew the scholar, but must not shew a word of the christian—so we may quote profane history, but not a word of sacred; and a story out of Lucan or Plutarch, Tully or Virgil, will go down, but not a word out of Moses or Joshua." This might be true enough of the brainless coxcombs who are sufficiently numerous in all ages, and are accurately described by him in the following passage. "To see a fool, a fop, believe himself inspired, a fellow that washes his hands fifty times a day, but if he would be truly cleanly, should have his brains taken out and washed, his skull trepanned, and placed with the hinder side before; that his understanding, which nature placed by mistake with the bottom upward, may be set right, and his memory placed in a right position: to this unscrewed engine, talk of spirits and of the invisible world, and of his conversing with unembodied souls, when he has hardly brains to converse with any thing but a pack of hounds, and owes it only to his being a fool, that he does not converse with the devil! Who, if he has any spirit about him, it must be one of those indolent angels I speak of; and if he has not been listed among the infernals, it has not been for want of wickedness, but want of wit."

Whoever may peruse this treatise, will find much to attract his attention, as well for the information it conveys, as for the instruction it is intended to communicate. Whatever may be thought of his argument, the author cannot be denied the praise of great adroitness in managing it; and he has seasoned his work with so many just reflections, as well as well as enlivened it with so much that is amusing, as to leave a strong impression of its practical utility. De Foe was far from believing the stories handed down by nurses and old women, to scare the minds of children, and make up a winter-evening's conversation; and if some of the stories he relates are equally incredible, he lays less stress upon their authenticity, than upon the moral to be derived from them. He satirizes the general indolence of the age, which indisposed it for serious inquiry; and justly observes, that if people would not be always looking over their shoulders and forming spectres to their fancy, it is necessary that they should have right notions upon the subject of apparitions; as nothing is more likely to mislead us than our fears, which cannot be calmed without a consciousness of personal rectitude. Next to fortifying the mind with religious considerations, his advice is, always to *speak to it*. "Speak to it early, and answer any questions it may put; but be sure to ask it no questions but such as are reasonable, and none tending to reveal the mysteries of a future state."

De Foe is careful to impress upon his reader, that he has more to apprehend from the powers within, than from any supernatural appearances. "Conscience, indeed, is itself a frightful apparition, and is a ghost to him sleeping or waking. Nor is it the least testimony of an invisible world, that there is such a drummer in the soul, that can beat an alarm when he pleases, and so loud as no other noise can drown it, no power silence it, no mirth allay it, no bribe corrupt it." De Foe's piety led him to add, "There's no scorning the terrors of a messenger from the other world, but by a settled composure of the soul, founded on the basis of peace and innocence, or peace and penitence, which is in effect all one. This is the only face that a man can hold up to the devil; and with it, he can boldly talk to and despise him." He therefore exhorts his readers, to fortify their minds with a steady confidence in the Supreme Maker and Governor of all things, who has chained the destroyer, and will never let him loose upon any one whose mind is steadily fixed upon him. (K)

The year 1727 produced two pamphlets from De Foe, under the assumed name of Andrew Moreton. Influenced by the patriotic feeling, that "every man ought as much as in him lies, to contribute in his station to the public welfare, and not to be afraid or ashamed of doing, or at least meaning well," he committed to the press "The PROTESTANT MONASTERY: or a Complaint against the Brutality of the Present Age, particularly the Pertness and Insolence of our Youth to aged Persons. With a Caution to People in years, how they give the Staff out of their own Hands, and leave themselves at the Mercy of others. Concluding with

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(K) There are two works connected with the above subject, that have been commonly ascribed to De Foe; but perhaps with little reason. 1. "A Treatise of Spirits, Apparitions, Witchcraft, and other Magical Practices; containing an Account of Genii and Familiar Spirits. By John Beaumont, Esq. Lond. 1705." 8vo. The same Author published, several years afterwards, another learned work, in which he discussed the subjects of Oracles and Familiar Spirits. It is intitled, "Gleanings of Antiquities, &c. Lond. 1724." 8vo. 2. "An Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft, with Observations upon Matters of Fact; tending to clear the Texts of the Sacred Scriptures, and confute the Vulgar Errors about that Point. By Francis Hutchinson, D.D. Lond. 1718." 8vo. There was a second edition of this work, with the addition of two sermons, in 1720. There seems no reason for supposing but that both works were written by the persons whose names they bear.

a Proposal for erecting a Protestant Monastery, where Persons of small Fortunes may end their Days in Plenty, Ease and Credit, without burthening their Relations, or accepting Public Charities. By Andrew Moreton. Esq.; Author of 'Every Body's Business is Nobody's Business.' London: printed for W. Meadows, at the Angel, in Cornhill; and other Booksellers. 1727." 8vo. pp. 31.

This pamphlet is introduced by some affecting allusions to the age and infirmities of the writer. "I hope," says he, "the reader will excuse the vanity of an officious old man, if, like Cato, I enquire whether or no before I go hence and be no more, I can yet do any thing for the service of my country."—"Alas, I have but small health and little leisure to turn author, being now in my 67th year, almost worn out with age and sickness. The old man cannot trouble you long; take then in good part his best intentions, and impute his defects to age and weakness: look on him as a man of more experience than learning; excuse his style, for the sake of the subject; and take the will for the deed." He tells us, that if he could have obtained admission for his projects in the public journals, free of expense, he should not have resorted to the present mode of publication; "for if by any means the public could have had it at a cheaper rate, I had been better pleased."

From the strain of the present pamphlet, there seems reason to apprehend that De Foe had experienced some undutiful treatment from his own children. He touches the subject in a tender manner. "There is nothing on earth more shocking, and withal more common in too many families, than to see age and grey hairs derided and ill-used. The old man or the old woman can do nothing to please. Their words are perverted, their actions misrepresented, and themselves looked upon as a burthen to their issue, and a rent-charge upon those who came from their loins. This treatment, as it is directly opposed to the dignity and decency of human nature, calls aloud for redress. The helpless and innocent ought to be the care of the healthy and able. Shall a man or woman toil to bring up a numerous issue? Shall they rear up, through all the uncertainties and fatigues of childhood, a race who shall spring up but to abandon them? Shall they enfeeble themselves to give strength to those who shall on one day thrust them aside, and despise them? Yet this is the case of many aged persons, who have outlived the comforts of this world; who survive only to hear themselves wished out of the way, by those very persons upon whom they have bestowed their whole substance, and upon whom all their hopes have been fixed." He tells us that he speaks by experience, and a letter to be produced hereafter, will explain more fully the nature of his case. De Foe complains loudly of the forwardness of the young people of his age, which he attributes to the injudicious management of parents; and he has some excellent remarks upon the mode of dealing with them, in order to their becoming good and useful members of society.

Not long afterwards, our author addressed himself to another public grievance, which called loudly for redress. This he explained in "Parochial Tyranny: or the Housekeeper's complaint against the insupportable Exactions and partial assessments of Select Vestries, &c. With a Plain Detection of many Abuses committed in the Distribution of Public Charities. Together with a Practicable Proposal for amending the same; which will not only take off great Part of the Parish Taxes now subsisting, but ease Parishioners from serving troublesome Offices, or paying exorbitant Fines. By Andrew Moreton, Esq. London: printed for W. Meadows, &c." No date. 8vo. In this work, De Foe, complains largely of the abuses resulting from select vestries, which being perpetual, he saw no prospect of their amendment. In other bodies, the members are chosen annually, or for a term of years; but here they are elected for life: and "as the old members drop off, none are put in their place, except those who are willing to pursue the old practices; so rogues succeeding rogues, the same scene of villany is carried on to the terror of the parishioners. If, mistaken in their object, they happen to choose an honest man among them, he is compelled to absent himself; for he is placed in a situation like the owl amongst birds. He who becomes a member of a select vestry, like a man who goes to the Mint, if he go in honest, he is perfectly sure not to come out so." The evil of which De Foe complained so justly a century ago, still continues in full operation; and consists but little with the freedom which Englishmen are in the habit of arrogating for their institutions. The subject was brought forward in the last session of parliament, by Mr. Hobhouse, who took respectful notice of De Foe's pamphlet.

It appears to be known to but few persons, that De Foe published in the year 1727, a third volume of his "Family Instructor." The subjects being of a controversial nature; and referring to points that have been so frequently handled by other writers, has occasioned it to be less popular than his practical treatises, and consequently less known. But those who may be desirous of instructing their families in such matters, will find much that is valuable for their purpose, in a compendious form, and conveyed in a familiar manner. The object of the writer in this, as well as in his former volumes, is the communication of religious knowledge; but the subject relates to those controversies that have divided the Christian world. It is intitled "A New Family Instructor. In Familiar discourses between a Father and his Children, on the most essential Points of the Christian Religion. In Two Parts. Part I. Containing a Father's Instructions to his Son upon his going to Travel into Popish Countries; and to the rest of his Children on his

Son's turning Papist; confirming them in the Protestant Religion, against the Absurdities of Popery. Part II. Instructions against the Three grand Errors of the Times; viz. 1. Asserting the Divine Authority of the Scripture, against the Deists. 2. Proofs that the Messias is already come, &c.; against the Atheists and Jews. 3. Asserting the Divinity of Jesus Christ, that he was really the same with the Messias, and that Messias was to be really God; against our Modern Hereticks. With a Poem on the Divine Nature of Jesus Christ; in blank Verse. By the Author of the 'Family Instructor.' London: printed for T. Warner, at the Black Boy in Paternoster Row. 1727." 8vo. pp. 384. A second edition, with a varying title, was published in 1732, by C. Rivington and T. Warner. It is there called "A New Family Instructor: containing a Brief and Clear Defence of the Christian Religion in General, against the Errors of the Atheists, Jews, Deists, and Sceptics: and of the Protestant Religion in Particular, against the Superstitions of the Church of Rome. In Familiar Discourses between a Father and his Children. In Two Parts, &c."

The author reminds us in his preface, of his former volumes, and of the little similitude they bear to the present work. "The Instructor here is the master of a family, whose business and duty is to inform and confirm his children in right principles. The children are brought in eager to know, willing to be instructed, desiring their father to inform them of the principles, and of the mistakes too, of the religious part of the world." Parents, he observes, are under unquestioned obligations to teach and instruct their children; but many who possess the necessary qualifications, wholly neglect it. When this omission becomes apparent by its consequences, at an age when it is too late to be remedied, self-reproach must necessarily follow. "It was a saucy, but a melancholy return," says he, "which I once heard a child make to his father, for calling him a fool, viz. That he should have been wiser, if his father had taught him better." The points of instruction brought forward in the work, he tells us, "Intimate, that the children were not too young to be talked with upon the most nice and difficult points of religion, and yet were not too old to be taught; and in particular, did not think themselves too old for teaching, or too wise to learn. A man ought no more to despise being made wiser, than he would being made richer, which very few incline to."

"A former work which bore this title," says he, "has gone very successfully through those branches of instruction, which more especially concerned the first and youngest stages of life, and for instilling the most early notions of God and religion into the minds of children. But religious instruction is never at an end, till our children cease to be children; nor even then, while there is a disposition in them to be farther informed. Masters of families can never be too careful to fortify the minds of their posterity with good principles; and prepare them to encounter those enemies of all serious religion, which they shall be sure to meet with as they grow up. For these reasons, I have made it my study, for several years, to find out some family, if it was possible, whose example might be historically recommended to the world; and where other parents, and other children, might have a pattern laid before them, a rule to walk and act by, and from whom I might take a light to guide myself in the great work of instructing families, and that children might have a standard for their conduct in ages to come."

The story is that of an Italian merchant, who had been brought up religiously by his parents, and after trading abroad with good success for several years, settled in London, where he married, and had a family of seven children. Being in good circumstances, he quitted the fatigues of business, and lived privately, "but in very good figure and fashion, in or near the city, till he was very old." De Foe tells us, that "After the example of his father, he was a most pious and seriously religious person; and shewed it not only by his personal behaviour through the whole series of a long life, but particularly in the well-ordering and good government of his family; instructing his children in the paths of virtue and religion; in which his own example went a great way, and kept an equal pace with his influence. But in particular, he took up the very same method of family order as his religious father had done before him, viz. to make himself useful and agreeable to his children, and to bring them, by the happy pleasantness of his temper, to delight in his instructions, as well as to be bettered by them. In this manner, he went on educating his children in the fear and knowledge of God, in the love of religion, and in all the best and most improving parts of human knowledge, that he thought most suitable to make them wise and religious both together. Nor was his success less encouraging, or the blessing of it less visible than that of his father. For, his family was a little college, where the youth were happily introduced, and his daily discourses to them were like the public lectures in an university, sometimes upon one subject, sometimes upon another; in all which he studied to make his discourses short, to bring every question into a narrow compass, and to express every thing in few words, plain and intelligible, suited to the capacity and understanding of his children."

This, like the other Family Instructors, consists of a series of dialogues, between a father and his children, and the children with each other. One of them, the eldest son, during his travels abroad, had been perverted to the Roman Catholic religion, which brings forward a long discussion upon the leading points in controversy between Papists and Protestants. The debate is managed with considerable humour, and elicits much historical information, gleaned from ecclesiastical writers. In the subsequent part of the work, De Foe turns the debate upon the other topics enumerated in his title. These he argues with perspicuity and great seriousness, and in so familiar a manner, as to render them easy of comprehension to the plainest understanding. Having studied the controversies of the times, he was armed at all points with the arguments alleged by different parties, and states them with as much fairness as can be expected from one who has a system of his own to defend. He had read the Scriptures, until they became so familiar to him, that he could cite them easily upon any subject that required their authority; and the manner in which he often applies them, shews equal sagacity and judgment. Deeply impressed with the importance of religion, he aims, by the most solemn and persuasive arguments, to fix it upon the attention of his readers. To the rising generation, as most susceptible of impression, he addresses himself more particularly in the present work; endeavouring to allure their attention by diversifying his subject, and rendering it pleasing, at the same time that it instructs.

In his anxiety to improve the morals of the age, De Foe now published a large treatise upon the subject of marriage; principally with a view to correct the loose notions that prevailed with regard to it, and to counteract the abuses to which it sometimes led, amongst the depraved of both sexes. It was first intitled "Conjugal Lewdness; or Matrimonial Whoredom:" but this title being considered offensive to delicacy, he immediately cancelled it, and substituted the following: "A Treatise concerning the Use and Abuse of the Marriage Bed: shewing, I. The Nature of Matrimony, its sacred Original, and the true Meaning of its Institution. II. The gross Abuse of Matrimonial Chastity, from the wrong Notions which have possessed the World, degenerating even to Whoredom. III. The Diabolical Practice of attempting to prevent child-bearing by physical Preparations.

IV. The fatal Consequences of clandestine or forced Marriages, through the Persuasion, Interest, or Influence of Parents and Relations, to wed the Person they have no Love *for*, but oftentimes an Aversion *to*. V. Of Unequal Matches, as to the Disproportion of Age; and how such, many ways, occasions a Matrimonial Whoredom. VI. How married Persons may be guilty of conjugal Lewdness, and that a Man may, in Effect, make a Whore of his own Wife. Also, many other Particulars of Family Concern. London: printed for T. Warner, at the Black Boy in Paternoster Row. 1727. Price 5*s*." 8vo. pp. 406.

De Foe had now arrived at a time of life when he could reprove the vices of the age with some degree of authority, and assume a dignified indifference to the reproaches that might be cast upon him for encountering such a subject. He was well aware of its delicacy, and of the clamours that would be raised against it by "the ill-nature of the age;" but he resolved to silence the voice of censure, by avoiding any expressions that could justly offend the ears of modesty. "The justness of the satire," says he, "the loud calls which the crimes here reproved make for justice and a due censure, the dreadful ruin of the people's morals, and the apparent contempt of modesty and decency, which grows so visibly upon us, join altogether to vindicate this undertaking, and to shew not the usefulness only, but the necessity of it." He tells us, it was almost thirty years since he had begun the work; and that, during all that time, he had heard, with a just concern, the complaints of good men upon the subject. The grave and the sober, the lovers of virtue and of religion, had expressed themselves with grief upon the growing scandal, and often pressed him to finish and bring out this reproof. He says he had delayed the publication hitherto, partly on account of his years, and partly in hopes of reformation: "but now despairing of amendment, grown old, and out of the reach of scandal;

sincerely aiming at the reformation of the guilty, and despising all unjust reproach from a vicious age, he closes his days with this Satire, which he is so far from seeing cause to be ashamed of, that he hopes he shall not, where he is going to account for it." He adds, That he could appeal to that judge before whom he expected so soon to appear, that as he had performed it with an upright intention for the good of mankind, so he had used his utmost endeavour to execute it in a manner the least liable to reflection, and in his judgment the most likely to answer its true end—the reformation of the guilty. "And with this satisfaction, he comfortably prays for its success."

De Foe informs us, that his work was no sooner advertised, than it was pronounced objectionable; and this, not merely as it regarded the title, but even the subject itself, which it was thought impossible to handle in any other than an offensive manner. Nay, some went so far as to insinuate, that it was a bait to the curiosity of that part of the reading world, whose vices would be prompted as much by the reproof, as by the plainest description. De Foe wisely observes, that he shall answer these people best by silence in his introduction, and a speaking performance. The satisfactory manner in which he has redeemed his pledge, must be apparent to every reader, who will admire the extreme caution of the writer, and the delicacy of his allusions. "Words modestly expressed," says he, "can give no immodest ideas, when the minds of those who read are chaste and uncorrupted." Although the principal object of our author is to expose the abuses that arise out of the marriage-union, yet he discusses the subject of marriage in a variety of particulars, and has many useful remarks that are well deserving of attention. He was a great friend to matrimony, which he considered the highest state of human felicity; from whence it may be concluded, that he was himself happy in that relation. To reason against it from the example of unhappy matches, he says, "is only arguing the ignorance and corruption of mankind; which, as they are the cause, so they are discovered in the unhappy consequences. Did men expect happiness in a married condition, they would begin and end it after another manner, and take greater thought before they engaged in it." Perhaps De Foe would have attained his object better by giving to his work a less exceptionable title, and by making it a treatise upon marriage generally. The matter of it must be allowed to be excellent, and to be composed with great seriousness as well as force of argument. The satire is free from levity; the reproof pointed, but delicate; and the moral so pure and convincing, that the reader is constrained to do justice to the piety and benevolence of the writer. He, indeed, deserves the highest praise for encountering the prejudices of mankind, at the risk of personal obloquy.

Although age was now advancing apace upon our author, and subjected him to bodily infirmities, yet his faculties appear to have lost none of their acuteness: his memory still retained its freshness, and his mind its accustomed vigour. Of this he gave a satisfying proof in some elaborate treatises which he now composed upon the subject of trade. No fewer than three volumes of considerable bulk, the fruit of long experience, and accurate observation, were issued by him successively, within the short space of little more than one year. It is painful to reflect, that this surprising rapidity of his pen, towards the close of a long life, was probably urged forward by the imperious demands of necessity; but at the same time it is a gratifying circumstance that his health and capacity enabled him to meet them.

The first of these works appeared in the early part of 1727, under the title of "The Compleat English Tradesman: In Familiar Letters, directing him in all the several Parts and Progressions of Trade, viz.: 1. Of acquainting him with

Business during his Apprenticeship. 2. Of Writing to Correspondents in a trading style. 3. Of Diligence and Application, as the Life of all Business. 4. Cautions against Over-trading. 5. Of the ordinary Occasions of a Tradesman's Ruin; such as expensive living, too early marrying, innocent Diversions, too much Credit, being above Business, dangerous Partnerships, &c. 6. Directions in several Distresses of a Tradesman when he comes to fail. 7. Of Tradesmen compounding with other Tradesmen, and why they are so particularly severe upon one another. 8. Of Tradesmen ruining one another by Rumours and Scandal. 9. Of the Customary Frauds of Trade, and particularly of trading Lies. 10. Of Credit, and how it is only to be supported by Honesty. 11. Of punctual paying Bills, and thereby maintaing Credit. 12. Of the Dignity and Honour of Trade in England, more than in other Countries. To which is added, A Supplement: Containing—1. A Warning against Tradesmen's borrowing Money upon Interest. 2. A Caution against that destructive Practice of drawing and remitting, as also discounting Promissory Bills, merely for a supply of Cash. 3. Direction for the Tradesman's Accounts, with Brief, but Plain Examples and Specimens for Book-keeping. 4. Of Keeping a Duplicate or Pocket Ledger, in Case of Fire. London: printed for Charles Rivington, at the Bible and Crown, St. Paul's Church Yard. 1727." 8vo. pp. 474.

This well contrived, and ably-written performance, whilst it furnishes much information upon the subject of trade, abounds in practical lessons that discover no ordinary acquaintance with the world. The young tradesman is supplied with many instructions for the government of his conduct, some of them conveyed in a strain of cutting satire; and he has many cautions to protect him from the snares that have occasioned others to suffer shipwreck. Like an experienced pilot, who has navigated the ocean of life, and become acquainted with its rocks and shoals, our author points out in many judicious particulars, the course that is to be pursued, in order to bring him at last into the harbour of safety. He shews that industry, punctuality, and fair-dealing, temperance and economy, are essential requisites to ensure success; that the young tradesman must give up his whole attention to business, be sparing in self-indulgences, and make a conscience of all his transactions. The temptations to which he will be exposed, as well as the artifices he will have to encounter, are laid down with fidelity, and reasoned upon with judgment. He is taught to begin prudently and proceed wisely, in order that he may end happily.

The favourable reception of the work induced our author to add a second volume in the same year, bearing the following title: "The Compleat English Tradesman. Volume II. In Two Parts. Part I. Directed chiefly to the more experienced Tradesmen; with Cautions and Advices to them after they are thriven, and supposed to be grown Rich, viz. 1. Against running out of their Business into needless Projects and dangerous Adventures, no Tradesman being above Disaster. 2. Against oppressing one another by Engrossing, Underselling, Combinations in Trade, &c. 3. Advices, that when he leaves off his Business, he should part Friends with the World; the great Advantages of it; with a Word of the scandalous Character of a Purse-proud Tradesman. 4. Against being litigious and vexatious, and apt to go to Law for Trifles; with some Reasons why Tradesmen's Differences should, if possible, be all ended by Arbitration. Part II. Being useful Generals in Trade, describing the Principles and Foundation of the Home Trade of Great Britain; with large Tables of our Manufactures, Calculations of the Product, Shipping, Carriage of Goods by Land, Importation from Abroad, Consumption at Home, &c., by all which the infinite number of our Tradesmen are employed, and the General Wealth of the Nation raised and increased. The whole calculated for the Use of all our inland Tradesmen, as well in the City as in the Country. London: Charles Rivington. 1727." 8vo. pp. 474.

As the former volume was intended for the conduct of beginners through the first steps of trade, so the present is addressed chiefly to the more experienced and opulent of the order. "While the tradesman is not above trading," observes De Foe, "he will find himself not out of the need of caution." The same good sense, knowledge of the world, and inculcation of moral principle that distinguish the former work, pervade the present volume. This completed the author's design. "The world will see no more volumes upon this subject, our business being not to multiply books, but to make the advices complete, that they may make the tradesman so." "In these treatises," observes Mr. Chalmers, "the tradesman found many directions of business, and many lessons of prudence. De Foe was not one of those writers who consider private vices as public benefits; God forbid, he exclaims, that I should be understood to prompt the vices of the age, in order to promote any practice of traffic: Trade need not be destroyed, though vice were mortally wounded." If his former writings had not given abundant evidence of the fact, these volumes are sufficient to shew the penetration of the writer, and that he was an accurate painter of life and manners in the middle classes of society. Although the lapse of a century has necessarily produced a considerable change both in habits and manners, yet the instruction conveyed in "The Compleat Tradesman" will be always seasonable; and this, not merely as it respects the class of persons to whom it is addressed. The caustic satire of the writer reaches to the buyer as well as the seller, and he may see how much the honesty of the one is affected by the dealings of the other. Few persons, perhaps, would expect to meet with amusement upon so dull a subject as trade; yet, inspired by the genius of De Foe, it has furnished materials for one of the most entertaining works in the

English language. It came to a third edition in 2 vols. 8vo, in 1732; and a few years afterwards, it was reprinted in 2 vols. 12mo.

The instructions laid down by our author for the management of trade, were followed soon afterwards by a luminous treatise upon its history and policy, with suggestions for its improvement. This, he intitled "A Plan of the English Commerce. Being a Compleat Prospect of the Trade of this Nation, as well the Home Trade as the Foreign. In Three Parts. I. Containing a View of the Present Magnitude of the English Trade, as it respects—1. The Exportation of our own Growth and Manufacture. 2. The Importation of Merchant Goods from abroad. 3. The prodigious Consumption of both at Home. Part. II. Containing an Answer to that great and important Question now depending, Whether our Trade and especially our Manufactures, are in a declining Condition or No? Part. III. Containing several Proposals, entirely new, for extending and improving our Trade, and promoting the Consumption of our Manufactures, in Countries wherewith we have hitherto had no Commerce. Humbly offered to the Consideration of King and Parliament. London: printed for Charles Rivington. 1728." 8vo. pp. 368. To the Second Edition in 1730, was added "An Appendix, containing A View of the increase of Commerce, not only of England, but of all the trading Nations of Europe since the Peace with Spain." A third edition in octavo, was published by Rivington, in 1737; in which it is called by mistake the *second*. The publisher announces it to be, "By the late ingenious Mr. Daniel De Foe."

Our author opens his work with a sentiment that was amply justified by the writers of his time. "Trade, like religion, is what every body talks of, but few understand." To long experience upon commercial affairs, De Foe, brought copious stores of information, collected from the history of foreign nations, as well as from our own writers. In applying them to the circumstances of his own country, he discovers an expansion of intellect, a soundness of judgment, and a felicity of reasoning, that prove him not only to have been master of his subject, but amply qualified to recommend it to the world. From the mass of facts brought together in the work, he deduces a number of ingenious calculations designed to elucidate the value and importance of our trade, and the means for carrying it on to a much greater extent. He dwells with delight upon the character of the English tradesman, who has filled the country with wealth, peopled the peerage, and raised the condition of the people to a proud superiority over those of other nations.

This work was probably the completion of an undertaking commenced by De Foe in 1713, and proposed to be published periodically, but extending only to two numbers. Soon after the publication of the "Plan of Commerce," a work somewhat similar in design, was published by Joshua Gee, under the title of "The Trade and Navigation of Great Britain Considered." Mr. Chalmers, who was fully conversant with such matters, draws the following parallel between the two writers: "De Foe insisted that our industry, our commerce, our opulence, and our people, had increased, and were increasing. Gee represented that our manufactures had received mortal stabs; that our poor were destitute, and our country miserable. De Foe maintained the truth, which experience has taught to unwilling auditors. Gee asserted this falsehood, without knowing the fact; yet Gee is quoted, while De Foe, with all his knowledge of the subject, as a commercial writer, is almost forgotten. The reason may be found perhaps in the characteristic remark with which he opens his *Plan*: "Trade, like religion, is what every body talks of, but few understand."*

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* Life of De Foe, p. 62.

Amongst the productions of the year 1728, was a fictitious narrative of an English Officer; which, as far as appears, has never been claimed by any writer, but has generally passed for the production of the person to whom it relates. The work, however, belongs to the same class of writing as the "Memoirs of a Cavalier," and it has some passages which bear a strong resemblance to the other works of the same writer. It is, therefore, probable that De Foe has the best title to the authorship; and as such, it deserves a conspicuous place amongst his other writings. This work is intitled "The Military Memoirs of Capt. GEORGE CARLETON. From the Dutch War, 1672, in which he served, to the Conclusion of the Peace at Utrecht, 1713. Illustrating some of the most remarkable Transactions, both by Sea and Land, during the reign of King Charles and King James II., hitherto unobserved by all the Writers of those Times. Together with an exact Series of the War in Spain; and a particular Description of the Several Places of the Author's Residence in many Cities, Towns, and Countries; their Customs, Manners, &c. Also, Observations on the Genius of the Spaniards, (among whom he continued some Years a Prisoner,) their Monasteries and Nunneries, especially that fine one at Montserat; and in their public Diversions, more particularly their famous Bull-Feasts. London: printed for E. Symon, over against the Royal Exchange, Cornhill, 1728." 8vo. pp. 352. Dedicated to "The Right Honourable Spencer, Lord Wilmington."

The ample title-page will sufficiently unfold the contents of the work. A principal part of it is a record of the military achievements of the brave Earl of Peterborough, who figured in Spain during the Wars of Queen Anne; and it exhibits the character of a soldier, distinguished alike by professional prowess, and by devotion to the fair sex. The military details of which it is composed, are relieved by many anecdotes and striking incidents, that contribute to render it an agreeable and an entertaining performance. Although full of the business of war, it abounds with picturesque descriptions of the country and its inhabitants, of many local customs and observances, and of the genius of the Roman Catholic religion. The moral reflections that are interspersed, the sarcasm upon duelling, and the hints upon predestination and providence, are quite in De Foe's taste; as are the few political allusions: and we are no less reminded of him by the plain matter-of-fact, and off-handed manner of telling the story. Although its hero is, in all likelihood, a fictitious character, the events detailed in the work are matters of history, and are related with all the minuteness and personality of an eye-witness, and an actor upon the spot. So faithful is the likeness to truth, and so accurate the descriptions, that it has been generally read as an authentic work, like the "History of the Plague," and the "Memoirs of a Cavalier." As such, it was considered by Dr. Johnson, who expressed much satisfaction in the perusal. It was first introduced to his notice by Lord Eliot, in consequence of his observing upon the little that was known of Lord Peterborough, for whom he had a great veneration. Lord Eliot told him that the best account of that nobleman which he had happened to meet with was to be found in "Captain Carleton's Memoirs."—"Carleton," he added, "was descended of an ancestor who distinguished himself at the siege of Derry. He was an officer; and what was rare at that time, had some knowledge of engineering;" particulars that he had collected from the Memoirs. Johnson observed, that he had never heard of the book. After a good deal of inquiry, Boswell informs us, he procured a copy, and sent it to Johnson, who told Sir Joshua Reynolds, that he was going to bed when it came, but he was so much pleased with it, that he sat up till he had read it through, and found in it such an air of truth, that he could not doubt of its authenticity; adding with a smile, (in allusion to Lord Elliot's having recently been raised to the peerage) "I did not think a *young lord* could have mentioned to me a book in the English history that was not known to me."* This work was reprinted in London in 1743; and again at Edinburgh, in 1808.

In this, and the following year, our author produced two more pamphlets, under the assumed name of Andrew Moreton, and both arising out of his zeal for national improvement. De Foe had long witnessed, with regret, the abuses in the administration of our laws, and was desirous of procuring fresh enactments to enforce their observance. The alarming state of crime in the metropolis, called from him many energetic remonstrances, as well as plans for its prevention; which could never be accomplished effectually, unless we withdrew from the people those temptations which formed its greatest encouragement. His anxiety to serve his own and future generations, led him to suggest amendments in some of our public institutions, and to project others for the relief of the unfortunate, or for the improvement of mankind in knowledge and virtue. With a view to these important ends, he now published "*Augusta Triumphans:* or the Way to make London the most flourishing City in the Universe. I. By establishing an University, where Gentlemen may have Academical Education under the Eye of their Friends. II. To prevent much Murder, &c., by an Hospital for Foundlings. III. By suppressing pretended Mad-Houses, where many of the Fair Sex are unjustly confined, while their Husbands keep Mistresses, &c., and many Widows are locked up for the sake of their Jointure. IV. To save our Youth from Destruction, by clearing our Streets of impudent Strumpets, suppressing Gaming-Tables, and Sunday Debauches. V. To avoid the expensive Importation of Foreign Musicians, by forming an Academy of our own. VI. To save our lower Class of People from utter Ruin, and render them useful, by preventing the immoderate Use of Geneva. With a frank explosion of many other common Abuses, and incontestable Rules for Amendment. Concluding with an effectual Method to prevent Street Robberies. And a Letter to Col. Robinson, on Account of the Orphan's Tax. London: printed for J. Roberts, and other Booksellers. 1728." 8vo. pp. 63. There was a second edition of this work in the following year.

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* Boswell's Life of Johnson, iv. 348.

When our author committed his work to the press, he was admonished of his approaching *exit*, and was willing that what remained to him of the thread of life, should be employed for the benefit of his fellow-creatures. He had sufficient experience of the world to know the common fate of projectors; but "a man who has the public good in view, ought not to be alarmed at the tribute of ridicule which scoffers constantly pay to projecting heads." It must be allowed, by all who have perused his writings, that De Foe was a rational reformer; that his schemes were not only practicable, but, in the highest degree, benevolent and useful. Our author deeply lamented the decay of learning in his time. "We have been a brave and learned people, but are insensibly dwindling into an effeminate, superficial race. Our young gentlemen are sent to the universities, but not under restraint and correction as formerly; not to study, but to drink; not for furniture for the head, but a feather for the cap, merely to say they have been at Oxford or Cambridge, as if the air of those places inspired knowledge without application." To avoid the inconvenience of sending youths to so great a distance from their friends, and at so great a risk to their morals, as well as to provide efficient instruction for many who would be otherwise without it, he was desirous of seeing an university established in the metropolis, under the royal patronage, with the power of conferring degrees. "Knowledge will never hurt us; and whoever lives to see an university here, will find it give quite another turn to the genius and spirit of our youth in general." That which De Foe could only contemplate at a distance, has been reserved for our own day to realize. At the distance of a hundred years, we see a London University arising amidst the jealousy of rival establishments, to shed the benign rays of science and literature upon numbers who would be otherwise destitute of their advantages. Breaking through the barbarous trammels imposed by ignorance, and fostered by bigotry, it throws open its doors to the whole British nation; disdaining the sectarian prejudices which encircle older institutions, and are as inimical to sound knowledge, as the retention of them is absurd and ridiculous. In spite of the artful accusations that have been brought against it, the formation of an university, upon liberal principles, must be a source of real gratification to all who wish well to the cause of human improvement.

In favour of the practicability of our author's schemes, it deserves to be remembered, that some of them were taken up by enterprising individuals, and pushed forward with success. Within a few years of his publication, an Hospital for Foundlings was incorporated by royal charter; and his appeal to the good sense of mankind was not lost upon the other topics in his pamphlet. Still, however, much remains to be done. The accession of crime consequent upon an increased commerce, and the advancement of luxury and extravagance amongst our people, calls loudly for interposition; and this by way of prevention, rather than punishment. The crimes inflicted upon society are mostly of its own creation; and it possesses the means of correcting them, by withdrawing the incentives to their commission, and substituting others more favourable to virtue and happiness. The materials for effecting this, are not difficult to be devised; but we must surmount the prejudices of ignorance, and overcome our selfishness and bigotry, before they can be rendered available for any useful purpose. Those who are concerned for the improvement of our police, will find many useful hints upon the subject, in this and the other writings of De Foe. Whilst his acuteness and penetration gave him the power of detecting errors, he was equally happy in supplying the means for their correction.

In the foregoing pamphlet, De Foe had laid down "a plain and practicable scheme for the total suppression and prevention of street-robberies;" which scheme, says he, "has been approved of by several learned and judicious persons." Within a short time after its appearance, it seems that some other projector stepped in to rob him of his honours, and suggested a similar plan; which was submitted to parliament, and received the ostentatious support of "venal news-writers." Indignant at this invasion of his property, De Foe resolved upon sending forth a new and enlarged version of his plan, preceded by a statement of his literary grievances. "Though I must confess," says he, "I am not a little piqued to be jocky'd out of my labours; yet, not to be behind hand with my gentleman in the clouds, who would have the parliament buy his pig-in-a-poke, and build up his fortune at my expense, I have so amply enlarged and amended my scheme, that it is now scarce like the same. I have taken in every thing possible of comprehension or practice; nor have I left him room to edge in one single hint. I have debated the objections of wise and learned men, and corrected my project accordingly: so that, upon comparison, my first thoughts will appear but as a rude and imperfect sketch, only valuable in that it gave the idea of this more laboured and finished performance, in which I pledge my whole reputation, being ready to stand or fall by its success. In order to which, I have presented copies of this book to the King and Queen's most excellent Majesties, to several of the lords spiritual, and divers honourable and worthy members of both Houses; and time must shew whose scheme shall have the precedence."

De Foe rests his cause upon the judgment of a discerning public. "If men of sense approve," says he, "I need not value the laughter of fools; for if a thinking man is to be laughed out of every good intention or invention, nothing will ever be done for the public good."

The work containing these remarks is intitled, "Second Thoughts are best: or a Further Improvement of a late Scheme to prevent Street Robberies. In which our Streets will be so strongly guarded, and so gloriously illuminated, that any Part of London will be as safe and pleasant at Midnight as at Noonday; and Burglary totally impracticable. With some Thoughts for suppressing Robberies in all the publick Roads of England, &c. Humbly offered for the Good of his Country, submitted to the consideration of the Parliament, and Dedicated to his Sacred Majesty King George II. By Andrew Moreton, Esq. London: printed for W. Meadows, at the Angel in Cornhill; and sold by J. Roberts in Warwick Lane. 1729. Price Six Pence." 8vo. pp. 24.

In searching into the cause of the evil which our author complains of, he traces much of it to the pernicious example of the stage, and cites the "Beggar's Opera," lately produced with such unprecedented success, as a case in point. (L) "Our rogues," says he, "are grown more wicked than ever; and vice of all kinds is so much winked at, that robbery is accounted a petty crime. We take pains to puff them up in their villainy, and there is one set out in so amiable a light in the *Beggars' Opera,* it has taught them to value themselves on their profession, rather than to be ashamed of it. Not content with the mischief done by the *Beggars' Opera,* we must have a *Quakers' Opera* forsooth, of much

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(L) The Beggars' Opera" was so popular at its introduction upon the stage in 1727, that it was performed sixty-three nights following in London, and more than a hundred times in Bath, Bristol, and other places in the country.

more evil tendency than the former: for, in this, Jack Shepherd is made the head of the drama, and runs through such a scene of riot and success, that but too many weak minds have been drawn away, and many unwary persons so charmed with his appearance on the stage, drest in that elegant manner, and his pockets so well lined, they have forthwith commenced street-robbers or house-breakers; so that every idle fellow, weary of honest labour, need but fancy himself a *Mackheath* or a *Shepherd*, and there's a rogue at once." De Foe was not the only moralist who bestowed censure upon Gay's Opera. The amiable and pious Dr. Herring, then preacher to the society of Lincoln's Inn, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, spoke of it in terms of reprobation in one of his sermons, for which he was treated with great asperity by Swift; but the reputation of the honest divine could receive no damage from the attack of a man who was so little alive to a sense of decency.* (M) De Foe justly observes, that since example has so much force, the stage should exhibit nothing but what might be represented before a bishop: "They may be merry and wise; let them take the *Provoked Husband* for a pattern."

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* Swift's Letters ii. 243.

(M) Swift attacked Herring's sermon in the "Dublin Intelligencer," No. III. in which he observed, with as little regard to truth as decency, that the *Beggars' Opera* "would probably do more good than a thousand sermons of so stupid, so injudicious, and so prostitute a divine" as Dr. Herring. Swift was connected with Gay by the ties of friendship, which he often carried to an immoderate length. He was also actuated by party prejudice, Gay being then out of favour with the court, which he made the subject of his satire. Herring was defended by his friend Mr. Duncombe, in the "Whitehall Evening Post" for March and April, 1728. Notwithstanding the clamour raised by the friends of Gay, the "Beggars' Opera" stood condemned as of pernicious consequence to the cause of morality and christian virtue. "Experience confirmed the truth of this observation, by the many robberies committed daily in the streets during the representation of that piece, beyond the example of former times; and several thieves and robbers afterwards confessed in Newgate, that they raised their courage at the play-house, by the songs of their hero Macheath, before they sallied forth on their desperate nocturnal exploits."—*Letters from Abp. Herring to William Duncombe, Esq.* p. 3, *note.*

To prevent the frequency of street robberies, he recommends an efficient patrole, composed of able-bodied men, one to every forty houses; to be elected and paid by the housekeepers themselves. The money now collected, if properly applied, he thinks would answer the purpose; but he makes heavy complaints against the parochial management, which he had exposed in a former treatise. He also recommends a more effectual method of lighting the streets; and to prevent the escape of thieves, proposes that gates should be fixed at the entrance of all courts and narrow passages, to be opened only by the watchman. Upon these subjects De Foe has many judicious remarks, as also, upon the restraining of prostitutes from the public exercise of their profession, the suppression of vagrants and night-houses, and the provision of night-lodgings for the destitute. He proposes that all public-houses and gin shops should be shut at ten, and that the latter should be subject to licences. To the excessive use of the last commodity, he attributes much of the depravity amongst the common people. Hackney-coach drivers come next under his strictures, and he proposes that the law should be so altered as to render the owners liable for the offences of the persons they employ. He has some excellent remarks upon the manœuvres of tradesmen to raise the price of their commodities, and defraud the public; by which means "the poor are ground to dust, in order to fatten a pack of misers, who know no mercy." For the protection of the roads near London, he proposes that parties of horse-soldiers should be stationed in all the principal entrances; and that the same might be extended to all the larger towns in England. Whilst good sense legitimates the propriety of our author's remarks upon these various topics, experience upon such of them as have passed into practice, has fully justified their utility.

To an author who wrote so much as De Foe, and whose works are chiefly anonymous, it may be difficult to assign his last publication. From a passage in the preface to his "Use and Abuse of the Marriage bed," it may be inferred, that he expected to close his labours with that "upright intention for the good of mankind;" but we have seen, that he lived to write several pieces afterwards. It has been suggested to the present writer, that he was the author of a long poem published in 1730, and taking in a wide range of satire; but not having had an opportunity to consult it, he can do no more than give the title, which is as follows: "*Dissectio Mentis Humanæ:*" or a Satyric Essay on Modern Critics, Stage and Epic Poets, Translators, Drolls, Ill-Repute, Burials, Great Guns and Gunpowder, Physicians, Sleep, Politicians, Patrons, Necessity, Philosophers, Prophets, Conjurors, Witches, Astrologers, Stars, Gypsies, Cunning Men, Physiognomy, Giants, Human Complexions, Fictitious Beings, Elves or Fairies, Apparitions, Men of Business, Wealth, Pride and Avarice, Virtue and Sense, Courage, Honour, Education, Conversation, Travail, a Vicious Taste, a City and Country Life, Flattery, Law, Custom and Reason, Free-Thinking, Religion, Priestcraft, Publick Justice, Learning and Learned Men, Curious Arts, Love and Friendship, Ambition, Truth, Greatness, and Life. London: printed for T. Warner, 1730." 8vo. pp. 100. In the same year, he composed his Appendix to the "Plan of the English Commerce," already noticed, which was, perhaps, the conclusion of his literary labours. He was then upon the verge of his last voyage to that country upon which he had long fixed his attention, and from whence no traveller returns. (N)

(N) Cibber, in his Lives of the Poets, attributes the following work to De Foe; but it was not published until at least three years after his death. "The Life and entertaining Adventures of Mr. CLEVELAND, natural Son of Oliver Cromwell. Written by Himself. Giving a particular Account of his Unhappiness in Love, Marriage, Friendship, &c., and his great Suffer-

To this foregoing account of De Foe's writings, it may be added, that he had prepared another work for publication a little before his death; but whether owing to illness, or to whatever cause, only one sheet of it appears to have been printed. (o) It was to have been intitled "The Compleat Gentleman, containing useful observations on the general Neglect of Education of English Gentlemen, with the Reason and Remedies: The apparent Differences between a Well-Born and Well-Bred Gentlemen: And Instructions how Gentlemen may recover a Deficiency of their Latin, and be Men of Learning, though without the Pedantry of Schools." The manuscript of the work, which is partly in Short-hand, is still in existence, and in the possession of one of his lineal decendants, the Rev. Henry De Foe Baker, by whose favor the writer is enabled to give the following analysis of its contents.

Part the First. Chap. 1. Of the Gentleman born, in the

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ings in Europe and America. Intermixed with Reflections, describing the Heart of Man in all its variety of Passions and Disguises; also, some curious Particulars of Oliver's History and Amours, never before made publick. London: printed for T. Astley, at the Rose in St. Paul's Church Yard, 1734." 5 vols. 12mo. There was a second edition in three volumes, in 1741.

(o) The following letter to his printer "Mr. J. Watts, in Wild Court," relates to the above work.

S^{r}.,—I am to ask yo^{r} Pardon for keeping the Enclosed so long, Mr. Baker having told me yo^{r} Resolution of taking it in hand and working it off. But I have been exceeding ill. I have Revised it again and contracted it very much, and hope to bring it within the Bulk you desire or as near it as possible. But this and some needful alterations will oblige you to much Trouble in the first sheet, and perhaps almost as bad as setting it over again, which cannot be avoided. I will endeavour to send the Rest of the Copy so well Corrected as to give you very little Trouble. I here return the first sheet, and as much Coppy as will make near 3 sheets more, you shall have all the remainder so as not to let you stand still at all.

Sept. 10*th*, 1729. I am,

Sir,

Your Most Humble Servant,

DE FOE.

common acceptation of the word, and as the Gentry amongst us are pleased to understand it. Chap. 2. Some Examples from History, and from good Information, of the want of care taken in the Education of Princes, and Children of the Nobility in former times, as well in this Nation as in foreign Countries, and how fatal the Effects of it has been in their future conduct; with some few Examples of the contrary also. Chap. 3. Examples of the different Educations of Princes and Persons of rank from the beginning of the XVIth century, viz. from the Reign of Henry the VIIIth inclusive. With Observations down to the present time, on the Happiness of these Reigns in general, where the Princes have been educated in Principles of Honour and Virtue; and something of the contrary. Chap. 4. Of Royal Education. Chap. 5. The head of this chapter is erased. Chap. 6. Of the G—— ; of Himself, his Family, and Fortune.

Part the Second. Chap. I. Of the *Fund* for Encrease of our Nobility and Gentry in England; being the Beginning of those we call Bred Gentlemen: with some Account of Difference. Chap. 2. There is no head to this chapter. Chap. 3. Of the generall Ignorance of the English Gentry, and the true Cause of it in the Manner of their Introduction into Life. Chap. 4. Of what may be the unhappy Cause of the generall Defect in the Education of our Gentry; with a rational proposal for preventing those Consequences.

CHAPTER XXII.

Some Particulars of De Foe during the latter years of his Life.—Mr. Baker's Account of his Habits.—And Courtship of his Daughter.—He falls into Difficulties.—Unnatural Behaviour of his Son.—His affecting Letter to Mr. Baker.—His Prospects as to another World.—Time and Circumstances of his Death.—Some Errors corrected.—Registers of his Burial.—Letters of Administration upon his Effects.—View of De Foe's Character.—Mode of Dealing amongst Literary Men in his Day.—Wanton Manner of propagating Slander.—Mark Noble.—De Foe's Moral Character.—Private Habits.—Melmoth's Letter to him upon the Stage.—His Political Principles—Patience under Suffering.—His Religious Character.—His Benevolence illustrated.—General View of his Character as a Writer.—His Pretensions as a Poet.—As a Political Writer.—As a Commercial Writer.—As an Historian.—As a Moralist.—As a Writer of Fiction.—Estimate of his Secondary Novels, by Charles Lamb.—Comparison with Richardson.—And Bunyan.—Concluding Remarks.—Particulars concerning his Family and Descendants.

1731.

THE latter years of De Foe's life furnish but few materials for biography, independently of those arising from the history of his publications. The rapidity with which these followed each other, and the successive editions that were in demand during his lifetime, if his gains were at all commensurate, must have ensured him a considerable degree of wealth; such at least would be the well-earned reward of an author, possessed of only half of his genius, in the present day. But De Foe was never destined to be a rich man.

He must, however, have been in easy circumstances during the first run of his romances. We have seen, that in 1721, he fined to the parish of Stoke-Newington, to be excused serving parish offices; a tax that he paid for being a Dissenter. In the following year, he obtained from the corporation of Colchester, a lease for ninety-nine years of Kingswood-heath, at a yearly rent of 120*l.*, besides a fine of 500*l.* But whether his speculation failed, or to whatever cause it was owing, he did not retain it long; for we find the property transferred soon afterwards to Walter Bernard. At the time that Mr. Chalmers wrote, Kingswood-heath was worth 300*l.* a-year. It must have been about this time, or a little before, that he built a large and handsome house for his own residence at Stoke-Newington; and if we may believe the report of his literary opponents, he had the luxury of a coach and its accustomed appendages. But whatever may have been his opulence, as Mr. Chalmers observes, " our author did not waste his subsequent life in unprofitable idleness. No one can be idly employed who endeavours to make his fellow-subjects better citizens and wiser men." Prosperous as De Foe's circumstances now appeared to be, they could not procure him the blessing of health. He was now tormented with those dreadful maladies, the gout and the stone, occasioned in part, most probably, by his close application; and they subjected him to continual attacks of illness during the remainder of his life.

Of the habits and pursuits of De Foe at this time, we have an interesting account from Mr. Henry Baker, the celebrated natural philosopher, who married one of his daughters, and left behind him some valuable papers. Amongst them are the letters that passed between himself and his wife during their courtship. To these he has prefixed a narrative of their early acquaintance, which contains some notices of De Foe that will gratify the reader; who is indebted for them to his descendant before-mentioned.

"In the year 1724, Mr. H. Baker engaged in an undertaking which required his spending some days every week at Newington. Amongst the first who desired his acquaintance there, was Mr. De Foe, a gentleman well known by his writings, who had newly built there a very handsome house, as a retirement from London, and amused his time, either in the cultivation of a large and pleasant garden, or in the pursuit of his studies, which he found means of making very profitable. He was now at least sixty years of age, afflicted with the gout and stone, but retained all his mental faculties entire. Mr. Baker readily accepted his invitation, and was so pleased with his conversation, that he seldom came to Newington without paying a visit to Mr. De Foe. He met usually at the tea-table his three lovely daughters, who were admired for their beauty, their education, and their prudent conduct; and if sometimes Mr. De Foe's disorders made company inconvenient, Mr. Baker was entertained by them, either singly or together, and that commonly in the garden, when the weather was favourable. Mr. Baker very soon discovered the superior excellencies of Miss Sophia, the youngest daughter, of whose person and manners he speaks in strains of the highest eulogium. He knew nothing of Mr. De Foe's circumstances; only imagined, from his very genteel way of living, that he must be able to give his daughter a decent portion: he did not suppose a large one. On speaking to Mr. De Foe, he sanctioned his proposals, and said, he hoped he should be able to give her a certain sum specified; but when urged to the point some time afterwards, his answer was, that formal articles he thought unnecessary; that he could confide in the honour of Mr. Baker; that when they talked before, he did not know the true state of his own affairs; that he found he could not part with any money at present; but at his death, his daughter's portion would be more than he had promised; and he offered his own bond as a guarantee for the payment." With this, it seems, Mr. Baker was not satisfied; and their altercation upon money matters produced a coolness between them for some time, so that they seldom saw each other; but Mr. Baker constantly visited his dear Sophia. It is said, that by creating these difficulties, De Foe expected the impatience of the young people would be wearied into a marriage, without any previous agreement with him. But if so, he was disappointed; for, after a protracted negociation of almost two years, the same authority says, that he consented to engage his house at Newington as a security, and articles were executed accordingly. De Foe had no ready money to part with, but gave a bond with his daughter for 500*l.* payable after his death. It bears date, April 5, 1729,* and the marriage was celebrated upon the 30th of the same month.

It appears, that whilst De Foe was negociating with Mr. Baker, he had another estate in Essex, which, with that at Newington, he had secured, in some way, for the benefit of his family. But his property was a source of much vexation to him, chiefly through the undutiful behaviour of his son.

Strangely as it may consist with the foregoing account of De Foe's circumstances, it was not long after his daughter's marriage, before he was doomed to undergo the privation, not only of the comforts he enjoyed in his retreat at Newington, but even of his personal liberty. The immediate occasion of it cannot now be known; but he was probably thrown into prison by some merciless creditor, whom he hints at, as a "wicked and perjured enemy." That he was not long in confinement, seems probable, as we find him again at liberty, in August 1730; although, still, not without apprehensions of renewed troubles. All this while, he suffered greatly from bodily affliction, having been brought low by an attack of fever. But these were not the whole of De Foe's misfortunes. He who had borne so long the buffetings of the world, possessed a spirit that refused to sink under them, until he was touched by a hand that should have nourished and protected him. He could say in the language of the prophet, "I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me." It seems, that to prevent the shipwreck of his property, he had conveyed it to his son, with a legal obligation, as well as private understanding, that it was for the joint benefit of his wife and two unmarried daughters. But he proved an unfaithful steward, converting the property to his own use, and leaving his mother and sisters to want. This unnatural conduct pierced his unhappy father to the very soul; but how it touched him can be told only by his own pen. The following letter to Mr. Baker, for which the present writer is indebted to his great great grandson, presents a tale of sorrow, such as, perhaps, was never told before; and for the honour of human nature, it is to be hoped but rarely occurs. He who can read it with unmoistened eyes must be possessed of feelings that no man ought to envy.

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* Gent. Mag., vol. lxxxii. p. 529.

"Dear Mr. Baker,

"I have yo^{r} very kind and affecc'onate Letter of the 1st: But not come to my hand till y^{e} 10th; where it had been delay'd I kno' not. As your kind manner, and kinder Thought, from w^{ch} it flows, (for I take all you say to be as I always believed you to be, sincere and Nathaniel like, without Guile) was a particular satisfacc'on to me; so the stop of a Letter, however it happened, deprived me of that cordial too many days, considering how much I stood in need of it, to support a mind sinking under the weight of an afflicc'on too heavy for my strength, and looking on myself as abandoned of every Comfort, every Friend, and every Relative, except such only as are able to give me no assistance.

"I was sorry you should say at y^{e} beginning of your Letter, you were debarred seeing me. Depend upon my sincerity for this, I am far from debarring you. On y^{e} contrary, it would be a greater comfort to me than any I now enjoy, that I could have yo^{r} agreeable visits wth safety, and could see both you and my dearest Sophia, could it be without giving her y^{e} grief of seeing her father *in tenebris,* and under y^{e} load of insupportable sorrows. I am sorry I must open my griefs so far as to tell her, it is not y^{e} blow I rec^{d} from a wicked, perjur'd, and contemptible enemy, that has broken in upon my spirit; w^{ch} as she well knows, has carryed me on thro' greater disasters than these. But it has been the injustice, unkindness, and, I must say, inhuman dealing of my own son, w^{ch} has both ruined my family, and, in a word, has broken my heart; and as I am at this time under a weight of very heavy illness, w^{ch} I think will be a fever, I take this occasion to vent my grief in y^{e} breasts who I know will make a prudent use of it, and tell you, that nothing but this has conquered or could conquer me. *Et tu! Brute.* I depended upon him, I trusted him, I gave up my two dear unprovided children into his hands; but he has no compassion, and suffers them and their poor dying mother to beg their bread at his door, and to crave, as if it were an alms, what he is bound under hand and seal, besides the most sacred promises, to supply them with; himself, at y^{e} same time, living in a profusion of plenty. It is too much for me. Excuse my infirmity, I can say no more; my heart is too full. I only ask one thing of you as a dying request. Stand by them when I am gone, and let them not be wrong'd, while he is able to do them right. Stand by them as a brother; and if you have any thing within you owing to my memory, who have bestow'd on you the best gift I had to give, let y^{m} not be injured and trampled on by false pretences, and unnatural reflections. I hope they will want no help but that of comfort and council; but that they will indeed want, being too easie to be manag'd by words and promises.

"It adds to my grief that it is so difficult to me to see you. I am at a distance from Lond^{n} in Kent; nor have I a lodging in London, nor have I been at that place in the Old Bailey, since I wrote you I was removed from it. At present I am weak, having had some fits of a fever that have left me low. But those things much more.

"I have not seen son or daughter, wife or child, many weeks, and kno' not which way to see them. They dare not come by water, and by land here is no coach, and I kno' not what to do.

"It is not possible for me to come to Enfield, unless you could find a retired lodging for me, where I might not be known, and might have the comfort of seeing you both now and then; upon such a circumstance, I could gladly give the days to solitude, to have the comfort of half an hour now and then, with you both, for two or three weeks. But just to come and look at you, and retire immediately, tis a burden too heavy. The parting will be a price beyond the enjoyment.

"I would say, (I hope) with comfort, that 'tis yet well. I am so near my journey's end, and am hastening to the place where y^{e} weary are at rest, and where the wicked cease to trouble; be it that the passage is rough, and the day stormy, by what way soever He please to bring me to the end of it, I desire to finish life with this temper of soul in all cases: *Te Deum Laudamus.*

"I congratulate you on y^{e} occasion of yo^{r} happy advance in y^{r} employment. May all you do be prosperous, and all you meet with pleasant, and may you both escape the tortures and troubles of uneasie life. May you sail y^{e} dangerous voyage of life with *a forcing wind,* and make the port of heaven *without a storm.*

"It adds to my grief that I must never see the pledge of your mutual love, my little grandson. Give him my blessing, and may he be to you both your joy in youth, and your comfort in age, and never add a sigh to your sorrow. But, alas! that is not to be expected. Kiss my dear Sophy once more for me; and if I must see her no more, tell her this is from a father that loved her above all his comforts, to his last breath.

Yo^{r} unhappy,
D. F.

" About two miles from Greenwich, Kent,
Tuesday, Augst 12, 1730.

" P. S. I wrote you a letter some months ago, in answer to one from you, about selling y^{e} house; but you never signified to me whether you received it. I have not the policy of assurance; I suppose my wife, or Hannah, may have it.
Idem. D. F."

From this scene of sorrow, we must now hasten to an event, that dropped before it the dark curtain of time. Having received a wound that was incurable, there is too much reason to fear that the anguish arising from it sunk deep in his spirits, and hastened the crisis that, in a few months, brought his troubles to a final close. As the shadow of life declined, we may easily believe that his prospect of a better world grew stronger and brighter. It was long since that he had resolved the business of life into these two particulars: " Reflections upon things past; serious application to things future."* His latter writings all lead to the conclusion, that he considered himself upon the verge of another world, and was setting his house in order, that he might not be taken by surprise. With a resolute purpose to devote his energies, so long as they continued, to the improvement of mankind, we observe a growing indifference to passing scenes, and an elevation of mind that raised his contemplations to spiritual objects. Those religious impressions which he had imbibed early, and carried with him through life, were sharpened by the asperities of his situation. They became his solace under the frowns of the world, and the staff of his old age. Disciplined in the school of affliction, he had been taught submission to the hand that inflicted it; and aware of the difficulties that beset a conscientious adherence to the path of duty, he made them a motive for vigilance, and frequent self-examination. In one of his latest publications, he says, "I know not whether of the two is most difficult, in the course of a Christian's life; to *live well*, or to *die well*."* In a former work, he has the following reflections suggested by the prospect of a future state. "I believe nothing would contribute more to make us good Christians, than to be able to look upon all things, causes, and persons here, with the same eyes as we do when we are looking into eternity. Death sets all in a clear light; and when a man is, as it were, in the very boat, pushing off from the shore of the world, his last views of it being abstracted from interests, hopes, or wishes, and influenced by the near view of the future state, must be clear, unbiassed, and impartial."†

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* Serious Reflections, p. 120.

With a mind elevated above the grovelling pursuits of the mere worldling, and steadily fixed upon the scenes that were opening to him as he approached the boundaries of time, De Foe could not be unprepared for the change that was to separate him from his dearest connexions. The time of his death has been variously stated; (P) but it took place upon

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* Compleat Tradesman, ii. 222.

† Review, ii. 201.

(P) The author of his Life, in the "Biographia Britannica," places his death upon the 26th of April; as does the "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1731, where it is thus recorded: "April 26, Mr. Daniel De Foe, sen., eminent for his many writings." The "Historical Register," for 1731, states it more correctly, as follows: "April 24. Dy'd Mr. Daniel De Foe, well known for his various writings." Boyer, in his "Political State," for April, has the following notice of his death: "About the end of this month, died Mr. Daniel De Foe, sen., a person well known for his numerous and various the 24th of April, 1731, when he was about seventy years of age, having been born in the year 1661. Cibber and others state that he died at his house at Islington; but this is incorrect. The parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, in which he drew his first breath, was also destined to receive his last. This we learn from the parish register, which has been searched for the purpose, and further informs us, that he went off in a lethargy. (Q) He was buried from thence, upon the 26th of April, in Tindall's Burying-ground, now most known by the name of Bunhill Fields. The entry in the register, written probably by some ignorant person, who made a strange blunder of his name, is as follows: "1731. April 26. Mr. Dubow. Cripplegate." Whether De Foe passed his latter days in the midst of his family, or in an obscure lodging by himself, can now be only matter of conjecture: it is to be hoped he was not without the solace of those who were best fitted to administer to him the little remnant of earthly enjoyment. After his death, his widow, Susannah, continued to reside at Stoke Newington; and as his daughters were afterwards in independent circumstances, it may be presumed that they succeeded in recovering their property. Mr. Baker, who appears to have been a kind-hearted man, probably stood their friend upon the occasion. Mrs. De Foe did not long survive her husband, dying at the latter end of the following year. She was also removed to Bunhill Fields for interment, as appears by the following entry: "1732. Decr. 19. Mrs. Defow. Stoke Newington." The same register records the burial of another Mrs. De Foe,

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writings; by some of which it appears that he had a good natural genius, and he was generally looked on as a man who thoroughly understood the theory of trade, and the true interest of this nation; but he never had the good fortune to be much taken notice of by any minister of state, so that he got but little by his knowledge."

(Q) The following is a copy of the register: "1731. Daniel Defoe, gentleman. To Tindall's. (Lethargy.) April 26."

about four years afterwards. She was brought from Hackney, and was most probably a daughter-in-law. The entry stands thus: "1737. Jan$^{y.}$ 19. Mrs. Deffoe. St. John's, Hackney." (R)

It is lamentable to reflect, that a man of De Foe's genius and talents should have died insolvent; yet the events that befel him during the last year or two of his life, could have produced no other result. Although, during a long and active life, his pen had known but little intermission, and the profits from his publications latterly could not have been inconsiderable, yet the demands of a numerous family, upon whose education he had not been sparing of expense, must have quickly absorbed them. In addition to this, he was never free from the burthen of unsatisfied creditors, which acted as a mill-stone about his neck, and plunged him at last in irrecoverable poverty. He who had nothing to leave, had no occasion for a will. Accordingly, there is none to be found in Doctor's Commons; but the books there inform us, that, in September, 1733, letters of administration, on his goods and chattels, were granted to Mary Brooks, widow, a creditrix, after summoning in official form the next of kin to appear.*

It now only remains to take a brief survey of De Foe's character, which the reader will have gathered, in a great measure, from the foregoing narrative; but a few reflections may be allowed upon his conduct as a man, and his merits as an author.

It has been justly remarked by a sensible writer, that "No history can furnish us with an example of a man whose life and actions have been universally applauded: malice, or a different interest, being always ready to wound the noblest

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(R) For these entries, the writer is indebted to Mr. John Rippon, of Great Surry-street, whose father, Dr. Rippon, made copies of all the registers and monumental inscriptions many years since, with a view to publication.

* Chalmers, p. 64.

integrity."* Of the truth of this sentiment, De Foe was a memorable instance. Living at a period when the political horizon was overspread by faction, invading the peace of families, and diffusing a canker through the social system, a less prominent character would scarcely have escaped without scars upon his reputation. An eminent living writer, referring to the former part of it, and what he says is equally true of the latter, observes, "A critic of that time never deemed that he had so effectually refuted the reasoning of his adversary, as when he had said something disrespectful of his talents, person, or moral character. Thus, literary contest was embittered by personal hatred, and truth was so far from being the object of the combatants, that even victory was tasteless unless obtained by the disgrace and degradation of the antagonist."† But this illegitimate mode of warfare was not confined to literature: it was carried into the world of politics, where it assumed the highest tone of acrimony. In those sour days, both the understandings and the morals of men were estimated according to the party they belonged to, and received a colouring in proportion to their own importance, or to the skill of their adversaries. When the human character has been subjected to so precarious a test, it is no wonder that virtue and vice have changed their positions in history, and that they have been so shifted in their application, as to be accommodated to the prejudices of those who had a turn to serve by their dishonesty. Although this perversion of ideas may be set straight by the cool judgment of posterity, yet when the poison is dilated through endless ramifications, the antidote has fearful odds to contend with. But, should time moderate the symptoms, it is not before the original purpose was answered. When men are stunned by clamour, and borne down by the voice of authority, their mouths are stopped from inquiry, and they easily take that for granted, which, upon sober investigation, would turn out to be merely the result of prejudice. This circumstance, so unfavourable to the cause of truth, has given a real disadvantage to those who have contended against popular opinions; the merits of the question being shifted to foreign matters, or absorbed in the common share of scandal and abuse. At the period of which we are speaking, even men of the greatest names were not above stooping to these low and disingenuous arts; whilst the calumnies they propagated derived an authority from their sanction.

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* Preface to Ludlow's Memoirs.

† Scott's Life of Dryden.

In this ocean of slander, no one was dipped more deeply than De Foe. To sink his reputation as a patriot, he was charged with selfishness and venality; and to ruin him in the estimation of the virtuous, his moral character was assailed by the most impudent falsehoods. If we were to believe his enemies, there was scarcely a crime that gave deformity to human nature, with which he was not chargeable. The extent to which this mode of warfare was carried, can be known only to those who are conversant with the newswriters and pamphleteers of the day. That the libels heaped upon him by his contemporaries, should have been wantonly adopted by succeeding writers, affords the less surprise, when we consider the voracious appetite that is indulged for slander, and the slender authority upon which reports are taken up and propagated. Experience shows that history may be written without investigation, and pass current in the world, in spite of the grossest inaccuracy. Of this we have a glaring instance, in the volumes of the late Mark Noble, whose account of De Foe is one tissue of misrepresentation and falsehood. His flippancy and his bigotry might have been borne with, if these offensive adjuncts had been accompanied by a tolerable share of accuracy; but the want of correctness that disfigures a large proportion of his pages, renders them a ludicrous contrast, when placed in juxtaposition with the instructive volumes of the candid and judicious Granger.

But amidst the storms of reproach that De Foe was called upon to encounter, he maintained a calm serenity of mind, that could only be inspired by conscious rectitude. He was not insensible to the value of character, nor backward to vindicate himself when attacked; but, standing upon the solid ground of truth and honesty, he was able, with a virtuous indignation, to defy and confute, if not to silence, his calumniators. The frequency with which he had to meet these attacks, constrained him sometimes to break through the dignified silence which he usually prescribed to himself, and to trespass upon that diffidence which he thought best befitting persons encompassed with infirmities. He avows, that he is not more exempt from human frailties than other men, and is willing to look back upon the best actions of his life with the temper of a penitent. Yet, when he goes so far to stop the mouth of censure, he rejects with indignation the charge of offences that he was conscious had no foundation, but in malice. He distinctly asserts that he was not a man of vice, and challenges all the world to prove the contrary; yet he was so far from boasting of his exemption from common vices, that he ascribes it solely to the restraining power of divine grace. He thought that little satisfaction was to be derived from negative duties, unless accompanied by active exertions in Christian duty. For the correctness of De Foe's private conduct, we need seek no further evidence than his own manly avowal in the face of his enemies. No man can write in stronger language against the vices of the times; yet none would have had the hardihood to do so, if he could be confronted with the vices he condemns. He therefore sets malice at defiance, and reposes in the consciousness of acting well. "He that cannot live above the scorn of scoundrels," says he, "is not fit to live: dogs will bark;

and so they shall, without lessening one moment of my tranquillity."[*] Anticipating the tongue of slander, he says,

> "Malice shall write thy character in vain,
> Thou know'st more faults than thy describers can;
> But let the man that pens thy history
> Correct his own, and first repent like thee."[†]

Although a frequenter of the coffee-houses, then the common resort of literary men, it did not intrench upon his habits of temperance. Drunkards he denounces, as "Philosophers in wickedness, who can extract pleasure to themselves in losing their understandings, and making themselves sick at heart for their diversion."[‡] That he was no swearer, we may justly argue from his constant ridicule of that "Frenzy of the tongue, in which there is neither pleasure nor profit."[§] He was a great admirer of the fair sex, in the station assigned them by providence and the laws of society, and therefore had a high opinion of marriage, when suitably contracted, and founded upon mutual affection; but he despised the alienation of "God's best gift to man," for vicious purposes, as a thing not worth the repentance. Rising above the narrow prejudices of his age, he was desirous of seeing greater attention bestowed upon the education of females, that they might become the companions of our leisure, as well as the directors of our households. No man had a greater relish for the pleasures of society, when restrained within the rules of decorum; but he had a great contempt for that "low-prized wit," which was shot off at the expense of decency and morals. With his companionable habits, united to a lively imagination, a good understanding, and a general knowledge, it is easy to conceive that he must have communicated as much pleasure as he derived from society; and we may be assured, that the man who attended the levees of Godolphin and Harley, and could ingratiate himself with King William and Queen Anne, must have possessed gentlemanly manners. To the natural goodness of his temper, we have the testimony of his contemporary, Dunton, who knew him personally; and his writings sufficiently attest its peaceableness. Although frequently engaged in controversy, and treated with the utmost bitterness by his opponents, he rarely departs from gentleness of language, and studiously avoids the mixing up of personal animosities in general arguments; yet, when aroused by repeated injuries, he could exhibit the manliness and vigour of an upright and independent mind. Of his personal courage, no one can doubt who looks into his "Reviews." For his freedoms, in attacking the vices of the age, he was often threatened with violence, but always treated such threats with ridicule. Against the absurd practice of duelling, in which the injured party puts himself upon a level with the party who commits the injury, he declares himself in forcible terms: yet it appears that he was once concerned in "an affair of honour," for which he expresses his penitence. (s)

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[*] Review, vi. 342. [†] More Reformation. [‡] Poor Man's Plea.

[§] Essay upon Projects, p. 240.

With regard to his petty habits, but little can now be told. His religious scruples led him to discourage the theatre, the ball-room, and the card-table, from an apprehension that they are injurious to morals, of which he had witnessed some sad examples. In this opinion he concurred with many eminent persons, as well of the laity as of the clergy, who signified their approbation of his writings upon those subjects. (T) There was nothing of effeminacy in De Foe's consti-

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(s) "I am not only an enemy to duelling, as it is a sin against God, and therefore never speak of it but to declare *my own penitence upon that subject;* yet I think the staking of life, upon the occasion of an affront, is the most unequal thing in the world."—*Review,* vii. 451.

(T) Amongst his correspondents, was William Melmoth, Esq., a worthy barrister, and author of "The Great Importance of a Religious Life." Being in pursuit of the same object as De Foe, he sought the assistance of his literary friends, and, says the writer of his life, "wrote a letter to the tution. He was a friend to manly sports and athletic exercises, as not only conducive to health, but calculated to support the reputation of the British character. From the manner in which he speaks of snuff-takers, it may be inferred that he was not one himself. To smoking, he seems to have had an equal aversion, as an inlet to intemperance. "Every body that smokes," says he, "secretly intimates that it is no virtue at least, by the excuses he makes for it. Truly, we are apt to believe, most that use it have some weakness; the young in their judgments, the old in their natures; but those more particularly who take it for diversion. Some use it this hot weather, because, as they say, it cools them. They can't endure the sight of a chimney in a coffee-house, yet they will have both fire and smoke at their mouths, and this to cool them! If they think so, let them enjoy the notion; though we take the reason to be, that the pipe disposes them to be quiet. Now, we believe, were they to sit as still without a pipe, they would cool as soon. We conceive it is conducive to intemperate drinking, yet not inconsistent with sobriety;

famous author of a miscellaneous and instructive *Review*, part of which is as follows:

"Sir. The regard you have shewn to the request I have lately made you, to pursue your design of exposing the stage, obliges me to repeat my thanks to you, which I assure you I do with great sincerity, being always pleased, I must own, whenever I see the play-houses attacked; for I am persuaded they greatly contribute to corrupt the present age. I have taken the freedom to send you Mr. Bedford's new book, by which you will see that my charge is not ill-grounded, when I told you how little respect had been shown to her majesty's order. I am the more induced to trouble you with this book, as thinking it may be of some use to you in the design in which you are engaged. I have likewise sent you the opinion of Archbishop Tillotson touching plays, which has lately been printed and dispersed in great numbers, and which, if it were still made more public, as it might be, if printed in one of your *Reviews*, would prove, I hope, of some use. His opinion, perhaps, may have some weight with those who are proof against other arguments; at least one would think it should make them consider a little what they are doing, when they give countenance to a set of men who seem to bid defiance to all that is serious, &c. &c." *Memoirs of a late eminent Advocate*, pp. 54, 55.

but, sure, the leaning towards a sin, is enough to make a man of sense avoid it, unless he can restrain himself from intemperance."* De Foe was but an indifferent friend to the doctor, thinking that unassisted nature, with temperance, would, in most cases, effect a cure; he therefore advises people to let their friends die a natural death. He expresses his thankfulness, that he had so little occasion to resort to medicine; from whence it might be inferred that he enjoyed a tolerable share of health: but we have seen, that it was often interrupted by illness. He appears to have possessed a robust and vigorous constitution, with a good flow of spirits; and they were not impaired by intemperance.

The political opinions of De Foe are to be sought for in his own writings, rather than in those of his enemies; and they will be perceived to be as sound as they are useful, as liberal as they are just. Inspired by a love of liberty, he embarked early in the factions of the times, and enlisting himself in the school of patriots, headed by Russell and Sidney, he adhered through life to those principles of government, which they contended for at so costly a price. Until the change in the ministry, towards the end of the reign of Queen Anne, he was commonly identified with the Whigs, because he advocated their political doctrines; but it does not appear that he ever derived from them any solid marks of favour. He seems to have possessed too much of a public spirit for the climate of party. He therefore never entered into the private views of the Whigs, nor lent himself to their schemes for personal aggrandizement. Before he lost their good word, he had said, "I have never loved parties, but with my utmost zeal have sincerely espoused the great original interest of this nation, and of all nations; I mean truth and liberty: and whoever are of that party, I desire to be with them."† His obligations to Harley, naturally linked him to that minister, and so far fettered him, as to impose silence upon

* Little Review, p. 70.

† Hist. of the Union, p. 123.

some measures that he could not approve. But he owed nothing to the Whigs, and was so far free to follow his patron, whose opinions upon all essential points corresponded with his own. De Foe, however, was not the man to sacrifice his independence to any minister. Whoever employed him, he made a reserve of his liberty to write upon any subject his judgment dictated; and we have seen, that he delivered his sentiments freely upon various measures that emanated from the government of his patron. But this, the Whigs either had not the sense to see, or the honesty to acknowledge. In their vituperations of Harley, they were equally unsparing of De Foe; making him responsible for opinions that he never maintained, and for books that he did not write. With little regard to truth, and less charity, they accused him of political delinquencies which they could never establish; whilst, in giving vent to their malice, they lost sight of their own factiousness. He who serves his country faithfully, must expect reproach; which he will be sure to get from the violent and the venal of all parties. Thus it was with De Foe. The Whigs hated him for his supposed alliance with the Tories: the latter, for his real attachment to the principles of the Whigs. In fact, no man was further removed from Toryism than De Foe, nor wrote more strenuously against it; yet it was his fate to be misunderstood by the party he served, and that with more honesty than those who were loudest in their clamours against him. If upon some occasions he condemned the conduct of the Whigs, as proceeding from a spirit of faction; and differed from them upon others that involved questions of national or commercial policy, posterity will give him praise for the greater patriotism and the sounder judgment: he never swerved, like them, from the principles of liberty, nor lost sight of those distinguishing features that first gave them reputation as a party. Amidst the versatility of the times, few men were less open to the charge of political apostacy than De Foe; yet no man suffered more unmerited obloquy upon that account. His attachment to Harley, founded upon a sentiment of honour, and strengthened by the persecution of the Whigs, was attended by no compromise of principle, although it led him, perhaps, into some compliances with the times, which his better judgment disapproved; but Harley's friendship was a crime which they could never forgive. The fall of that minister, therefore, was the signal of his own ruin; for the Whigs, ascending to power, made him responsible for offences that were his greatest abhorrence. Of his overtures to them for a reconciliation; of their unforgiving disposition; and of the manner in which he reconciled himself to his lot, he gives the following pathetic narrative:—

"I have lived to see men of the best light mistaken, as well in party as in principles, as well in politics as in religion; and find not only an occasion, but even a necessity to change hands or sides in both. I have seen them sometimes run into contrary extremes, beyond their first intention, and even without design; driven into lengths they never intended, by the fiery resentment of those whom they seemed to have left, and whom they differed from. I have lived to see those men acknowledge, even publicly, they were mistaken, and express their regret for being misled very sincerely; but I cannot say, I have lived to see the people they have desired to return to, forgive or receive them. Perhaps, the age I have lived in, has not been a proper season for charity. I hope futurity will be furnished with better christians; or perhaps 'tis appointed so to illustrate the divine mercy, and let mankind see, that they are the only creatures that never forgive. I have seen a man in the case I speak of, offer the most sincere acknowledgments of his having been mistaken, and this not in matters essential either to morals or christianity, but only in matters of party, and with the most moving expressions, desire his old friends to forgive what has passed; and have seen their return by mocking him with what they called a baseness of spirit, and a mean submission. I have seen him expostulate with them why they should not act upon the same terms with a penitent, as God himself not only prescribed, but yields to; and have seen them in return tell him, God might forgive him if he pleased, but they would never; and then expose these offers to the first comer, in banter and ridicule. But take me right too; I have seen at the same time, that to wiser men it has been always thought to be an exposing themselves, and an honour to the person. I speak this *too feelingly*, and therefore say no more. There is a way, by patience, to conquer even the universal contempt of mankind; and it is in my experience the only method. There is a secret peace in it; and in time, the rage of men will abate. A constant steady adhering to virtue and honesty, and shewing the world, that whatever mistakes he might be led into, supposing them to be mistakes, that yet the main intention and design of his life was sincere and upright; he that governs the actions of men by an unbiassed hand, will never suffer such a man to sink under the weight of universal prejudice and clamour. I, Robinson Crusoe, grown old in affliction, borne down by calumny and reproach, but supported from within, boldly prescribe this remedy against universal clamours and contempt of mankind. Patience, a steady life of virtue and sobriety, and a comforting dependence on the justice of Providence, will, first or last, restore the patient to the opinion of his friends; and, in the mean time, will support him comfortably in despising those who want manners and charity, and leave them to be cursed from heaven with their own passions and rage."* In another work, he says, "It has been my honour to be heard and valued by the best king that ever reigned over you; and I can, with a boasting not contrary to modesty, write it on my grave, as the true character of my life,—

"By wise men courted, and by fools despised."†

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* Serious Reflections, pp. 258, 259. † Review, vi. 341.

De Foe's religious opinions were conformable to the current standard of orthodoxy among Protestants. He appears to have been well acquainted with the theological controversies of his day, and evinces considerable skill as a disputant; but, when speaking of his attainments, he always expressed himself with modesty. He tells us, "He was satisfied with a competent knowledge of so much of religion as appertained to duty, without pretending to an extraordinary nicety in polemics."* Living at a period when disputes were conducted with much intemperance, he protests earnestly against such a mode of warfare. "Heat and passion," says he, "prove nothing, but drive men into unwarrantable and ridiculous extremes. Could our religious differences be pursued with a Christian temper, argued calmly, managed with charity, and no more zeal than is according to knowledge, there would be no occasion for such unnatural strife of parties and interruptions of the nation's peace, as we find amongst us."† It is not to be expected that a man of De Foe's temperament would be without his prejudices; indeed, who amongst the sons of men can be said to be free from them? If his zeal occasionally betrayed him into intemperate expressions, and led him to draw conclusions unfavourable to the character of those who differed from him, they are blemishes which occur but seldom in his writings. In the ecclesiastical disputes of the times, he took part with the Dissenters. This was no small disadvantage to him in a financial view, as it incapacitated him for those employments in the state, to which his talents and his connexions might lead him to aspire. But he gloried in the profession of Non-conformity, and was one of the ablest advocates of which the Dissenters could boast. His treatment by them was not of the most generous kind; for, if they had but little to give in the shape of honour or promotion, yet they were a wealthy body; and as he sufferred in their cause, he had a right to look to them for some assistance in his troubles, and for more comfort and encouragement than he appears to have received. But their concerns were always badly managed, owing to the want of a federative union, which would have kept their party unmixed, and have given them greater consideration with the state. Upon this subject, De Foe expostulates with the Dissenters, and has many judicious hints for the better regulation of their interest. Oldmixon, who delights in misrepresentation, repeatedly calls him an Independent and a Republican; but he was as far from the one as from the other: in his religion he was a Presbyterian, and in his politics, a friend to the British Constitution, as settled at the Revolution. Of his personal piety, no one can doubt who has perused his writings. The cast of it was similar to that of the Puritans, but free from moroseness, and chastened by a free conversation with men and things. That he was man of prayer, and made a conscience of religious duties, are no less evident; and there can be no doubt, that he carried into his own family those admirable lessons which he laid down for the instruction of others. From the tenour of his writings, it may be easily seen, that religion was uppermost in his mind, that he reaped its consolations, and lived under an habitual sense of its practical importance. The earnestness with which he enforces it upon his readers, leaves no doubt of his sincerity; whilst his languages intimates, that it had taken full possession of his heart. Of his benevolence in private life, the following instance, communicated by a late respected friend, is one doubtless out of many others, which, if known, would illustrate and exalt his character. Mr. Isaac James, in a letter to the author, says, "I have a manuscript account of one Thomas Webb, of Devizes, who afterwards removed to London. After lamenting the death of his wife, in 1724, he says, 'And poor distressed I left alone, and no one to go and speak to, save only Mr. Deffoe, who hath acted a noble and generous part towards me and my poor children. The Lord reward him and his with the blessings of upper and nether spring, with the blessings of his basket and store, &c."

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* Review, i. Supp. ii. p. 5. † Ibid. Supp. iii. p. 14.

We must now consider De Foe's pretensions as a writer; and the bare catalogue of his works will be sufficient to show, that, like the elder Scipio, "he was never more employed than when at leisure, nor less solitary than when alone." That he possessed talents of no ordinary cast, is a sentiment now so fully established, as to triumph over every contemporary effort to destroy his fame. "Though his abilities, in certain respects, were generally acknowledged, full justice was far from being done to his reputation, either during his life, or for a considerable time after his decease. By some persons he has been spoken of with contempt, and others have regarded him as a ready miscellaneous writer; but the world is at last become sensible of his great and various talents."* De Foe affords one out of many examples, that literary merit, however oppressed for a time by the influence of party, is sure, at length, to find its proper place in the estimation of mankind. He has now outlived his century, when, as Mr. Chalmers observes, "he must be acknowledged as one of the ablest, as he was one of the most captivating, writers, of which this island can boast."†

For the qualities that constitute the basis of his fame, De Foe was more indebted to nature, than to any acquired endowments. Being shut out from the universities by barbarous statutes, his education was defective, and his learning rather various than profound. He appears, however, to have had a respectable acquaintance with the ancient and modern languages, was well read in history, and had improved himself by an extensive acquaintance with the world. Few men were better versed in the controversies of his time, whether political or ecclesiastical; or possessed more adroitness in the management of an argument. To extraordinary energy of mind, he united the most perfect self-possession; being as provoking by his coolness, as his pertinacity was galling. He possessed a large share of that dry, caustic wit, which gave a peculiar force to his language, and told more significantly than whole pages of sentiment. Perfect master of his own resources, he adapts himself to the humour of his opponents. When they argue fairly, he reasons with acuteness, vigour, and judgment; but when they lose their temper, he laughs at their weakness, and answers their railings by sarcasm. Unfettered by the opinions of other writers, and unawed by the authority of custom and precedent, he never fails to avow his convictions; justly considering that true wisdom consists in the right adaptation of means to existing circumstances, and that novelty should be no bar to improvement. In canvassing the most important subjects of human inquiry, he had to contend with strong prejudices, fortified by imposing sanctions, and defended with bitterness. To encounter them required skill, knowledge, and perseverance; and these De Foe possessed in an eminent degree. It will be found, upon a candid examination, that his sentiments upon most subjects are distinguished by good sense, and a profound acquaintance with human nature; and that his writings, generally, have for their object the diffusion of knowledge and happiness, and the advancement of the best interests of mankind.

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* Biog. Brit.

† Life of De Foe, p. 65.

De Foe paid but little attention to the graces of composition. He wrote too fast to study correctness, and seems to have read more for the purpose of storing his mind with ideas, than to express them tastefully. His style is often negligent, and sometimes coarse and verbose. Yet there are many fine passages in his writings, distinguished alike for vigour of thought, smoothness of language, and even elegance of expression; but his usual characteristics are plainness and simplicity. He writes with ease, and generally expresses himself with force and perspicuity; and whilst he pleases by his familiarity, he is often so impressive as to awaken the deepest attention, and to produce impressions that are never effaced. Many of his works appear to have been composed upon the spur of the moment, and the materials gathered from the inexhaustible stores of a retentive memory. Having read and thought much upon almost every subject, he was never at a loss for ideas; and so accurate was his recollection, that he often quotes at a distance from his books, with all the freshness of a recent impression. But De Foe was a perfectly original writer. He gathered his knowledge from men as well as from books; and the use that he made of it, discovers equal penetration and judgment. He was not only a keen observer of passing events, but dives into the recesses of the human heart. Whilst the surface of nature furnished him with pictures for delineation, its study enabled him to develope the secret springs that set it in motion. With a lively imagination, and powers of invention that have been rarely equalled, he brings up new worlds of ideas to the mind, that insensibly rivet the attention, and engage the best affections of the heart. Such was the acuteness of his perceptions, that he readily seizes upon every circumstance that constitutes an *item* in the great drama of life, and renders it available by his genius, either for amusement or instruction. Having studied nature in her own school, he acquired a knowledge of her capabilities; whilst he drew upon the resources of his own mind for those lessons of prudence which were suggested by her wants, or dictated by her teachings. In estimating the claims of De Foe to literary merit, it would be unjust to measure him by the standard of a more advanced period. Addison and Swift, to whom he was inferior in the graces of style, and even Johnson himself, with all his vigour and discernment, would be unable to bear such a test. "To judge rightly of an author," observes the last great writer, "we must transport ourselves to his time, and examine what were the wants of his contemporaries, and what were his means of supplying them. That which is easy at one time, was difficult at another."[*] If De Foe was inferior to some of his contemporaries, it is sufficient that he did better than many with superior advantages; and this is his legitimate praise.

In the number and variety of his works, De Foe stands unrivalled by any writer in the English language; his prototype, William Prynne, perhaps, only excepted. Such was the versatility of his talents, that he wrote upon almost every subject within the range of human speculation. Whether it were politics or morals, trade or religion, history or fiction, he seems to be equally at home, and to wield his pen with a power and facility, that point him out as no ordinary man. Even the worst of his pieces, in spite of their uninviting style or forbidding subject, display marks of talent and genius that distinguish him from the herd of common-place writers. The number of his works, when we consider his other numerous engagements, evinces extraordinary rapidity of composition. As an illustration of his readiness, we are told, that he wrote two twelve-penny pamphlets in one day; and those productions had not then attained the ample margin and loose printing of modern times.[†] That he sometimes wrote for present support, may be as true of him as of Steele and others, and entails no discredit in either case; but it appears, that most of his writings were directed to some topic of public interest, in which he evinced greater zeal for the national welfare than for his own private advantage. The charge of his being a mercenary writer, therefore, is as unfounded as it was malicious; and being circulated for party purposes, can no longer deceive. He had a great dislike to personal altercations, and thought the public ill-used when concerned in such debates. Although few men gave stronger evidence of moderation, yet even this was turned to his disadvantage; for such was the violence of the times, that no man was safe in his reputation, who had not the prevailing appetite for extremes.

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[*] Johnson's Life of Dryden.

[†] Biog. Brit.

Perhaps few writers obtained distinction in so many walks of literature, and still fewer who deserved it so well. In one department only can he be said to have failed. It will now be scarcely believed that De Foe took his station with the poets of his day; yet there were many who read and admired his verses. This might be partly owing to the excitement of the times, and the temporary nature of his subjects. The readers of poesy, however, will find little to gratify them in De Foe, beyond propriety of sentiment, keenness of satire, and benevolence of design; and these, probably, compensated with the vulgar for a want of harmony. "Considered as a poet," says Cibber, "Daniel De Foe is not so eminent as in a political light. He has taken no pains in versification; his ideas are masculine, his expressions coarse, and his numbers generally rough. He seems rather to have studied to speak truth, by probing wounds to the bottom, than, by embellishing his versification, to give a more elegant keenness. This, however, seems to have proceeded more from carelessness in that particular, than want of ability. Poetry was far from being the talent of De Foe. He wrote with more perspicuity and strength in prose; and he seems to have understood as well as any man the civil constitution of the kingdom, which indeed was his chief study."* With the exception of the "True-Born Englishman," in which are some tasteful and even elegant lines, his poetry would scarcely rescue his name from oblivion. The peculiar circumstances under which this poem was written, its political allusions, and its caustic satire, rendered it a favourite with the public long after the occasion that produced it, and raised a durable memorial to the author. From his perseverance in composing verses, it may be inferred that he was enamoured with the occupation, and thought better of them than has fallen to the judgment of posterity. That he had a relish for poetry, although his ear was not formed for music, may be conjectured from his criticisms upon the poets of his time, of whom he had but a mean opinion; and his judgment was probably correct. From Dryden to Pope, there was a dearth of English poets. De Foe accounts for it by " the drums and trumpets of war, together with the more terrible clamours of the street mobs, and all the *et ceteras* of parties; and I am told," says he, " they can never make any music since."*

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* Cibber's Lives of the Poets, vol. iv.

As a political writer, De Foe takes a much higher rank. Possessed of an acute intellect, great keenness of wit, exemplary perseverance, and a coolness not to be provoked, nature had qualified him in a high degree for a disputant.

To an accurate acquaintance with the history of mankind generally, and of the British constitution in particular, he united sound opinions upon government; and the rational exercise of his powers, enabled him to detect the sophisms invented by cunning or mistaken men, to enslave the world and encircle it with ignorance. In discussing a subject of such high importance, he brings learning and eloquence, reasons profoundly, and batters down the props of his opponents with seriousness or ridicule, as best suited the occasion. To strength and perspicuity of argument, and skill in its arrangement, he unites candour and fairness, and lets his adversary know that he is not to be driven from his point by sophistry on the one hand, nor by railing on the other. Relying solely upon argument for a rational conviction, he strips it of its disguises, and recommends liberty to the world as a sacred deposit, worthy of a divine original, and rising superior to the pretences to power. "He that won't fight for it is a fool; he that denies it to others must be a knave." The effects of tyranny, as they had passed under his own review, had given him a just abhorrence of a lawless government; he therefore rejoiced in the revolution-settlement, and was a passionate admirer of its hero. De Foe's labours in the cause of liberty have never been sufficiently appreciated. Amongst the political writers who then abounded, no one contributed more largely, nor more effectually, to the overthrow of those absurd tenets which were cherished under the Stuarts, and pertinaciously adhered to by the statesmen and priests of his day. It is to his credit, that he employed his great talents in forcing the strong holds of despotism and priestcraft, and in assisting to relieve his countrymen from their oppressive influence. Although now little known as a political writer, many of his tracts are still worthy of attention, as abounding in useful information, and replete with solid arguments in defence of civil and religious liberty. It has been justly observed, "The nature of the topics handled in them, has condemned the greater part of them to neglect and oblivion; but he that would write, or even study, with accuracy, the history of that period of fermentation, alarm, and suspicion, in the public mind of England, cannot hope for success in his researches, unless he has patience to go over the fugitive pieces of Daniel De Foe. In many of them he will find more amusement than their subjects might lead him to expect—in all of them he will at least find traces of a genuine and masculine English intellect, and a power of language which he will seek for in vain among the far greater mass of miscellaneous politics, either of that or of any other period of our history."*

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* System of Magick, p. 342.

De Foe treated largely upon trade, both in his *Reviews*, and in some separate publications; and the manner in which he handled it, shews deep and uncommon penetration, knowledge as various as extensive, and a judgment at once discerning and profound. Intimately acquainted with the power and resources of his own country, he was desirous of seeing them rendered still more available, by beating out new paths to enterprise and wealth. No man understood better the principles of commerce, its relative bearings, and its practical details; no man argued upon the subject more wisely, or possessed greater skill in detecting the errors and combating the prejudices with which it was surrounded. It is to the credit of De Foe, that he argued the principles of free trade, and contended against monopolies, at a time when the current of opinion was set strong the other way. His acquaintance with foreign countries, their produce, their manners, and their government, gave him great advantage in discussing the subject, and shows no less the extent of his reading, than his good sense in its application. Mr. Chalmers has treated this part of De Foe's character with great knowledge and judgment. "As a commercial writer," says he, "De Foe is fairly entitled to stand in the foremost rank among his contemporaries, whatever may be their performances or their fame. Little would be his praise, to say of him, that he wrote on commercial legislation like Addison, who, when he touches on trade, sinks into imbecility, without knowledge of fact, or power of argument. The distinguishing characteristics of De Foe, as a commercial disquisitor, are originality and depth. He has many sentiments with regard to traffic, which are scattered through his *Reviews*, and which I never read in any other book. His *Giving Alms no Charity* is a capital performance, with the exception of one or two thoughts about the abridgment of labour by machinery, which are either half formed, or half expressed. Were we to compare De Foe with Davenant, it would be found that Davenant has more detail from official documents; that De Foe has more fact from wider inquiry. Davenant is more apt to consider laws in their particular application; De Foe more frequently investigates commercial legislation in its general effects.

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* Pref. to Cadell's ed. of Rob. Crusoe, xviii.

From the publications of Davenant, it is sufficiently clear, that he was not very regardful of means, or attentive to consequences; De Foe is more correct in his motives, and more salutary in his ends. But, as a commercial prophet, De Foe must yield the palm to Child; who, foreseeing from experience that men's conduct must be finally directed by their principles, foretold the colonial revolt. De Foe, allowing his prejudices to obscure his sagacity, reprobated that suggestion, because he deemed interest a more strenuous prompter than enthusiasm. Were we, however, to form an opinion, not from special passages, but from whole performances, we must incline to De Foe, when compared with the ablest contemporary: we must allow him preference, on recollection, that when he writes on commerce, he seldom fails to insinuate some axiom of morals, or to inculcate some precept of religion."* Notwithstanding later treatises upon the subject of commerce, De Foe's speculations may still be perused with advantage.

Of his talent for executing the lighter narrative, De Foe exhibits favourable specimens in the *History of the Plague*, and the *Memoirs of a Cavalier*. But his qualifications for a grave historian, were fully exemplified in his *History of the Union*; which displays a keen, penetrating, and energetic mind, turned to investigation, and capable of discriminating the niceties of a great political question. It is minute, even to excess; but this, so far from being a fault, is a guarantee for its fidelity. The reader will find many important remarks interspersed through the work, as well as much historical information, not only as connected with that great transaction, but as relating to other parts of the affairs of Scotland. It has been justly remarked, that "His history of the intrigues which preceded the completion of this long-desired conjunction of the two crowns, must always be read with the most lively interest."* In estimating De Foe's talents as an historian, Mr. Chalmers observes, "It will be found that our author had few equals in the English language, when he wrote. His *History of the Union* evinces that he was equal to the higher departments of historic composition. This is an account of a single event, difficult indeed in its execution, but beneficial certainly in its consequences. With extraordinary skill and information, our author relates not only the event, but the transactions which preceded, and the effects which followed. He is at once learned and intelligent. Considering the factiousness of the age, his candour is admirable, his moderation is exemplary. If the language of his narrative want the dignity of the great historians of the current time, it has greater facility; if it be not always grammatical, it is generally precise; and if it be thought defective in strength, it must be allowed to excel in sweetness."† His *History of the Church of Scotland*, relating to a very interesting period, is also a valuable work, as well for the correctness of its information, as for the judgment of its remarks. It evinces research of no common order, and is written in a style of felicity beyond what is usual in its author. His fidelity is placed beyond the reach of suspicion; for, when he does not write from personal observation, he is careful to refer to his authorities. He tells his readers, that he always preserves a just distinction between what he gathers from private report, and from positive history.

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* Life of De Foe, pp. 67—69.

Whoever will be at the pains to examine his writings, must be satisfied that De Foe is intitled to take a high place amongst our English moralists. Whether he discusses politics or trade, history or manners, he converts it to the noble purpose of informing the judgment, or of ameliorating the heart. Not only his *Family Instructor*, and his *Religious Courtship*, which have for their specific object

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[*] Pref. to Cadell's ed. of Rob. Crusoe, p. xxxviii.

[†] Life of De Foe, p. 69.

the awakening mankind to serious reflection; but his writings, generally, abound in prudential maxims, enforcing some sentiment of practical importance. Such was his anxiety for reformation, that he never slips an opportunity of introducing some hint or caution, or of suggesting some remark in the way of admonition or satire, with a view to the correction of vice, and the inculcation of moral principles. Yet, he never goes out of his way for the purpose, but ingeniously contrives the moral to form a requisite part of his discourse. All his satires are written for the express purpose of exposing the follies of the age, and of inviting mankind to the regulation of their habits in conformity to the dictates of reason and religion. His prose writings, amidst the frequent ruggedness of their style, are rich in sentiment, and abound in sententious passages, that convey the soundest ideas upon some of the most important subjects of human inquiry. Whilst we respect his talents and revere his genius, it is impossible not to admire that purpose of instruction which is the end of all his performances. Although politics first raised his fame, and fiction has embalmed it with posterity, yet it should not be forgotten, that he was one of the ablest moralists of his age. If Johnson surpassed him in purity of diction, he only equals him in energy of thought and propriety of sentiment.

As a writer of fiction, whether we consider the originality of his genius, the simplicity of his design, or the utility of his moral, De Foe is now universally acknowledged to stand in the foremost ground. That his inventive powers were of the first order, no one can doubt; nor that he possessed the art above most other men, of infusing into his performances all the genuine pathos of nature, without the least apparent effort or exaggeration. Although he is now most known by the first great effort of his genius, "Robinson Crusoe," yet in many of his other works he carries his art to the highest perfection. In these we discover the same unpretending simplicity, a like utility of purpose, and an undeviating likeness to real life. However uninviting his subject, the attention is insensibly chained down by the intense interest it excites, and the reader is inspired with a reluctance to lay down the story until the whole is finished. Much criticism has been employed to decipher the charm that rivets the faculties, and creates so much interest and delight. There have been writers who bring to their aid greater purity of language, and more attractive subjects for their discourse; but how few of them can be read with the same absorbing attention, and from which of them can be extracted so much nutriment for reflection? Whilst in ordinary cases, a single perusal is amply sufficient, and often more than can be conquered without weariness, we return to the pages of De Foe with renewed delight, and read him to the close with an appetite that refuses to be satiated. Whether the charm consist in the artificial structure of his story, in the minuteness and quick transition of incidents, or in that intense persuasion of reality which every where exists, or in a combination of these together, the effect is no less certain than it is striking; and however it may be explained, presents a rare occurrence in the history of literature. As De Foe wrote for the common people, who form the most numerous class of readers, he selected his subjects in accommodation to their habits and ideas; and his language is the fittest in the world to recommend them to their attention. Let the same stories be told in the classical style of our purest writers, and they would at once lose their impressive attraction; the charm would be broken, and they would bear about the same comparison with the great original, as Patrick's "Parable of the Pilgrim," by the side of the "Pilgrims' Progress." It is the homely matter-of-fact style of De Foe, wholly free from artificial ornament and unincumbered by any aim at effect, that obtains credit with the reader. He is conscious of no disguise, nor is there any in fact; for the matters detailed bear all the marks of authenticity, and are related exactly as they would have occurred, had they actually taken place. It has been justly observed, by a distinguished living writer, that "It is the last style which should be attempted by a writer of inferior genius; for though it be possible to disguise mediocrity by fine writing, it appears in all its native inanity when it assumes the garb of simplicity."*

It may call for some surprise that De Foe should be so little known as a novelist, beyond the range of "Robinson Crusoe." To recal the attention of the public to his other fictions, the present writer is happy to enrich his work with some original remarks upon his secondary novels, by his early friend Charles Lamb, whose competency to form an accurate judgment upon the subject, no one will doubt who is acquainted with his genius.

"It has happened not seldom that one work of some author has so transcendantly surpassed in execution the rest of his compositions, that the world has agreed to pass a sentence of dismissal upon the latter, and to consign them to total neglect and oblivion. It has done wisely in this, not to suffer the contemplation of excellencies of a lower standard to abate, or stand in the way of the pleasure it has agreed to receive from the master-piece.

"Again it has happened, that from no inferior merit of execution in the rest, but from superior good fortune in the choice of its subject, some single work shall have been suffered to eclipse, and cast into shade the deserts of its less fortunate brethren. This has been done with more or less injustice in the case of the popular allegory of Bunyan, in which the beautiful and scriptural image of a pilgrim or wayfarer (we are all such upon earth), addressing itself intelligibly and feelingly to the bosoms of all, has silenced, and made almost to be forgotten, the more awful and scarcely less tender beauties of the "Holy War made by Shaddai upon Diabolus," of the same author; a romance less happy in its subject, but surely well worthy of a secondary immortality. But in no instance has this excluding partiality been exerted with more unfairness than against what may be termed the secondary novels or romances of De Foe.

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* Sir W. Scott's Miscellaneous Works, iv. 302.

"While all ages and descriptions of people hang delighted over the 'Adventures of Robinson Crusoe,' and shall continue to do so we trust while the world lasts, how few comparatively will bear to be told, that there exist other fictitious narratives by the same writer—four of them at least of no inferior interest, except what results from a less felicitous choice of situation. Roxana—Singleton—Moll Flanders—Colonel Jack—are all genuine offspring of the same father. They bear the veritable impress of De Foe. An unpractised midwife that would not swear to the nose, lip, forehead, and eye, of every one of them! They are in their way as full of incident, and some of them every bit as romantic; only they want the uninhabited Island, and the charm that has bewitched the world, of the striking solitary situation.

"But are there no solitudes out of the cave and the desert? or cannot the heart in the midst of crowds feel frightfully alone? Singleton, on the world of waters, prowling about with pirates less merciful than the creatures of any howling wilderness; is he not alone, with the faces of men about him, but without a guide that can conduct him through the mists of educational and habitual ignorance; or a fellow-heart that can interpret to him the new-born yearnings and aspirations of unpractised penitence? Or when the boy Colonel Jack, in the loneliness of the heart (the worst solitude), goes to hide his ill-purchased treasure in the hollow tree by night, and miraculously loses, and miraculously finds it again—whom hath he there to sympathise with him? or of what sort are his associates?

"The narrative manner of De Foe has a naturalness about it, beyond that of any other novel or romance writer. His fictions have all the air of true stories. It is impossible to believe, while you are reading them, that a real person is not narrating to you every where nothing but what really happened to himself. To this, the extreme *homeliness* of their style mainly contributes. We use the word in its best and heartiest sense—that which comes *home* to the reader. The narrators everywhere are chosen from low life, or have had their origin in it; therefore they tell their own tales, (Mr. Coleridge has anticipated us in this remark,) as persons in their degree are observed to do, with infinite repetition, and an overacted exactness, lest the hearer should not have minded, or have forgotten, some things that had been told before. Hence the emphatic sentences marked in the good old (but deserted) Italic type; and hence, too, the frequent interposition of the reminding old colloquial parenthesis, "I say"—"mind"—and the like, when the story-teller repeats what, to a practised reader, might appear to have been sufficiently insisted upon before: which made an ingenious critic observe, that his works, in this kind, were excellent reading for the kitchen. And, in truth, the heroes and heroines of De Foe, can never again hope to be popular with a much higher class of readers, than that of the servant-maid or the sailor. Crusoe keeps its rank only by tough prescription; Singleton, the pirate—Colonel Jack, the thief—Moll Flanders, both thief and harlot—Roxana, harlot and something worse—would be startling ingredients in the bill of fare of modern literary delicacies. But, then, what pirates, what thieves, and what harlots is *the thief*, *the harlot*, and *the pirate* of De Foe? We would not hesitate to say, that in no other book of fiction, where the lives of such characters are described, is guilt and delinquency made less seductive, or the suffering made more closely to follow the commission, or the penitence more earnest or more bleeding, or the intervening flashes of religious visitation, upon the rude and uninstructed soul, more meltingly and fearfully painted. They, in this, come near to the tenderness of Bunyan; while the livelier pictures and incidents in them, as in Hogarth or in Fielding, tend to diminish that "fastidiousness to the concerns and pursuits of common life, which an unrestrained passion for the ideal and the sentimental is in danger of producing."

It has been intimated, that Richardson, who must have been a diligent reader of De Foe, may have taken him for his model. There is the more reason to suppose this, says Dr. Towers, "because it may be observed, that the dramatic form into which De Foe has thrown many parts of his works of imagination, has been evidently imitated by Richardson in his *Pamela, Clarissa,* and *Sir Charles Grandison.*"* Dr. Kippis, taking up the same idea, observes, "Richardson seems to have learned from him that mode of delineating character and carrying on dialogues, and that minute discrimination of the circumstances of events, in which De Foe so eminently excelled. If, in certain respects, the disciple rose above his master, as he undoubtedly did, in others he was inferior to him; for his conversations are sometimes more tedious and diffuse; and his works, though beautiful in their kind, are not by any means so various. Both of these writers had a wonderful ability in drawing pictures of human nature and human life. A careful perusal of the *Family Instructor* and the *Religious Courtship,* would particularly tend to shew the resemblance between De Foe and Richardson."† But whatever likeness may be traced between the two writers, the diffuseness of Richardson will ever keep him in the back ground; whilst the very homeliness of De Foe's language, so perfectly adapted to his incidents as they respect persons, time, and place, imparts to them a witchery, which, in spite of all his defects, gives him an unrivalled claim to superiority.

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* Biog. Brit. † Ibid.

Dr. Towers further observes, that "If Richardson is to be traced to De Foe, we have sometimes thought, that the latter was, with regard to simplicity of style, somewhat indebted to Bunyan, an author whom he must have read in his youth, and whose religious principles are obvious in the second volume of *Robinson Crusoe*."* In justification of this remark, it may be added, that examples of the likeness may be adduced from Moll Flanders, as compared with Bunyan's "Grace abounding to the chief of Sinners;" and it may be also traced in some of the other writings of De Foe.

If the foregoing estimate of De Foe's talents has not been overstated, he will deserve to be considered as one of the most ingenious and enterprising writers of his age. But, if we regard the utility of his performances, he is intitled to still higher praise. He who aims to rescue mankind from the thraldom of oppression, who lays open the sources, and enforces the true principles of knowledge, virtue and happiness, has no mean pretensions to our regard; and if the successful display of his talents be a just foundation for fame, but few will be disposed to withhold it from our author. His works have passed through more numerous editions than has fallen to the lot of most writers; no mean test, surely, of their merit. For, as Mr. Chalmers observes, "He whose works have pleased generally and pleased long, must be deemed a writer of no small estimation; the people's verdict being the proper test of what they are the proper judges." Amidst the taste for collecting uniform editions of popular English writers, it is surprising that De Foe has not received such a distinction, and it confers some reproach upon the British press. In spite of the obloquy cast upon him by his contemporaries, the time is now arrived, when he must be acknowledged as one of the most useful, because one of the most instructive, writers of his day. If he paid the tax of censure for his celebrity, it was in a cause that will be approved by the wise and the virtuous. The truth is seldom told in a man's life-time; personal enmities then too often interfere to obscure his virtues, or exaggerate his failings. It is, as the *Spectator* observes, "When writers have the least opportunity of knowing the truth, they are in the best disposition to tell it."* It is, therefore, the privilege of posterity to adjust the characters of eminent men, and to arbitrate the disputes between them and their opponents. How far the present writer has succeeded in the case of De Foe, must be left to the judgment of the reader.

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* Biog. Brit.

Curiosity will be naturally awake to learn the fate of a family that descended from so ingenious a writer. If this cannot be gratified so fully as can be wished, the following particulars may be worth preservation. De Foe was twice married: the name of his first wife was Mary; the last Susannah; but their family names have not reached us. In 1706, he appears to have had *seven* children. One of these, Martha De Foe, died, a child, in the following year, at Hackney, and was carried out of the parish for interment; perhaps in Bunhill Fields, the common receptacle for Dissenters. In one of his *Reviews* for 1712, he refers to his *six* children, then living; and they all appear to have survived him. Their names, with such particulars as can be collected concering them and their descendants, are as follows:

1. **Daniel**, the eldest son, seems to have inherited a portion of his father's zeal, and was, like him, a strenuous Dissenter. He appears to have married early in life, and to have settled at Clerkenwell; but the nature of his pursuits is not known. He had a son born to him in that parish, as appears by the following entry in the register: "January 1, 1708—9, Daniel, son of Daniel De Foe."† Several years

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* No. 101. † Malcolm's London, iii. 218.

afterwards, we read of another Daniel, "an infant and nursed child," who was buried at Hackney, June 14, 1724.* If this was his son, the former died most likely in the intermediate time; but perhaps he was the son of his brother. It is probable he had other children; but whether it is in his line that the name is still preserved, the obscurity of the subject involves great uncertainty. This Daniel is said to have emigrated to Carolina, and to have died at an advanced age, either there, or in some other part of North America. If this story of his emigration be correct, it must have taken place between the years 1725 and 1730. In the former year, his name appears, with that of his father, as a subscriber to "Lillie's Collection of Papers, omitted in the Tatler and Spectator." He is there called Daniel De Foe, jun. From De Foe's letter to Mr. Baker, written but a few months before his death, it should seem that he had then but one son in England; for he there speaks of his *son* in the singular number. The same form of expression is adopted by Sophia De Foe, when alluding to her *brother*, in her correspondence with Mr. Baker. The Mrs. De Foe, who died at Hackney, in 1737, and was buried in Bunhill Fields, was no doubt the wife of one of De Foe's sons; and, if Daniel had emigrated, must have belonged to his brother.

2. BENJAMIN. This is the name given by Mr. Chalmers to De Foe's second son, of whom, he says, nothing is known. A writer in the "Gentlemen's Magazine" informs us, that De Foe had a son who assumed the name of Norton, and followed his father's profession as a writer.† This Norton is introduced in the "Dunciad," accompanied by a piece of scandal which Pope borrowed from Savage; (U) and, resting

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* Lysons's Environs, ii. 502.

† Vol. iv. Part ii. p. 953.

(U) In the Preface to his "Author to be Let;" in which he says, "Had it not been an honester livelihood for Mr. Norton (Daniel De Foe's son of love by a lady who vended oysters) to have dealt in a fish-market, than to be dealing out the dialects of Billingsgate in the Flying Post?"

upon no better evidence, may be safely dismissed as a random shot of the poet. The wanton manner in which he sported with the reputation of his contemporaries, justified the sentiment of his friend Atterbury, when he described him as possessing *mens curva in corpore curvo*. The manner in which he alludes to this son of De Foe, is as follows:

> "Norton, from Daniel and Ostrœa sprung,
> Blest with his father's front and mother's tongue."

Upon this passage, the annotator has the following remark: "Norton De Foe, offspring of the famous Daniel, *fortes creantur fortibus*. One of the authors of the 'Flying Post,' in which well-bred work Mr. P. had some time the honour to be abused with his betters; and of many hired scurrilities and daily papers, to which he never set his name." In the first edition of the "Dunciad," Pope had said,

> "She saw in Norton all his father shine;"

which the annotator describes as "A great mistake! For Daniel De Foe had parts, but Norton De Foe was a wretched writer, and never attempted poetry. Much more justly is Daniel himself made successor to W. Prynne, both of whom wrote verses as well as politics; and both had a resemblance in their fates as well as their writings, having been alike sentenced to the pillory." Upon Norton's abilities as a writer, it may be difficult now to pass an opinion; but not so, that he who shot so many arrows in sport at others, had no reason to complain if some of them were returned upon himself. The present writer has somewhere met with the name of *Bernard De Foe*, as a writer of the same period; but having mislaid his reference, is unable to say in what connexion. He has a small work in his possession, called, "A Compleat English Dictionary," said, in the title, to be "By B. N. De Foe, Gent." and published in 1735. This B. N. De Foe, he has no doubt, is *Bernard Norton*, and no other than De Foe's second son, whom Mr. Chalmers calls *Benjamin*.

Why he assumed the name of *Norton,* is now, perhaps, too late to be told; but that no reliance is to be placed upon the gossip of Savage, and the petulance of Pope, is a matter not to be questioned. This *Norton,* as he chose to call himself, succeeded Ridpath, who died in 1726, as editor of the "Flying Post;" and was author of "Memoirs of the Princes of the House of Orange," and of "The Life of Alderman Barber."

3. MARIA, who seems to have been the eldest daughter of De Foe, married a person of the name of Langley; but neither of them has descended with any further particulars.

4. HANNAH, the next daughter, remained single. After her father's death, she went to reside at Winborne-Minster, in Dorsetshire, and became a member of the society of Protestant Dissenters in that town. She was considered a sensible woman, but of peculiar habits. As she lived upon her own property, which afterwards passed to a nephew, it may be concluded that De Foe's daughters succeeded in recovering their estates out of the hands of their brother, and that they were converted into money for the purpose of being divided. From a document in the hands of Mr. Upcott, it should seem that Hannah De Foe was possessed of property in the books of the South Sea Company during her father's life-time.(x) She died upon the 25th of April 1759, and was interred in a vault in the north aisle of the church at Winborne.

5. HENRIETTA, the third daughter of De Foe, partook of her sister's character for good sense and peculiarity of habits. She became the wife of John Boston, of Much-Hadham in Hertfordshire; a man of good family and estate at Boston, in Lincolnshire. Being appointed supervisor of the Excise at

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(x) The document runs thus: "Aug. 30, 1722. Mr. Lockyer. Pay to James Ruck the dividend due at Midsummer last upon £706 13*s.* 4*d.*, being all the stock I then had in the books of the South Sea Company, and this shall be sufficient; from yours, HANNAH DE FOE."

Winborne, he removed to that town, where both himself and his wife communicated with the Dissenters. It is said, that he resided for a short time at Christ Church, Hants; but he died and was buried at Winborne. His wife, who survived him, remained a widow until her death, which happened March 5, 1760. She was interred in the same vault with her husband and sister. (Y) The issue of her marriage was one son, *John*, born at Much-Hadham, but in business at Winborne, where he died. He inherited the property of his mother, and aunt; but marrying a person in an inferior station, and being of dissipated habits, he soon brought himself to poverty, and eventually to the grave. He left a widow and a son, *William*, who was put to school at Winborne, and afterwards went to sea, where he perished, when he was about fifteen years of age, in the year 1784. (Z)

6. SOPHIA, the youngest daughter of De Foe, was born at

(Y) The inscription upon the stone that covers the vault is now quite obliterated, but it was copied thirty years ago by a gentleman who favoured the present writer with the above particulars, and was as follows: "Here also lieth Mrs. HANNAH DE FOE, who died April 25th, 1759. Also, Mrs. HENRIETTA, wife of the above JOHN BOSTON, who died March 5th, 1760." Upon turning to Hutchins's "History of Dorset," vol. ii. page 553, the following notice will be found of these interments: "About the middle of this aisle (the north aisle of the collegiate church of Winborne) also two daughters of the famous Daniel De Foe are interred, with an inscription very unworthy so distinguished a character. I shall, therefore, only mention the purport of it, that Mrs. HENRIETTA DE FOE, one of the daughters, married John Boston, an officer of Excise in this place, by whom she had one son, and died May the 5th, 1760. HANNAH, the other daughter, died unmarried April the 28th, 1759." The reader will observe a slight variation in the dates of Hutchins' and the writer's correspondent, William Ward Wright, of Sopley, Esq.; which of the two is most correct he does not pretend to determine.

(Z) The late Dr. Duncan, formerly dissenting minister at Winborne, drew up a history of his church, in which he says, "the celebrated Daniel De Foe was here frequently," and he inserts some notices of his daughters, which harmonize with the above account. He adds, "I am in possession of two manuscript volumes of Daniel De Foe's. One is corrected for the press, with a dedication. He wrote a neat fair hand. He entitles the book thus: 'Historical Collections: or, Memoirs of Passages collected from several Authors. 1682.' I think it would take well if it were published.

Hackney, and baptized Dec. 24, 1701. (A) Of her courtship by Henry Baker, the celebrated natural philosopher, some notice has been already taken. They were married upon the 30th of April, 1729, and lived together thirty-two years, " always happy in each other;" so Mr. Baker expresses it. Of the time and circumstances of her death, he has left the following account in an old memorandum book, in the possession of his present representative: " My dear wife, *Sophia,* died 4th Jan. 1762, about ten o'clock in the morning. She had been much afflicted some days with shortness of breath, a violent cough, abundance of phlegm, was blooded, blistered, and vomited, by the advice of Dr. Thomas, and though very weak, was not thought in danger; but as she was rising, a fainting fit seized her, out of which she never recovered. Some blood was immediately taken from her arm, which made her breathe a little; but she never opened her eyes, and was dead in a few minutes. Mrs. Baker was buried in the church-yard of St. Mary-le-Strand (the scite of the new church) a very little on the left hand, as you enter the church-yard through the iron gate on the south side, and very near the church-yard wall.

I have also some original poems of his, in his own hand-writing. He was truly a great man, and I much wonder that he is so little known in the world at this day, either by men of letters, politics, or religion; for he certainly had his share in all these, particularly the two latter." The writer has made much enquiry for these manuscripts, but is unable to get any tidings of them. Dr. Duncan, in the same history, relates the following anecdotes of two of our poets, which will probably be new to the reader:— " *Mr. Congreve,* the poet, who lived at Merley, and belonged to this meeting, with his family; but he sold the manor, and resided at the manor-house of Aldermaston, Hampshire. *Matthew Prior,* the poet, also, was born in Abbot-street, a mile from this place, and not in London, as is said in his life. His parents soon removed to London, and left him in the care of his grand-parents, who, with his father and mother, were Dissenters, and belonged to our meeting, and with them he continually attended. To this also he alludes when he says, in one of his poems,

> ' And to the barn of loud Noncon,
> Where with my grama oft I've gone.' "

(A) The following entry of her baptism, is from Lysons's Account of Hackney: " Sophia, daughter to Daniel De Foe, by Mary his wife, was baptized Dec. 24, 1701.

I desire to lye there myself." Mr. Baker, who appears to have been a most affectionate husband, as well a truly excellent man, having acquired an easy fortune, now retired from public cares, and closed an honorable and useful life, upon the 25th of November, 1774, in his 77th year. By his wife Sophia, he had two sons, who both died shortly after their mother. *David Erskine*, the eldest, named after his godfather, the Earl of Buchan, notwithstanding the care bestowed upon his education, disappointed his father's expectations. Having contracted a taste for theatrical amusements, he associated with strolling players, and united himself in marriage with a female of that description, but left no children. He was the author of "The Companion to the Play-house," in 2 vols. 12mo, and dying at Gainsborough, in Lincolnshire, Feb. 16, 1767, was buried there, at the age of 37. His younger brother, HENRY, was bred to the profession of the law, and had a taste for literature, but died young, August 24, 1776, having been born Feb. 10, 1734. He was buried in London, near his mother. He left an only son, *William*, born Feb. 17, 1763, and being bred to the church, became rector of Lyndon and South Luffenham, in the county of Rutland. He died in the month of May, 1828, leaving a son, the Rev. Henry De Foe Baker, now vicar of Greetham, Rutlandshire. This gentleman married, in September 1828, Harriet, second daughter of the late H. Boulton, Esq., of Geddington, Northamptonshire, and to whose intelligent communications the reader is indebted for some interesting particulars in the latter part of this work. It appears that a great grand-daughter of De Foe's, who bore the maiden name of Baker, was residing a few years ago at Hooknorton, in Oxfordshire, in rather low circumstances. She had received a good education, suited to the line of life she was intended to occupy; but being disappointed in a love affair, early in life, she was induced to throw herself away upon a person in all respects her inferior. Marrying a man of the name of Hyett, a plasterer by trade, she experienced the disappointment that might be expected from so unequal a connexion.* Her father is said to have been a lawyer; so that she was in all probability the daughter of the younger Henry Baker, above mentioned.

To the foregoing acccount of De Foe's children, may be added some further particulars which have reached the author concerning his other descendants. From information communicated by the present representative of the family in the male line, it appears that De Foe had a grandson named SAMUEL DE FOE, but from which of his sons he descended, is, it seems, uncertain; although most likely from the one that continued in England. Upon the first of April, 1743, he was put apprentice to a calico-printer, in London, and afterwards followed the business upon his own account; but marrying a person who kept the Royal Inn, at West-Ham, in Essex, he removed thither, and conducted the concern until the death of his wife, when he returned to calico-printing. He afterwards married a second wife, proved unfortunate in business, and dying at Pedlar's Acre, in November, 1783, was buried in Lambeth Church Yard. By the first marriage, he had three sons: Samuel, who died young; Richard, bred a carpenter; and Joseph, who came to an untimely end. (B) By his second wife, he had four sons and four daughters. *Daniel* was bound apprentice to a watch-maker, but ran away and went to sea. He afterwards became cook on board the *Savage* sloop of war, and was living, in that employment, in 1787. (C) *Samuel* has been dead some years. *Joseph*

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* From the information of the late Rev. Mr. Claypole, of Yeovil.

(B) This was, no doubt, John Joseph De Foe, who was capitally convicted with John Clarke, at the Old Bailey Sessions, December 1770, for a highway robbery upon the person of Alexander Fordyce, Esq. They both suffered the sentence of the law at Tyburn, January 2, 1771. See Dodsley's Annual Register for that year.

(C) A correspondent of the "Gentleman's Magazine," signed Edward Harwood, jun., speaking of De Foe, says, "His grandson (rather his great-grandson) is at this time cook to the gentlemen of the gun-room of the *Savage* sloop of war. Having been lately surgeon of one of His Majesty's ships on the coast of Scotland, and business requiring me on board that was brought up a caulker, and went to sea. He married, and had two children; one of whom, bearing his own name, is still living. *James*, the younger son, is living at this time, a box-maker and undertaker, in Hungerford Market, London. He has had a family of eight children, of whom two are now living, James and Priscilla. (D) Of the daughters, one of them married a Mr. Sayers, with whom she went to the East

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ship, I casually heard a Daniel De Foe mentioned among the seamen. The name being so familiar to me, I inquired, from motives of curiosity, concerning his family. He told me his father was a calico-printer in London, who had failed in business; that his grandfather had written 'Robinson Crusoe,' 'The True-Born Englishman,' &c. I felt myself much affected when I saw the descendant of so ingenious a man in so unworthy a situation; and, making the circumstance known, recommended him to the attention of the gentlemen on board."—*Gents. Mag.* vol. lvii. p. 1088.

(D) In St. Martin's Church-yard, Westminster, is a grave-stone, bearing the following inscription for James De Foe's children:

In memory of
HENRY, son of
JAMES and MARY DEFOE,
Who died Dec. 12, 1812,
Aged 5 months.
GEORGE DEFOE
Died January 24, 1816,
Aged 9 weeks.
Also,
JAMES DEFOE,
Brother of the above,
Died 6th of July, 1817,
Aged 9 years and 10 days.
Also, MARTHA DEFOE,
Sister of the above,
Died 8th of July, 1817,
Aged 7 years and 6 months.
Also,
ROBERT DEFOE,
Brother of the above,
Who died the 18th Nov. 1817,
Aged 11 months.
Also,
MARY ANN DEFOE,
Who died the 22d Nov. 1820,
Aged 2 years.

Indies, where she died, leaving seven children. Another daughter married a Mr. Jenner, and is also dead, leaving four children; and a third died unmarried. Priscilla, the fourth daughter, is now, or was lately, living near Chatham.

Besides the male descendants above-mentioned, De Foe had several grand-daughters, said to have sprung from his son Daniel. *Mary*, who had previously boarded in a private family at Chelmsford, in Essex, was married, about the year 1749, to John Thorne, a shopkeeper at Braintree, in the same county; where she died a widow, about the year 1775, leaving a son, since dead, and two daughters.* She was a zealous Dissenter, and seemed to inherit the sarcastic spirit of her grandfather. *Sophia*, another grand-daughter, became the wife of James Standerwicke, a haberdasher in Cornhill. She died at Stoke Newington, where her husband had retired from business, October 26, 1787, aged 62. One of her sons, a tick merchant, was lately living in retirement at Islington. Another of De Foe's grand-daughters was married to a Mr. Coram, whose son was master of the free-school at Battersea, and was father to the late Thomas Coram, an eminent print-seller in London, who has been often heard to say, that his grandmother was a De Foe. The Corams were related to the celebrated Captain Coram, projector of the Foundling Hospital. A few years ago, a great-great-grand-daughter of De Foe was upon the list of the National Benevolent Institution, in Great Russell-street, London.

* Biog. Dict. Art. De Foe.

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